INTERSTATE MIGRATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 63 and H. Res. 491

RESOLUTIONS TO INQUIRE INTO THE INTERSTATE
MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS, TO STUDY,
SURVEY, AND INVESTIGATE THE SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC NEEDS AND THE MOVEMENT OF
INDIGENT PERSONS ACROSS STATE LINES

PART 10

WASHINGTON HEARINGS

DECEMBER 11, 1940, AND FEBRUARY 26, 1941

TOPICAL INDEX

PARTS 1–10, INCLUSIVE

Printed for the use of the Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens

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INTERSTATE MIGRATION

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman), presiding.

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan, chairman; Claude V. Parsons, John J. Sparkman, Carl T. Curtis, and Frank C. Osmers, Jr.

Also present: Dr. Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; Henry H. Collins, Jr., coordinator of field hearings; Creekmore Fath and John W. Abbott, field investigators; Ariel E. V. Dunn and Alice M. Tuohy, assistant field investigators; Irene M. Hageman, hearings secretary; Richard S. Blaisdell, editor; Harold D. Cullen, associate editor.

The Chairman. The hearing will please come to order. The first witness is Mr. Chester C. Davis, member of the National Defense Advisory Commission.

TESTIMONY OF CHESTER C. DAVIS, MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM, AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ADVISORY COMMISSION

The Chairman. Mr. Davis, Congressman Curtis will interrogate you. This committee has made it a rule, Mr. Davis, that we divide the work among us then afterwards we ask questions if we so desire. Congressman Curtis.

Mr. Curtis. Mr. Davis, for the purpose of the record please give the reporter your full name and the capacity in which you appear here today.

Mr. Davis. Chester C. Davis. I am a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and a member of the National Defense Advisory Commission.

Mr. Curtis. How many members are on the National Defense Advisory Commission.

Mr. Davis. Seven.

Mr. Curtis. What industries or groups do they represent?

Mr. Davis. The Production Division headed by William Knudsen deals with the finished products that go into the armament effort.

The Industrial Raw Materials Division headed by Mr. Stettinius deals with the industrial raw materials to the point of final manufacture, so his division and Mr. Knudsen's division dovetail on that point.

The Labor Division is headed by Sidney Hillman and deals primarily with questions of supply and conditions of labor.

Leon Henderson is the head of the Price Stabilization Division of the Commission. That is an activity that runs all through the work of the Commission. It is an attempt to see that supply keeps up, and even anticipates demand so that unwarranted price increases can be avoided and we will not get started on the general upward spiral of prices.

Ralph Budd is head of the Transportation Division and he has responsibility not only for rail transportation but for all forms of transportation that are used in the defense effort or in actual warfare.

Miss Harriet Eliott is the head of the Consumers' Division and is generally concerned with the questions of civilian interests in this whole defense program.

My division is known as the Agricultural Division, intended to represent the viewpoint of agriculture and to see that agricultural interests are considered in all the defense moves. And then, of course, I am interested in interpreting to the agricultural groups and the institutions that serve agriculture these defense moves as they take place.

EXPERIENCED IN AGRICULTURAL FIELDS

Mr. Curtis. Briefly, what previous experience have you had in the agricultural field?

Mr. Davis. Well, I have worked in that field, Mr. Curtis, for the last 25 years, ranging all the way from farm magazine editor and publisher.

I was head of the State department of agriculture in Montana from 1921 to 1925. I was with the Illinois Agricultural Association and head of their grain-marketing activities from 1925 to 1929.

I spent the period from 1929 to 1933 as manager of a corporation that was formed in the Middle West to try to give practical demonstrations to some processes that had been worked out for the use of agricultural raw materials in industrial form, chiefly cornstalks.

I came to Washington in 1933, in May, to organize the Products Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

I became Administrator in December of 1933 and held that position until June of 1936 when I was appointed to the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. Curtis. Mr. Davis, this committee is operating under a resolution passed by the House of Representatives requiring us to investigate the interstate migration of destitute persons.

We find that the defense industries are an important factor in our study.

There are two angles in that connection. One of them involves the establishing of a defense industry in a place where it looks as though it is losing its population. It reverses the trend; but we also have found in recent weeks that the creation of national defense industries has been a factor in encouraging migration.

We would like to have you proceed just in your own way, giving us any facts or observations that you might have that would throw light on this problem that we are undertaking.

Mr. DAVIS. Do you mind if I make a sort of general examination into what I conceive to be the causes of migration?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes; just be at liberty to proceed as you wish.

Mr. DAVIS. I think you have to take a look at the background before we can consider what can be accomplished by this defense effort in the direction of bringing employment out to the people where they live.

I think that, fundamentally, the sources of this problem with which you gentlemen are dealing rests in the fact that, under present and prospective conditions, there are too many people trying to make a living on the farm to earn a decent standard of living for all of them with farm income on its present level.

OIL FIELDS REPLACE FARM LANDS

I think that another factor, of course, which you gentlemen have considered is the rapid mechanization in agricultural production which started with the introduction of the gasoline engine, tractors, trucks, and so forth, getting its real impetus after the last war, which probably has taken some thirty-five million acres of land that used to grow feed for horses and mules and turned it over to the oil fields, as a matter of fact.

And in more recent years the development of mechanized farm equipment which fits every size of farm.

That has brought about a displacement which you might call "technological displacement," and has proceeded at a very rapid rate.

And then right now and as far ahead as I can see, this problem is intensified by the loss of export markets for some of our very important staple crops—cotton, tobacco, and wheat—from some areas; and I see no prospect as you look ahead into the kind of a world that is likely to confront us and the kind of a world that we are in now, that the United States is going to find it easy to regain the old export market in volume for some of these commodities.

That situation makes the cotton problem, for example, particularly difficult, and it means that those people who have been dividing up the income that comes from the production of cotton and whose production went into export are facing really a difficult situation, much more serious than that even which they have confronted in the past.

Now, on the side of what can be done about it, of course, anything that can be done that will increase the total farm income relative to agricultural costs is all to the good.

MUST FIND JOBS FOR FARMERS

As far as keeping people on the farm is concerned, it is necessary to increase and continue the efforts that are being made to secure equitable distribution of the proceeds of farm products.

We have not done all that should have been done in agriculture in producing the family's living on the farm. And that, of course, adds to the standards of living without entering the field of increasing the extent of commercial production.

But the thing that we are concerned with here this morning is that if this fundamental situation is correct, and that is under present conditions there are too many people trying to divide up the income from farm production for all of them to have a satisfactory standard of living out of it, then obviously there must be nonagricultural opportunities for employment and for income.

This problem is too big for a solution simply by agricultural employment in my judgment. We have got to find opportunities for these men to get into the nonagricultural activities, which include, of course, not only industrial production but the service groups as well.

I believe that as this defense effort expands, gentlemen, this country is going to move forward toward the point of relatively full employment of its physical and human resources. If that is true then this great reservoir of unsatisfactorily employed people out on the farms and rural areas can be brought into effective use in one of two ways:

They can be either uprooted and shifted hundreds of miles away into the industrial areas, which are already possessed of industries which are going to be used to an increasing extent in this armament program, or by bringing the new defense plants out more nearly into their neighborhood.

You can tap these reservoirs of unemployed or unsatisfactorily employed people, and probably create the opportunity for a good many of them to get part-time work and still holding their roots in the soil—still living at home, which avoids, of course, the housing problem that you will get if everybody has to move down into the industrial areas to get these defense jobs.

DISTRIBUTION OF DEFENSE ORDERS

I don't want to overemphasize the importance of these new defense plants, but I think they are important. I think the distribution of orders for the War Department and the Navy are very important and if the committee likes I will put in the record the distribution of orders by States from June down through November, which will illustrate that which the Commission has set out as a policy—that is, trying to get the business distributed out where the labor and the facilities are.

That has not been accomplished, I would say, to our satisfaction as yet, but at least it will give you some standard of measurement so you may see what has been done about the distribution of orders.

The Chairman. Mr. Davis, the committee would like to have that. If you will present it in the next few days we will have it inserted in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

Tabulation of contracts awarded, by States, June through Nov. 30, 1940

	Airplanes		Ships		Guns		Construction		All other	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
Grand total	559	$1,990,822	1, 350	$3,356,207	2, 018	$1,782,258	1, 284	$1,084,749	7, 495	$1, 002, 521
Alabama			4	29, 102	5	8, 166	22	7, 337	33	2, 354
Arizona							2	1, 148		
Arkansas							3	4, 660	1	20
California	38	636, 320	109	293, 716	20	9, 188	142	112, 304	120	7, 739
Colorado			1	3	2	4, 651	3	539	11	631
Connecticut	47	197, 013	56	118, 332	168	183, 530	11	23, 016	258	10, 837
Delaware			4	1, 722	4	157	2	498	5	154
Dist. of Columbia	1	30	9	105	24	21, 313	37	6, 563	62	1, 195
Florida			6	120			70	41, 648	7	103
Georgia			1	8	1	4, 569	20	16, 031	82	20, 212
Idaho										
Illinois	6	465	17	11, 902	103	162, 867	50	29, 307	358	37, 435
Indiana	22	15, 468	6	106	30	31, 084	7	2, 395	93	5, 521
Iowa					5	361	2	42, 880	24	966
Kansas	8	35, 434			1	2	11	9, 436	8	101
Kentucky	1	80	2	29	8	939	13	7, 996	57	1, 643
Louisiana			4	3, 565			7	4, 940	12	534
Maine			6	125, 706	2	92	11	1, 943	26	3, 006
Maryland	6	227, 529	22	634	88	37, 335	38	19, 710	80	12, 508
Massachusetts	12	932	44	603, 177	86	38, 534	52	36, 549	403	34, 748
Michigan	20	194, 549	17	1, 339	102	113, 943	22	26, 334	245	125, 878
Minnesota	5	411	2	79	11	24, 247	5	3, 623	38	3, 564
Mississippi			1	14			4	11, 821	8	470
Missouri	9	66, 522	5	231	15	83, 022	7	18, 929	123	11, 437
Montana										
Nebraska					3	6, 002	1	62	6	84
Nevada					1	31	5	2, 271		
New Hampshire	2	50	11	46, 242	1	142	7	4, 933	58	4, 380
New Jersey	105	172, 589	86	454, 693	149	206, 744	29	33, 077	301	51, 363
New Mexico										
New York	103	252, 132	124	262, 918	197	166, 994	77	29, 047	844	93, 199
North Carolina							8	3, 972	102	14, 545
North Dakota										
Ohio	57	6, 969	50	47, 912	120	85, 682	20	17, 181	523	17, 185
Oklahoma	1	1, 860					13	3, 054	5	258
Oregon	1	11	5	128	2	91	9	1, 930	12	1, 708
Pennsylvania	45	32. 461	170	370, 184	296	196, 022	60	29. 907	733	171, 526
Rhode Island	2	34	33	1, 475	27	22, 252	22	29, 541	88	7, 426
South Carolina	1	47	14	59, 400	1	61	20	12, 576	40	2, 717
South Dakota									1	5
Tennessee			1	15	6	3, 784	2	8, 660	64	5, 034
Texas			2	87, 080	1	43	52	75, 454	65	8, 373
Utah							23	6, 187		
Vermont							3	937	17	1, 140
Virginia	1	29	113	524, 695	159	183, 413	82	98, 326	71	6, 048
Washington	3	133, 828	67	234, 813	3	424	40	34, 753	43	1, 325
West Virginia	1	19	8	293	4	268	1	1, 527	31	2, 062
Wisconsin	9	1, 310	11	46, 150	25	12, 887	2	1, 175	176	16, 962
Wyoming							2	2, 050		
Off continent and unassignable	53	14, 730	339	30, 319	348	173, 418	265	258, 522	2, 261	266, 125

TESTIMONY OF CHESTER C. DAVIS—Resumed

Mr. Davis. As a member of the Commission I have taken the position that the unemployed on the farms as well as what I call the "unsatisfactorily employed" on the farms, those whose income from production is so low that they are not making and have no chance to make a decent standard of living, must be considered as a part of this reservoir of unemployed which we want to reach just the same as the people who are enrolled as unemployed in the cities and towns, because I think that, to a certain extent, they are immobile.

To reach them the more we can do about getting the industries spread outside the regions of heavy industrial concentration now, the more likely you are to get them into the work.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING FOR RURAL YOUTH

We have also developed plans in cooperation with Sidney Hillman's division, to bring industrial training to the young men out in the rural areas the same as it is being brought to the people in the cities and towns.

It is a little more difficult, because the schools for vocational training are not well equipped or do not even exist in many of the regions where the concentration of low income farm people is the greatest.

But out of the $10,000,000 allocated for training for industrial purposes it is expected that between 2,000 and 3,000 schools, shops, and training centers will be developed.

That will require, I think, the actual construction and equipment of about 1,000 of them in the regions where they just don't have those facilities at the present time.

Now, this map [indicating], which may be a little difficult to see from where the committee sits, represents the places in which either new defense plants or important additions to existing plants have been authorized out of the funds appropriated by Congress for these new facilities.

DEFENSE INDUSTRIES NOT DECENTRALIZED

I don't believe that the failure to secure the degree of decentralization which I think we should have, is due to any lack of sympathy or interest on the part of the War Department or the Navy or the Defense Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Davis, may I interrupt you. You have referred slightly and will refer more to a map that you have before you at this time; isn't that true?

Mr. DAVIS. This is the map here.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will be silent as to just what the map is and I suggest we pause for a moment and have the reporter mark that as an exhibit to your testimony.

(Instead of the map, there was accepted a table which appears on p. 3859.)

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Chairman, I think we can probably prepare a map which could be photographed. It would not show the colors which differentiate aircraft industries from TNT plants or anything of that sort, but at least it will show the areas in which concentration has occurred.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have that if you could provide it, and it will be incorporated in the record as part of your testimony.

Mr. DAVIS. I think the trouble has been that under the urge for speed and immediate action the natural thing is to turn to the regions where facilities presently exist, and to expand them where they can be expanded with a kind of cellular growth right around the old plant. That is one thing.

Another thing is the disposition to utilize the skilled-labor supply that exists in a certain region.

If you will notice the concentration around the city of Detroit—and, I would say, Detroit is not the place from the standpoint of strategic location that you would pick to put defense industries—but it happens that the automotive skills are there, and in order to get action soon it is fairly easy to use them there.

It is not so easy to establish these facilities somewhere else.

The first stage of the program has been completed.

I think there are some other things that interfere with the decentralization of these plants the way they should be, and I think I should go back to make one thing clear.

The reason why it is important to get these plants scattered out close to where the people are who need the work isn't altogether because that is the way to get them to work, but it is to avoid the overcrowding and the overtaxing of these present industrial areas, areas which have the heavy industries and which are going to be working mighty hard anyway when the defense program gets in full swing.

PROBLEMS OF DEFENSE AFTERMATH

I am thinking about the aftermath when this defense effort slacks down. It is important to avoid uprooting people and putting them in these present industrial areas to the fullest extent that is possible because of the problem we are going to face when it comes to finding work for these men after this defense effort slows down.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Mr. Davis, you feel that you cannot improve the employment conditions in any single part of the United States without improving the condition of the Nation as a whole, don't you?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I think one of the fundamentals we have to move forward toward is the full employment of our manpower and our resources, and that naturally means increased national income for the people.

But I believe that we could hit serious bottlenecks if we expect labor to flow without delay into these regions of the United States, because people just aren't quite as mobile as that.

I lived through the period of the drought and disaster out in the Great Plains area, and I saw those people take it out in standard of living year after year because they had their roots in that land that they had taken up between 1910 and 1920. They had their roots in the land out there, and they would permit their standard of living to go down and down, hoping for the future, without cutting loose and going some place else to find a job.

We are not going to be able to use in the United States our full labor resources, gentlemen, in my judgment, if we are going to hold all the industries in the Great Lakes area and in the industrial sections of the United States because people just are not going to get there.

You will have acute labor shortages in one area just like we had at the time of the last war, while you have labor surpluses left in other areas. In my judgment the best way to get at that thing is to attempt a real decentralization of these defense efforts, as far as you can under the technical limitations that exist for these plants.

Some of these factories that we have located are more or less ideally situated to this purpose that I am talking about. I believe that we are gathering the information so that if we move forward to another stage of defense production where, instead of planning for an army of 1,200,000 men, we are planning for the equipment and operation of an army of 4,000,000, we are going to do a better job upon the location of these industries than is illustrated by this map. And by "a better job" I don't mean that these industries aren't going to bring about production, but I mean from the principles I have been talking about it seems to me they might have been better located in many instances.

Now, I know this is a crowded morning, gentlemen. I could talk to this committee on this subject all morning, but I wonder if I wouldn't do better to get at what is in your minds if I just stop talking and let the committee ask the questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Otherwise there might be duplication.

Mr. DAVIS. Right.

Mr. OSMERS. I wonder, Mr. Davis, whether you would care to elaborate a bit upon your statement that there are approximately 5,000,000 people partly unemployed in agriculture now or poorly employed.

Mr. DAVIS. I dislike to give quantitative figures——

Mr. OSMERS. I am not so much interested in the figures as in the nature of that particular individual.

UNSATISFACTORY FARM EMPLOYMENT

Mr. DAVIS. There are probably about 32,000,000 people living on the farms in the United States at the present time and I think the estimate that 5,000,000 are in families whose workers are unsatisfactorily employed—that is, they can't support a family with any kind of decent standards of living—is altogether too conservative. I think probably there are more than that. By that I don't mean 5,000,000 actual workers, but I imagine the figures would be nearer seven and a half million who live in the families whose workers have unsatisfactory opportunities to earn a living on the farm.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, all of that group are apart from the number that we generally consider in Government as being unemployed, are they not?

Mr. DAVIS. Absolutely.

Mr. OSMERS. They are not counted in any unemployment lists at all.

Mr. DAVIS. But I think they have to be considered as a part of the labor reservoir which can be brought into this Nation's effort if we move forward to full employment.

Mr. OSMERS. How much of a dent do you suppose the defense industries and the draft will make in that group?

Mr. DAVIS. Directly and indirectly it can make a very considerable change in those conditions.

I want to avoid a quantitative estimate because I just don't have the data, but it will make a change in that situation.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you think, Mr. Davis, that the defense industries will directly affect these people or that other workers will move into the defense industries and that these people that are poorly employed in agriculture will then move into the jobs vacated by those that are going into defense industries?

Mr. DAVIS. Both—it will work in both ways.

Now, take this smokeless powder plant that is located down at Radford, Va.

Mr. OSMERS. Is that the one down near Pulaski?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes. The Department of Agriculture through the agencies active in the State have made a very complete survey of the people who are living, say, within a radius of 15 or 20 miles—driving miles from that plant.

The figures we presented to the Commission in support of that plant's location down there showed that almost half of the farmers who live in those counties and who fall within a 25-mile radius of the factory have an annual income of less than $500 a year.

And I suppose that on the average in that group the earnings per worker don't amount to more than $300 a year.

Now, we have felt in my division that in employing for the operation of the plant you should have a very definite priority established for the people who want jobs and need jobs and who now live within a communiting distance from that factory; that they should have a priority of employment over the people who hope to move in from the outside.

It seems to me it makes sense, and I have some figures on that. Within a practical radius a survey shows that members of farm families there who would be available for off-farm work but who have not yet applied for work amounts to 1,483. Now, those who have applied but have not yet been employed amount to 618.

Mr. OSMERS. How many will the plant employ when it gets in operation?

Mr. DAVIS. A minimum of 5,000, I would say.

Mr. OSMERS. Would that indicate that you do not have enough local labor in that area?

Mr. DAVIS. I would say you will not be able to supply all the demand from that radius, but that those who do want to work from the neighborhood should be given the priority, assuming that they are skilled and can meet the requirements.

MIGRANTS FLOCK TO VIRGINIA

Mr. OSMERS. I was talking with a friend last night who just returned from a trip down through that area on other business, and he told me that around the town of Pulaski, Va., there were large camps springing up with license plates from all over the United States.

Mr. DAVIS. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. I want to go back to that plant in a little while, but I noticed that on the selective service questionnaire there is a question:

> What is your relation to agriculture?

Does that question mean that exemptions are going to be made for some farm workers or farmers?

Mr. DAVIS. It doesn't mean, sir, as I understand it, that a national rule is going to be established and every man in agriculture who applies for deferment because he is in agriculture is going to be granted deferment.

Mr. **Osmers**. Well, would you say there is an ample supply of labor in agriculture today?

Mr. **Davis**. As a general statement; yes. In particular operations and in particular areas and most especially at particular times of the year in a locality that may not be true. I think the general rule which probably will be followed by the county boards on a matter of this sort will be to give a great deal of attention to the seasonal demands in that area. They will be pretty careful not to take men or boys who are needed during the peak of employment demand right there until that peak has passed, thus providing another year for adjustment before the matter comes up.

Mr. **Osmers**. Not to call those men until after the peak has been reached and passed?

Mr. **Davis**. Yes; that is my understanding.

Mr. **Osmers**. Now, you have discussed in your general remarks one question that the committee had on its mind, and that was the question that has been before the committee constantly, involving the decentralization of industry or the spreading of industry throughout world areas in particular.

Do you feel that wherever it can be done it should be done?

Mr. **Davis**. Yes; and I don't think we have been able to accomplish as much in that direction with these defense efforts as we should have.

There is a certain inertia in industrial management that resists going into new and untried locations. It takes a positive showing of advantages in some alternative location to overcome that and that is perfectly understandable.

Here is the situation as we approach this defense proposition. Modern warfare has become a totally different thing from what it used to be. Private industry has to be mobilized and organized to do a sort of job that ordinary manufacturing and commercial practice in the past may not have trained them to do.

For instance, their research in the field of explosives may not be as complete as is needed at this time, because, after all, they follow the research that is applicable to their own problems in manufacturing and distribution.

On the other hand, in the Army there is only a limited research and experimental work carried on. That is mainly devoted to the old types of warfare, and I believe there is an ever-widening gap in between what industry has done in research and what the Army has done in research that needs to be filled by the best kind of technical and scientific brains that can be brought in from civilian life into the Army. I just don't think that is being done.

Now, we are up against that all the time in the location of these plants. I was telling Congressman Curtis and Congressman Sparkman, before the committee met this morning, about the problems that we were encountering in trying to establish locations for TNT plants.

LOCATION OF TNT PLANTS

A TNT plant, of course, when it is located, more or less determines the general region in which shell- and bomb-loading plants have to be established because these loading plants have to draw their supplies from the TNT plant and the ammonia plants, which make nitric acid and ammonium nitrate.

Once you locate those important supplies, then you put limits on the areas beyond which you cannot go in putting these other loading plants.

I am convinced that adequate research has not been done in the past and planning has not been done in the past to determine whether or not you can't just as well get the sulfuric acid of the high concentration that you need in a TNT plant and turn it right back into industrial use in the form of spent acid down in that region from Little Rock to Shreveport to Jackson, Miss.—in that general area, just as an illustration.

I am not convinced that you cannot do it there just as well as you can do it in Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, and Buffalo, which are the places listed now by the War Department where this sulfuric acid condition exists.

With respect to ammonia, the two large plants in commercial production use a coke process in producing the hydrogen which goes into that product, and the only coke they use on a broad commercial scale is that which comes from West Virginia and eastern Kentucky coal fields.

It is a high metallurgical coke. So that now, when the War Department asks them where they can produce ammonia, they say that the only place we know we can do it is a place that we can use the coke from that area.

I say that if we had been studying this problem, the Nation could have tested out the fuels and the coals from many other regions, and could have developed an answer to the question as to whether they could do the job or not.

It could have been found out whether or not these vast byproduct hydrogen sources could be used in ammonia manufacture. But now, when the whip of speed is on and that research has not been done, we are up against that question.

I am hopeful, however, that enough is being done right now so that when the question of more production comes up we are going to be able to broaden the area to a greater extent than this map shows.

Mr. Osmers. We have been confronted with conflicting testimony, not necessarily in connection with industries which require raw materials taken from the ground, as to the advisability of using the so-called ghost towns where industries have moved or from which industry has moved as compared to the alternative of going out into some rural area and establishing an entirely new operation.

Of course witnesses have made powerful arguments that the ghost town has the transportation, the buildings, the sanitary facilities—in many cases the labor—and that it gives an industrial development a head start over any rural area that might be found.

Of course I think one of the greatest impediments to adequate and careful planning in this whole proposition is speed. You have pointed that out.

Mr. Davis. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. The speed that Congress and the people of the country are demanding—demanding that your Commission attain certain objectives within certain lengths of time. And I presume that hangs heavy over all the work that you do, does it not?

Mr. Davis. It is a prime factor and when you are sitting across the table arguing with an Army officer about the location of a plant and he says to you: "Are you willing to take the responsibility for setting back production from this plant for a matter of months?"

Then you have a real question to answer.

Now, I want to say this, Congressman, on this question of ghost towns as against rural areas, I don't believe a conflict exists because there are many regions which I could point out on this map where both conditions exist—that is, stranded populations by reason of an industry slowing down, plus a great deal of rural unemployment right around it.

You take what we call the tri-State area in southern Kansas, southwestern Missouri—it is really four States because you have northwest Arkansas and northeast Oklahoma, all of them feeding in that area.

There is a great deal of coal-mine labor, men who are used to handling explosives there, and there is a surrounding agricultural population with insufficient income.

The situation that exists in southern Illinois in the coal fields down there at Carbondale—that is another situation over which Sidney Hillman and I could sit down and reach an agreement in about 2 minutes as between his conception that we want to utilize the so-called ghost towns, which means stranded populations——

SHOULD TAP AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Mr. Osmers. Particularly of an industrial nature, you mean.

Mr. Davis. Yes and my contention that they should be located where they can tap these reservoirs of agricultural labor—Fort Smith and western Arkansas. I mean, you can find lots of these places that meet both requirements.

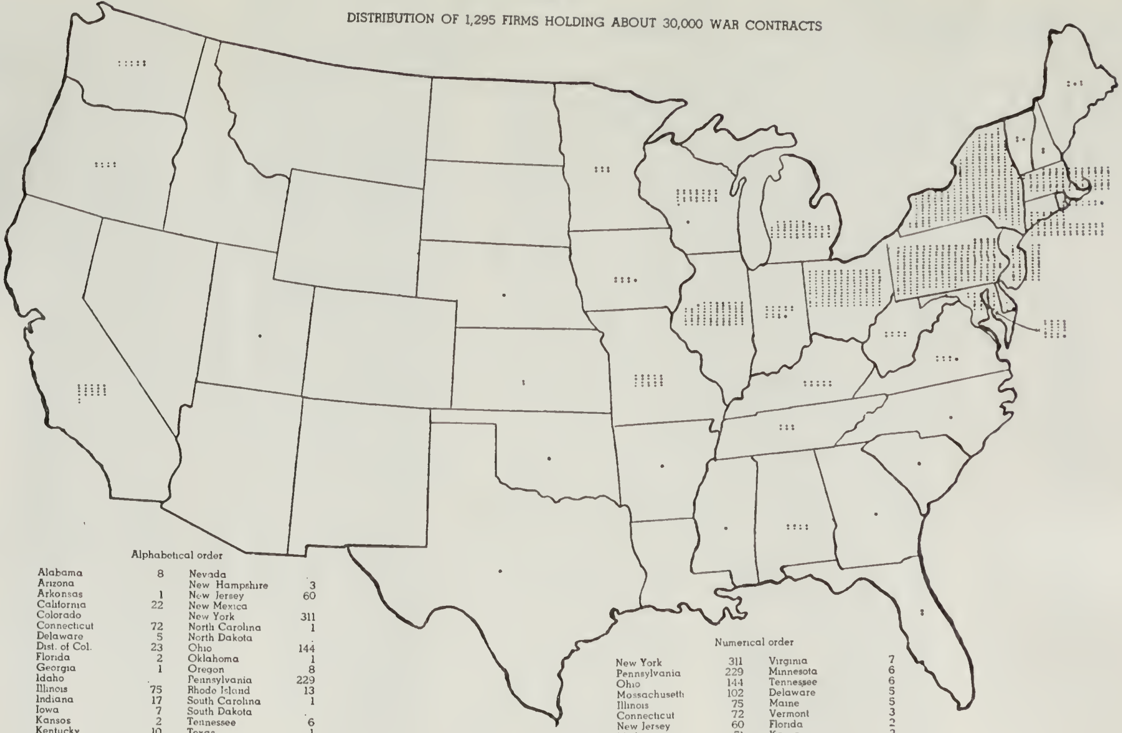
Mr. Curtis. At that point I would like to ask you what types of national-defense industries can be placed in areas that are entirely agricultural and still be worked out without too much difficulty and without a great lack of previously skilled workers?

Mr. Davis. Well, again, Congressman Curtis, I don't believe that you can pick an area that is completely rural. That is, where you have no town, no sanitation, no educational facilities; where your transportation may be limited; and where there is an absence of skilled labor, and put in any good-sized industry there. But I believe you can select towns and cities that are accessible to these rural areas and find those that meet conditions for satisfactory production.

For instance, water supply is a very important item. One reason why a camp, and I am getting out of my field now because the

1917

DISTRIBUTION OF 1,295 FIRMS HOLDING ABOUT 30,000 WAR CONTRACTS



Alphabetical order

Alabama	8	Nevada	.
Arizona		New Hampshire	3
Arkansas	1	New Jersey	60
California	22	New Mexica	
Colorado		New York	311
Connecticut	72	North Carolina	1
Delaware	5	North Dakota	.
Dist. of Col.	23	Ohio	144
Florida	2	Oklahoma	1
Georgia	1	Oregon	8
Idaho	.	Pennsylvania	229
Illinois	75	Rhode Island	13
Indiana	17	South Carolina	1
Iowa	7	South Dakota	.
Kansas	2	Tennessee	6
Kentucky	10	Texas	1
Louisiana	1	Utah	1
Maine	5	Vermont	3
Maryland	24	Virginia	7
Massachusetts	102	Washington	10
Michigan	51	West Virginia	8
Minnesota	6	Wisconsin	29
Mississippi	1	Wyoming	.
Missouri	20		
Montana			1,295
Nebraska	1		

Division of Statistics
Council of National Defense
1-10-18

Numerical order

New York	311	Virginia	7
Pennsylvania	229	Minnesota	6
Ohio	144	Tennessee	6
Massachusetts	102	Delaware	5
Illinois	75	Maine	5
Connecticut	72	Vermont	3
New Jersey	60	Florida	2
Michigan	51	Kansas	2
Wisconsin	29	New Hampshire	2
Maryland	24	Arkansas	1
Dist. of Col.	23	Georgia	1
California	22	Louisiana	1
Missouri	20	Mississippi	1
Indiana	17	Nebraska	1
Rhode Island	13	North Carolina	1
Kentucky	10	Oklahoma	1
Washington	10	South Carolina	1
Alabama	8	Texas	1
Oregon	8	Utah	1
West Virginia	8		
Iowa	7		1,295

Defense Commission does not pass on the location of Army sites or matters of that sort, but a camp was moved out of one State into another after it had been tentatively chosen, because it was found that the construction of an adequate water supply for the number of men who were to go there would cost millions of dollars.

It was possible, by going to another place, to get a water supply that was either presently available or could be made available at a much lower cost.

Mr. CURTIS. It is also true, is it not, that in many agricultural areas there are some very highly skilled workers?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Who are temporarily working some place else and would like to return.

Mr. DAVIS. I believe that is true.

Mr. CURTIS. One day last week we had before this committee two western Kansas boys who were employed in the Glenn Martin airplane factory at Baltimore. Both had received their training in the Middle West and both preferred to return to their homes.

Here is something I would like to inquire into. A pay roll of a given size in a rural area as compared to a pay roll of the same size in a highly industrial area, a large city, is there any figure available or any data available as to where that pay roll is spent? Which one goes into the purchases of more heavy goods?

Mr. DAVIS. There may be—I don't have such data, however.

Mr. CURTIS. Would you care to venture an opinion on it?

Mr. DAVIS. It would seem to me that if you get into a region where men can live at home and commute to their jobs and where the proportion of income that has to be paid for rent would be relatively low as compared to what they are going to have to pay if we bring about out of this defense effort, an overtaxing of existing industrial regions.

I have a map here [see opposite page]. I don't know whether it is the kind of map that could be reproduced in the committee report. It shows the conditions that existed in 1917, in this so-called industrial triangle, where this country developed areas of acute labor shortage and transportation congestion, while at the same time in other parts of the United States there were pools of unemployment, and where there was an absence of transportation congestion.

BLOCKED CONCENTRATION OF BUSINESS IN 1917

It resulted, as you may recall, in an order being issued to prevent any further concentration of business in that area for a time, because the railroads simply could not handle the in-and-out transportation, and because of the labor shortage that existed.

Now I think we should try, insofar as possible, to avoid a repetition of that condition as we move forward toward comparatively full employment in this country.

Mr. OSMERS. I would like to ask a question which involves farm families and other families that are being moved as a result of the establishment of Army camps and plants throughout the country. There must be some of that going on. Have you any idea as to the numbers and as to what they are doing for the future?

Mr. Davis. Yes; I have a list here, which I will not guarantee either as to its completeness or its accuracy, of the estimates that cover the industrial plant situation where they have had to buy up considerable acreage of land and cover as well as what we call military sites, which include the encampments and Government proving grounds and so forth.

It shows that over 1,000,000 acres are being taken over into these encampment or military areas, and into industrial sites where there is a major displacement of farm families. For those where estimates are available I have included the number of families that are being displaced. It will be understood that there are much greater acreages for various purposes where the displacement presents no serious social problems—perhaps over 6,000,000 more acres.

While this is relatively small compared with the total displaced because of conditions we have discussed before, it is a very acute problem and it is one on which we are spending a great deal of time.

The total number of families, as nearly as we can estimate it, is probably around 7,000 on these sites where there is major displacement of farm families.

Mr. Osmers. They are people that formerly lived on the sites that you have acquired.

Mr. Davis. Or that the Army is in process of acquiring.

Mr. Osmers. Seven thousand families?

Mr. Davis. Now, that does not mean that those 7,000 families, all of them, have to have assistance in becoming relocated, but we are asking that this policy be established, that consideration be given to the out-of-pocket expenses imposed upon the farmers when suddenly dispossessed—that prior preference in employment, if employment is available in the community in these defense plans, prior preference be given to the displaced people who want jobs, even ahead of others in the same neighborhood who will apply for jobs.

We are cooperating with Farm Security Extension Service and other agencies in the Department of Agriculture to develop a program to assist the farmers in relocation through loans and grants. We have met with the Budget Bureau and have discussed with them what the immediate need is, and then what the prospective need is to give relief to these families.

That has been one of the hot spots in some places, and I am satisfied again that the urge for speed in this thing has prevented the same kind of care in working out the job that was possible to give, let us say, when T. V. A. had to displace people as flooded areas developed, or as the Forestry Service and National Park Service have been able to give in their acquisition program.

But I think that, in cooperation with the Army, we are making some real progress on the method of land acquisition, and we are arranging to do what we can to lessen the shock and to assist these people who are displaced in finding locations.

Mr. Osmers. And that problem is receiving very careful consideration, I can see from your testimony.

Mr. Davis. That is right.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE USE NOT EFFECTIVE

Mr. Osmers. Now, is the United States Employment Service being used to assist in the distribution of labor in the defense program?

Mr. DAVIS. It is being used, but I do not believe, and I am sure Commissioner Hillman agrees with me, that it is not being used as effectively as it might be.

Some things need to be worked out there, bearing in mind that the Government is not operating the plants itself. In most cases a contract is made with an operating company to hire the men and run the plant.

The Hercules Powder Co., in the case of Radford, Va., for instance, has such a contract. So unless the Commission insists in advance in the contract that certain practices in employment be followed out, the Commission itself completely lacks any authority to tell this company what it shall do. It becomes a question of moral suasion at that point, but we are working on it, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. OSMERS. The final phase of the questioning that I have in mind deals entirely with our situation after the defense program is over, or after the arrival of peace in the world, and so on.

Now, do you believe that a program can be worked out for maintaining the level of industrial production, the high level that we are going to reach under the defense program?

Mr. DAVIS. You used the verb "can." I believe it can.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, then, I will put it "is it"?

Mr. DAVIS. It is going to take a higher degree of planning and cooperation than we have manifested up to date to do it.

SHOULD PLAN PUBLIC WORKS

I believe that men should be at work right now perfecting plans for worth-while public-work projects which will really contribute to the total wealth of this Nation, so that as the defense efforts subside we can get men to work.

It is inconceivable to me that we can use successfully all of our manpower and our resources in a military effort and we can't do it in a peace effort.

I would put those blueprints away after they were perfected. They would cover the field of roads and hospitalization and so many things that you can think about that are actually worth while and would add to our national wealth, so that you can just practically press a button and get the thing started if and when we have to.

Mr. OSMERS. Here is what comes to my mind. For more than a week we have been holding hearings here in Washington. We have had a veritable parade of witnesses coming before us. Every one of them, high and low, have said that what we need at this time is adequate planning on a scale that we haven't thought about before, to cushion the shock that unemployment will bring.

The Secretary of Labor came as near as any of our witnesses who were in Government toward saying that anything was being done about it. She said that her Department—I don't remember her exact words—but her Department was making some study as to the effects of peace upon labor.

Well, as worth while as those efforts will be or may be, we know that unless it is tied in with our entire economy merely to gather facts on labor will be of no avail.

Now, strange as it seems, the work of this committee, which started out with, we might say, a minor agricultural problem has now come to the point where we are dealing with a very, very important problem that will occur in the future.

Mr. DAVIS. Right.

Mr. Osmers. Now, I want to get back, as I said I would, to this plant that you are establishing in Virginia, where you will not be able to find all the 5,000 employees in that immediate area.

READJUSTMENT OF POWDER-PLANT WORKERS

People must migrate from other parts of the United States, near and far, to that plant. They are there now in their cars, camping outside of the town, with license plates from every State in the Union.

The making of powder is one of the manufacturing operations that will cease when the emergency ceases, and powder plants are not of a character or nature that can be immediately turned over into some civilian use.

Mr. Davis. That is right.

Mr. Osmers. What should this Government do, in your opinion, to readjust those people when they are out of employment and their need for adjustment arrives?

Mr. Davis. I think the problem of readjustment will be minimized if you can keep these plants out of the regions that are already heavily industrialized. That is the first thing I would do.

Mr. Osmers. Yes.

Mr. Davis. I would keep them out because many of these people can find homes, and I think an effort should be made to that end. I will go back a little bit—like the Secretary of Labor, we are studying that problem—to the problem of locating these people out where there is a small tract of land, where in addition to drawing a pay roll they can at the same time make some of their living.

Mr. Osmers. Do some subsistence farming.

Mr. Davis. Yes; when this is over you are going to have down in the Radford area a large group of people who are used to factory operation who were not accustomed to it before.

I believe that there is an opportunity for industrial employment down there that should be taken advantage of; and I want to say again I believe the Government should work out a program of public works which can follow this effort, although I don't think this effort is going to be over next year or the year after. I think we are going to be in this for some time to come.

Mr. Osmers. And the longer it lasts the greater the shock will be.

Mr. Davis. It will be a real shock and the more we concentrate these people by putting them in one section of the country, the greater the shock will be.

Also because after all if a man is located in an area where he can make a part of his living and if you bring that about in these new plants or if he is a man who is living 10 or 15 miles away and pooling up with his neighbors to drive in to work and back, and if he spends his income in improving his position on the farm—paying off his debts, getting in shape to produce more of his living out there than he ever did before, you are going to find that that fellow isn't as much of a problem as if he had moved down into a high-rent area where, when this thing is over, there just isn't any place for him.

Mr. Osmers. I don't want to debate the issue with you, but there are some counterarguments to that. For example, in the district in which I live we have plants that make automobiles and plants that make aluminum, and soap, and oil, and airplane motors, and so on.

Now if people move into that district, that area, to obtain a defense job, when the defense effort is over we will say that 20 percent of the wage earners in that area are displaced, but there may be increases in the manufacture of passenger automobiles and in the manufacture of civilian aluminum products, and there will be four-fifths of the people in that area still gainfully employed in civilian industry. The question is, Who can take care of those who have not been retained, from a tax angle?

SUPERIMPOSING ON DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

Mr. **Davis**. I share your unwillingness to debate the question because I think if we had time and cleared up some definitions, we probably could have a meeting of minds on it. But I think the one factor that you need to take into account there is that these existing nonmilitary enterprises are going to have an expanding weight of activity as the national income increases. And more and more of these industries you refer to as having been located there already are going to draw in more people to work in that community. That I object to, the superimposing on a defense industry which means a net bringing in when you are likely to have to contend with the problem of unemployment within the established industries, if and when Federal expenditures drop and the national income decreases, and the demand for production goods and so forth from these industries already established subsidies.

Mr. **Osmers**. Of course, there is one big argument in favor, we will say, of the establishment of a plant in a place in Virginia such as we have been discussing, and that is in cost of living. The cost of living there is a great deal under what it would be in a fully developed industrial area, particularly with reference to housing and food.

Mr. **Davis**. It should be.

Mr. **Osmers**. And it is.

Mr. **Davis**. Yes; I think that is right.

Mr. **Osmers**. There is no question about that. Now, my final question, Mr. Davis, is this: What would you suggest as the planning body or the planning agency to make the plans that we all say are so necessary and so needed?

Mr. **Davis**. I don't know that I am a competent witness on that. The National Resources Planning Board is doing work in that line. It may be that a compact body with that definite assignment will need to be established, either by a further development of the Resources Planning Board or something else.

I would like to put in a little plug for Federal Reserve while I am on this thing, gentlemen, being more or less detached at the moment from the immediate critical questions although we have got plenty of questions ahead of us.

Some time ago the Federal Reserve added to its staff of research men and economists some very good men who have had experience in thinking about these things. They are engaged in a comprehensive long-time survey that includes what kind of problems we are going to meet if and when this war subsides, and when we emerge into the kind of a world we are going to live in.

I would like to see the study there hog-tied in so that you would make use of what they are doing.

AGENCIES PLANNING FOR FUTURE OF WORKERS

I think there are many agencies that are thinking and planning about this but they do need to be brought together and buttoned up in one agency that is given that concrete responsibility.

Mr. **Osmers**. Would you say there is a need in this situation for more congressional authority? By that I mean the finest plans that might be formulated by any executive board or bureau would have no meaning when the crises we anticipate arise unless it had congressional authority to carry it through. And, of course, we have no way of knowing what the type and nature of the Congress will be at that particular time——

Mr. **Davis**. That is right.

Mr. **Osmers**. But I just wondered whether you thought Congress should give some thought to this problem.

Mr. **Davis**. Indeed, I do. I have felt for a long while that one of the weaknesses in our governmental set-up—I don't mean currently, I mean in the very nature of things—is the fact that there isn't any knitting together of the legislative and the executive in carrying out a continuous program.

You gentlemen may enact a law but you have no continuing hand or responsibility in its administration, and, similarly, men in the executive branches, while the Congress is always considerate and generous in consulting them, after all, they don't have the final responsibility and they have no direct representation in this body which gives them the close hand that they have in, let us say, parliamentary types of government in enacting the laws.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is one of the few advantages of parliamentary type, I think.

Mr. **Davis**. That is right. Anything that can knit together the executive and the legislative branches in a continuous program is all to the good, in my judgment.

Mr. **Osmers**. That is all I have.

MIGRANTS LACK ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Mr. **Sparkman**. Mr. Davis, I want to ask you a few questions. We are studying the migrant problem, and one of the greatest causes of migration is the lack of economic opportunity.

We have had testimony before this committee from time to time as to the excess population in certain regions of the country. Those regions generally are agricultural. But I am thinking particularly of my own section, although I know it must be true in other sections of the country, too.

I was glad to hear you say that as we went into further phases of this program these defense installations would be decentralized still further in order to take up part of the slack in those rural areas.

I was interested in a remark you made about ammonia and the argument that the coke of one particular area had to be used because of the characteristics of that particular coal, and possibly because of the habit they had gotten into of using that particular coal.

Mr. DAVIS. That is the point I complained about. Nobody is in position to answer that positively, because they haven't felt compelled to do any research in that field.

The physical characteristics that led them to hesitate about establishing a plant to use another type of coke are these: In the continuous-automatic-furnace method, which a large-scale operation requires, the quantity of ash in coke and the fusing point of that coke causes certain or has certain mechanical defects. That is, if it is high ash which fuses at a low point, you have the clinker problem. Clinkers do not bother you in a small hand operation, but in an automatic operation they might be very troublesome.

Then, the other thing that the chemical engineers are afraid of is that a coal which has a high sulfur content carries sulfur over into the water gas, which has to be scrubbed out, as they call it, and purified in order to make the purer hydrogen that they need in making ammonia.

They have this word for it: They say that sulfur is "the bad boy" in the process, and they are afraid to risk going into cokes that have a high sulfur content, because they are afraid that the extra purification expense, both as to capital cost and operating cost, will make it uneconomic. But I don't believe anybody knows that it costs more to take out 2 percent of sulfur than it does to take out 1 percent of sulfur or anything of that sort. It just has not been done.

Mr. SPARKMAN. May I ask you if, in this new ammonia plant that has been authorized for Muscle Shoals, that same process is to be used?

USE ALABAMA COKE TO MAKE AMMONIA

Mr. DAVIS. Yes; and they plan to take coke from the Birmingham area there, because, while that coke has not been used in any quantity, they are running experiments with it now—it has not been used to any great extent in this process, but nevertheless its characteristics are so nearly comparable to the West Virginia coke that the engineers are confident there will be no particular difficulty with it.

In other words, they do make a high-grade metallurgical coke at Birmingham, and that plant intends to use that coke.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That was my impression. So, after all, it comes to the point you make that a lot of it is inertia.

Mr. DAVIS. And I wanted to say that recently in my office we have had meetings with the Bureau of Mines. That Bureau has agreed to go to work on this proposition of coke from various areas so that we may accumulate, and know how, and if we have time enough we may have the answer to some of those questions. And then again I am not convinced that you can't get it without using coke at all.

That is, a good deal of hydrogen can be produced from natural gas, or from petroleum.

I have been talking to the head of one company which has at the present time enough hydrogen as a byproduct from its operation in northern Louisiana to make, oh, let us say, 90 or 100 tons of ammonia a day, if that particular hydrogen can be purified without any great extent, and they believe it can. Now, those things need to be explored so that when a recommendation comes over to the Commission for an ammonia plant, and they propose to locate it in a region already highly industrialized, we will have an alternative to suggest.

You know we can't accomplish very much if we are going to have to sit there and wait for everything to be rolled up in a package and come to us for approval.

If we reject the recommendation or request we are criticized for holding up the defense effort. But if all these possibilities were thoroughly explored we could come over with an alternative which would take care of the situation.

EXPANDED AVIATION INDUSTRY

Mr. Sparkman. I noticed in the press yesterday, or the day before, a story about the expansion of the aviation industry. A great part of it has been doubled, trebled and quadrupled. But the thing that was quite noticeable to me was that in spite of all this argument for decentralization and moving into strategic areas, practically all of that expansion has been right where the plants were already located.

Mr. Davis. That is quite true up until recently. There was the contention on the part of management in the aircraft industry that there just isn't enough management and know-how available to spread it around. When they were asked to double plant capacity they felt that they could double it and manage it if it were located fairly close to headquarters, but if you put it over 500 or 1,000 miles away, management just wouldn't be available.

Now, recently, as you know, Government-financed plants have been approved for some midwestern cities—assembly plants. Those plants have been approved for Omaha and Kansas City, and I think some more may follow. These are assembly plants. And I am encouraged by the fact that these assembly plants are being located in the interior of the United States.

It is a break in the aircraft situation which you described accurately as having obtained heretofore.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, eventually the expansion must be to the interior, isn't that your view?

Mr. Davis. That is my view.

BUILDING NEW PLANTS, OLD ONES IDLE

Mr. Sparkman. There is one thing that has impressed me again with the failure on somebody's part, and I am again speaking of something that I am more or less familiar with because it happens to be in my own district.

Down at Muscle Shoals, Plant No. 1 was built during the World War at a cost of several million dollars. There are about 1,700 acres with a large number of very large, substantially built buildings, and a complete village with all the utilities. Yet all during the period that has elapsed since that time and even up to now no use has been made of that plant.

I just cannot understand the War Department locating any number of plants throughout the country and putting up expensive buildings, and at the same time leaving this investment of many millions of dollars and 1,700 acres of land and a village with all the public utilities unused.

I will say that the village is occupied now by T. V. A. workers but that is simply in order to make use of that part of it.

Mr. DAVIS. I don't know that the War Department should be singled out for the sole criticism.

Mr. SPARKMAN. No; and I don't either.

Mr. DAVIS. The War Department had worked out a program for modernizing and using the ammonium nitrate unit.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is Plant No. 2; I referred to Plant No. 1.

MUSCLE SHOALS PLANT UNUSED

Mr. DAVIS. I don't believe the technicians felt that the equipment in Plant No. 1, which deals with an obsolete process, can now be economically used.

But the buildings are there, and the facilities, and the utilities, which may have some use.

But the Army also figured that to feed this ammonium nitrate plant, which has 300 tons a day capacity, they have intended to use those facilities by establishing production there of ammonia at the rate of 150 tons a day, which is the quantity that feeds that 300-ton ammonium nitrate plant.

The delay in getting that done was not due to the Army, in my judgment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean Plant No. 1 would be used in that connection?

Mr. DAVIS. No; I am talking still of Plant No. 2.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, I am trying to hold the discussion to Plant No. 1. I realize that the equipment—and I think it is generally admitted—could not be used. But I am certain that a great deal of the property and investment could be utilized for some part of the defense program.

Mr. DAVIS. Not only that, but if you go to nitrate Plant No. 2, and go to that building that now houses the compression outfits—32 air compression units down there, and see that magnificent bunch of equipment which is still kept turned over and in fine condition, it makes you wonder why some use can't be made of it.

I have been all over that and discussed it with the technicians down there. Up to now, however, they have not seen daylight yet on Plant No. 1, but they are trying to determine what is to be done with the liquid-air compressors which are just at the end of where they intend to establish their line of the new ammonia plant.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I understand that sometime during the present year the Chemical Warfare Service asked for permission to utilize Plant No. 1, but permission was not given. Instead they are spending a good deal of money at the Edgewood Arsenal to expand the facilities there.

Mr. Davis. I am not familiar with that, Congressman Sparkman, but I would like to have any information you have on that, so I can look into it, because I think, as do you, that facilities that exist in that area should be used to the fullest extent.

SOUTHERN BUILDINGS STAND EMPTY

Mr. Sparkman. Then this thought comes to my mind, too, that down in my section, and I am sure this is true everywhere, there are a great many empty buildings that formerly were used for factory purposes of some kind.

Most of them in my section are textile mills that have gone out of business. Those buildings are idle and could be used for storage purposes.

In some instances they have been used for cotton warehouses.

I have often wondered why, in our defense set-up, with a great deal of space being used simply for Federal storage, those buildings could not be utilized instead of putting up new buildings and buying new land, which after the emergency probably will not be used.

Mr. Davis. Of course the War Department has a very comprehensive plan for its storage depots at the present time.

Have you discussed that with any men in the Quartermaster Corps?

Mr. Sparkman. Yes; I have referred it to them at different times and gotten nowhere.

Mr. Davis. Under the administrative direction of Donald Nelson we are making inventories of available facilities and following them through to try to get them used. It takes time to get these things going.

The business of the United States for 22 years was peace and not war, and actually all planning and preparations for war were discredited during that period.

Now, to reverse that trend and get going in the other direction involves some time. I don't know how you can avoid that.

Mr. Sparkman. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. Mr. Davis, there are some questions I would like to ask you, but this is our last day and we have so many witnesses to hear.

Your statement is so comprehensive that I do not feel I could bring out anything that is not contained therein.

It is going to be a very valuable contribution to this committee, and we want to thank you for coming here and giving us the benefit of your opinions.

Mr. Davis. Thank you. Would you like me to put in the record this statement of where industrial plants and military training areas are located and the estimated land requirements and the families that are displaced by it? I am including two tables showing major projects, one where the displacement of farm families has been material and another where the displacement has been inconsequential.

The Chairman. We will be very pleased to have it.

(The tables referred to are as follows:)

Major projects of land acquisition for defense plants and military areas affecting displacements of farm families[1]

Location	Type	Land acreage required	Estimated number families displaced
Alabama Ordnance works, Childersburg, Ala	Loading plant and smokeless powder plant.	28,800	300
Camp Croft, Spartanburg, S. C	Infantry replacement center	20,000	200
Camp Robinson, Little Rock, Ark	Training area	40,112	340
Camp Shelby, DeSoto National Forest, Miss	Expansion of facilities	97,200	105
Camp Stewart, Savannah, Ga	Anti-aircraft firing range	215,000	600
Fourth Corps Training Center, La	Training area	67,440	379
Fort Jackson, S. C	Expansion of facilities	32,000	184
Fort Knox, Ky	Enlargement of present reservation.	51,300	437
Fort Riley, Kansas	Expansion of facilities	32,370	100
Fort McClellan, Ala	do	36,240	342
Fort Leonard Wood, Rolla, Mo	Training area	64,000	304
Elwood ordnance plant, Joliet, Ill	Shell and bag loading plant	14,000	120
Iowa ordnance works, Burlington, Iowa	TNT plant	20,800	183
Jefferson Proving Grounds, Madison County, Ind	Ordnance proving grounds	50,000	600
Kankakee ordnance works, Joliet, Ill	TNT plant	21,000	180
Kingsbury ordnance plant, Union Center, Ind	Shell-loading plant	16,000	125
New River ordnance plant, Pulaski, Va	Bag loading	3,200	87
Pine Plain Military Reservation, N. Y		75,000	875
Plum Brook ordnance plant, Sandusky, Ohio	TNT plant	7,000	122
Ravenna ordnance works, Ravenna, Ohio	Shell loading	22,000	212
Training area, First Army, Va	Training area	110,000	619
Weldon Springs, St. Charles, Mo	TNT plant	16,500	265
Wolf Creek ordnance plant, Milan, Tenn	Bag-loading plant	26,600	413
Totals		1,096,562	7,092

[1] There are over 100 projects of minor acreage where the displacement of families is inconsequential.

Major projects of land acquisition for defense plants and military areas of low population density[1]

Location	Type	Land acreage required
Tonopah bombing range, Nevada	Bombing range	3,560,000
Arlington County, Oreg	do	93,346
Matagorda Island, Tex	do	35,220
Panama City, Fla	Aerial gunnery range	25,000
Wendover bombing range, Utah	Bombing range	1,560,000
Fort Bliss, El Paso, Tex	Expansion of facilities	51,300
Choctawhatchee National Forest, Fla	Aerial gunnery range	400,000
Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation (Hearst Ranch).	Artillery target range and maneuver area.	154,000
Leon Springs, Tex	Addition to Fort Sam Houston	13,253
Mojave Desert, Calif	Antiaircraft firing range	640,000
Fort Sill, Okla	Additional artillery firing ranges	19,405
Umatilla ammunition depot, Oregon	Ammunition depot	15,360

[1] Largely from public lands (including national forests), range lands and land grants.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reporter, Mr. Davis referred to some maps. Will you mark them as exhibits to his testimony.

(Maps were made a part of the record and are held in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Dr. Mark A. Dawber.

TESTIMONY OF DR. MARK A. DAWBER

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please give your full name and address to the reporter?

Mr. DAWBER. Yes; Mark A. Dawber, 111 East Twenty-sixth Street, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. And for whom are you speaking this morning—what organization?

Mr. DAWBER. I am speaking for the Home Missions Council of North America.

The CHAIRMAN. What denomination is that connected with?

Mr. DAWBER. That includes 28 denominations and other organizations doing missionary work in the entire United States. I am representing some 22,000,000 church members.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Dawber, we are very glad to have you here.

We have been impressed, in this hearing, with the need for the work that you and your associates are doing.

When a family becomes uprooted and goes away from home, it is no longer held by those ties of friends and church in its own communities.

We know that you are rendering a valuable service. We appreciate very much the valuable testimony Miss Lowry gave us in New York.

I understand you can tell us of the work of the Men's Home Missionary Council in this field and complete her presentation by a full discussion of the national situation.

We have long known of your primary work in this field, and I would like for the record to show as clearly as possible the character and extent of the work which your organization is currently engaged in, in connection with the interstate destitute migrants, and particularly, Dr. Dawber, I would like for you to tell us a little of how long your organization has been interested in the migrant field and the extent of the work you are now doing which covers migrants.

You may proceed in your own way.

Mr. DAWBER. I prepared here as I came here on the train, Mr. Chairman, just a brief statement setting forth something of the things that you have referred to, and if you don't mind I prefer to read what I have and then perhaps bring out the rest by questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

COUNCIL AIDS MIGRANTS

Mr. DAWBER. As I stated [reading] I am here to represent the Protestant churches of the United States which include some 28 denominations and other agencies, comprising about 28,000,000 church members.

This council, together with the council of women that Miss Lowry has represented, has done more to help the migrants individually and collectively than any other single agency in this country.

Long before Grapes of Wrath or any of the recent literature on this subject appeared this council was a voice crying in the wilderness of indifference and greed, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His path straight."

For 20 years this council has been devoting thought, time, and money to this migrant cause as a major interest. For years we were the only agency interested in rendering service to these people.

Our ministers, nurses, and welfare workers have been a benediction to these unfortunate and needy people.

Our only regret is that our financial resources have not enabled us to do 10 times more than we have done.

Naturally, we are tremendously concerned in the work of this committee and appreciate this opportunity of appearing to say a word. It is not necessary for me to convince you as to the facts of migration. That is beyond dispute. Or as to the necessity for me to say very much as to the terrible conditions that surround these folks, although there are those who are inclined to dispute the statement as to their condition.

When you have made every possible allowance for the spectacular and fictional appeals that have appeared as descriptive of the migrants' condition, the fact will still remain that they are too horrific for any decent American to accept complacently.

PREDICTS MIGRANT INCREASE

As to the future of migration. I am not willing to assume that you are satisfied, so I desire to register the conviction of my organization in this regard and our hopes. We believe we are going to have more migrants than fewer. There are some who are comforting themselves in the thought that our defense program will solve the problem of unemployment. That it will temporarily absorb many unemployed, and that the immediate future of migrancy will be relieved somewhat, there is no question.

But as to the defense program solving the basic problem in which we are concerned as a religious institution, I think there is little hope. There is great danger, we believe, that our defense program will be used as a "black out" for the constructive legislation that has been so courageously inaugurated by the present administration.

On the other hand, we are afraid it will be used as a smoke screen to hide the social cancer in the body politic.

I am not suggesting that this will be done deliberately but that the old, old human trait still exists: Because we put some chloroform on a bad tooth and it has stopped aching for a few minutes, we will refuse to have it pulled.

We are interested, and we appreciate the things which are being done from the point of relief, because we have discovered that, unless some constructive measures of relief are made possible, the work that we are doing is also exceedingly difficult.

That we shall have these migrants as a continuing part of agriculture for a long time is a fact to be reckoned with. Then we should face and at least provide for them the minimum education, health, economic and social life necessary for what we are pleased to call "the American way of life."

I think there are many reasons why this relief program and other forms of amelioration should continue, first because we believe it is right and our bounden duty as citizens, not merely as a hand-me-down sort of program, but rather as a handing-up program for those of us who want to discharge our responsibility as citizens.

PROTECTION FOR MIGRANT CITIZENS

We desire to say to you and through you to the Congress of the United States or anyone else, that we want these, our fellow citizens, cared for and as taxpayers we expect to take our share in paying for the bills.

Second, because we believe as a measure of defense against the forces which are destroying our democracy, such measures of relief and protection as have been evolved by this administration, such as the camps and other measures, are at least in the direction of sound defense.

We are concerned to protect ourselves against the forces outside our shores that we have reason to believe desire to destroy our American way of life. But there is a more subtle danger within—it is the millions of our citizens who have never known an American way of life such as we like to think of it.

A study of the loss of liberty in other lands will reveal that people who have lost their civil liberties or have surrendered them at first lost or never had the basic economic independence necessary to it.

But the organization I represent is not concerned merely with palliatives. That we must feed the hungry and provide clothes and shelter for those in need goes without saying. We are helping to do this, but we realize that mere benevolence, no matter how sincere and how well intentioned, is not enough. This is but first aid to the wounded. What we are more concerned with is ways and means to prevent the human wreckage.

Much of what we are doing both in church and state is like putting a poultice on a wooden leg.

MUST DEAL WITH BASIC CAUSES

The time has now arrived to face realistically the basic causes and to deal with them. Here again let me repeat that some of the steps already taken by the administration were in the right direction.

But what are some of the constructive preventive measures that might be considered in which my organization is particularly interested? First I would suggest that making it possible for thousands of farmers on the land to remain on it. This will require several considerations of which the following might be cited:

To assist them to become owners rather than remain tenants. John Ruskin once said: "The safest nation is the nation that can point to the largest number of farm homes that are owned by the people who live in them."

To protect those still on the land from being put off and thus adding to the ranks of migrants as the first constructive measure.

What this Nation needs is more farmers with less land rather than less farmers with more land.

Large-scale agriculture, like big business, is bad for democracy. Most people don't have enough religion to be entrusted with too much land—too much material wealth—and until they have it we will do well to institute those measures that will make for the widest possible ownership and distribution of productive property.

This, we believe, is a fundamental principle that must be recognized if we are going to solve this problem. All our talk about the glory of the machine age is futile if the masses of the people do not share in the glory. What on earth is the use of inventing the most perfect cutting razor if in the end you only succeed in cutting your throat with it?

To continue and strengthen the legislation that is designed to help back to the land thousands of families that have been swept off the land and are now migrants.

MISSOURI FARMERS WITHOUT LANDS

A recent report of Regional Director P. G. Beck, of the Farm Security Administration in Indianapolis, stated that this year, 1940, there were in Missouri over 5,000 farmers who last year were able to rent land but were not able to rent it this year.

Moreover, this program of rehabilitation deserves primary consideration over that of relief. The programs of relief, while necessary as a temporary measure, cannot go on forever. In the first place, we cannot continue to finance them, and in the second place the loss of morale of the people on relief is a much more serious form of bankruptcy than the mere bankruptcy of money or material things.

Again, this program of rehabilitation deserves our consideration from another point of view. In the long run it is the most economical way to deal with the problem.

The Vice President-elect, former Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, made an eloquent plea for the program in his recent testimony before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee. He pointed out that to support a family on work relief in the city cost an average of $800 per year per family; to support a family on relief in our rural areas costs about $350 per family. But the rehabilitation program, counting all losses on loans, all costs of supervision, and every other expense item, costs only $72 per family.

Relief leaves the family in the end no better off, whereas rehabilitation makes possible self-support and self-respect. From a social and spiritual point of view there is no comparison between these two methods.

CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES TOWARD SOLUTION

Third, the program of soil conservation and reforestation and flood control and irrigation are all a part of what we believe are constructive measures that will do much to assist in the solution of the problem.

Thousands of migrant families on the Pacific coast could be provided for in the territory of the Columbia River Basin. The same would be true in the Shasta Dam area and similar projects.

We cite these three as primary factors in meeting the problem of landless people, which we say is basic to the problem of migration.

They are also primary because they are basic to any continuing democratic civilization.

As I came out of the Union Station this morning on my way here I did what I always do. I stood for a few moments and read those impressive words that are engraved on the front of the beautiful building.

They were placed there, doubtless, to represent the facts of this Nation's life—to express those views that we profess to believe. Would to God we really did believe them and act upon them.

I cannot take time to read them all, but one brief statement is particularly apropos to what we are saying. I quote:

> The farm, best home of the family, main source of national wealth, foundation of civilized society, the natural providence.

The Home Missionary Council that I represent is very much concerned to do everything we possibly can to assist in making possible those measures that provide for this constructive rehabilitation of people on the land, and to do everything else necessary to make it possible for these people to take their place in our American society. (End reading.)

Mr. CURTIS. Dr. Dawber, the committee greatly appreciates the very fine statement that you have made.

It is gratifying to know that someone is engaged in the work that you are engaged in.

You have also favored us with a statement dealing with the basic causes of migration and giving us some concrete suggestions upon those things which stabilize population, and we do appreciate it.

I might ask you just a question or two in reference to your missionary work among migrants as a general proposition.

MIGRANTS ARE "UN-CHURCHED"

Are most of the migrants and migrant families throughout the country un-churched?

Mr. DAWBER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. We have received a number of estimates as to the number of migrants in this country, and it is our opinion there are perhaps 4,000,000 of them.

No doubt the churches of America would become very enlarged if the States of North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado, and Nebraska were entirely without churches, yet we have within our midst a roving population equaling the number of people in those several States, who are going about this country and as you say, they know not the American way of life.

That is one of the problems before us, is it not?

Mr. DAWBER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Dawber, we thank you very much for your kindness in coming here and the valuable contribution you have given us.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Mr. Galarza.

STATEMENT OF ERNESTO GALARZA, CHIEF OF DIVISION OF LABOR AND SOCIAL INFORMATION, PAN AMERICAN UNION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please give your name to the reporter?

Mr. GALARZA. Ernesto Galarza.

The CHAIRMAN. And whom do you represent?

Mr. GALARZA. I am at present Chief of the Division of Labor and Social Information of the Pan American Union.

The Pan American Union is an association of the 21 American Republics, established in 1889 for the purpose of exchanging mutual information upon the aspects of their life, economic organization, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. And where do you reside?

Mr. GALARZA. I reside in Washington, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long have you been such a representative?

Mr. GALARZA. I have been in the employ of the Pan American Union since 1936; and I may add that my appearance before the committee this morning is more in the nature of a personal appearance, if you will allow me to say so, because I came to this country originally as a migrant child and I have lived with these people about whom I wish to speak to you this morning, and have seen the conditions under which they work. And I wish to be considered in my appearance more in that light.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I want to say to you that you filed a very comprehensive and very valuable statement. I have read it through very carefully.

Mr. GALARZA. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And it will be inserted in the record just as you handed it to us.

Mr. Reporter, you will insert in the record at this point the prepared statement of Mr. Galarza.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF ERNESTO GALARZA, CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF LABOR AND SOCIAL INFORMATION OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

PROBLEMS OF MEXICAN MIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES

It is not often recognized that the migration of Mexican workers and their families to the United States since the beginning of the present century represents one of the most significant mass movements of population between two republics of the Western Hemisphere. This current of immigration back and forth across the border has resulted in the more or less permanent settlement in the United States of a Mexican population variously estimated at between one and a half to two million people or about 10 percent of the total population of Mexico. Originally concentrated in the States of Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado, the Mexican migrant gradually spread out until today he is to be found as far north as Oregon, Illinois, and New York.

The causes of this migration are well known—political instability below the border in times past, the promise of higher wages in the United States, the systematic recruiting of workers by railroad and agricultural interests, among others. In a broad sense, all the economic causes were related directly or indirectly to three major events—the construction of the railroads, the expropriation of peasant lands in Mexico, and the changing character of agricultural enterprise in southwestern United States.

Although this migration was of enormous economic and social significance, its direction and use was left to chance and the self-interest of individuals interested in the exploitation of the human labor it represented. Friendly cooperative international action was taken by the Governments of the United States and Mexico with regard to the exchange of goods, the adjustment of boundaries, and the flow of water, but never, so far as I know, with regard to the flow of working men, women, and children.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MEXICAN MIGRANTS

On the northern side of the border, many of the effects of this migration have been socially undesirable, both from the standpoint of the Mexican migrant and from that of the American communities in which they have concentrated. Overcrowding, slum areas, depressed wage scales, social and racial discrimination, heavy case loads on relief agencies have characterized Mexican migrant centers almost from the beginning.

As a result of adverse economic conditions in the United States in recent years, many of these people have thought of returning to their old homes, and a large number of them have done so. Among them were undoubtedly many who had entered the United States illegally and who were in constant fear of being deported. In fact, it is perfectly clear to anyone familiar with life in these Mexican centers that the fear of deportation often takes the proportions of a community psychosis, affecting even those who have legal status as resident aliens. The fear of becoming involved with immigration officials; the isolation from the main cultural, political, and social institutions of the United States; the unwillingness of many communities to assume permanent responsibility for the housing, health. educational, and relief problems often presented by the Mexicans; as well as the seasonal character of their work, has tended to keep this group of migrants ever on the move.

This constant mobility has in turn brought about certain conditions of which I hope this committee will take note. One of them is that the Mexican worker gets little opportunity to learn English, so that he is unable to understand the labor contracts which he signs, cannot accurately interpret laws and ordinances, and when questioned about routine immigration matters often becomes confused and contradictory. Moreover, the status of the Mexican migrant is deeply affected by the language barrier in the sense that he is barred from organized action to protect his interests as a worker. Mexican labor is often, and unjustly, represented as solely responsible for industrial conflict when as a matter of fact, anyone who has lived and worked with these people knows that trouble often arises from the lack of opportunity to present grievances, to negotiate, to bargain collectively on a fair and equitable basis.

MIGRANTS SEEK REPATRIATION

When the maladjustment of the Mexican population in the United States becomes acute, appeals are often made to the Mexican authorities by migrants who desire to become repatriated. These appeals have found a favorable response in Mexico. At various times the Mexican Government has expressed its interest in the systematic resettlement of returned immigrants, particularly in the northern States. One of the principal reasons given is that the Mexican farm laborer acquires certain skills in the United States which would be highly useful in connection with the agricultural improvement program which the Mexican Government has been fostering for a number of years.

A few months ago the Under Secretary of Foreign Relations, Señor Ramón Beteta, traveled extensively in the United States studying the problem of repatriation. I do not know of any concrete proposal that may have come of this trip, but I do know, from personal contact with Mexicans in this country, that many hopes were aroused which have thus far not materialized. More recently the Secretary of Interior of Mexico, Señor Ignacio García Tellez, stated that Mexico would continue to be deeply interested in developing a program of repatriation which would be economically sound and socially desirable.

In my opinion, such a program depends greatly upon adequate financing, for I doubt that the Mexican Government could, with its own resources, launch it immediately. And unless there are sufficient funds to receive these people below the border, set them up in agricultural or industrial pursuits, advance them credit and supply them with basic health and educational services, the whole process would be nothing more than indiscriminate dumping of human beings below the border. Inevitably many of these people would attempt to return to the United States, and the whole cycle would be repeated.

INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL INVOLVED

I take the liberty of pointing out to the committee that this problem is one of international good will and friendly inter-American relations as well as of agricultural economics and social welfare. International migratory movements of considerable importance have occurred in various parts of this hemisphere, notably between Santo Domingo and Haiti, Haiti and Cuba, Cuba and the United States, the West Indies and Central America, and Uruguay and Argentina. These migrations affect in many ways the economy, the culture, the social institutions, and eventually the international relations of the countries in which they occur. So it has been with Mexican immigration to the United States. A pioneering and statesmanlike effort on the part of these two countries in this field of human relations might well be an example to be followed by other American republics as a sound expression of inter-American cooperation.

It is with all these considerations in mind that I want to suggest that the time has come for the creation of a joint international agency, composed of representatives of the United States and Mexico, to develop and carry out a long-term program of resettlement, rehabilitation, and regulation of migration between the two republics. This program would be based upon the normal needs of agriculture north of the border, the further development of the land program of Mexico, the utilization of Mexican land resources, possibly United States capital or a joint international fund, and the technical knowledge and skill of citizens of both Mexico and the United States who understand this problem from every angle.

Such an international commission might well function within the framework of the Pan American Union, or it might be an integral part of the rapidly expanding mechanism which is now being created to obtain greater cooperation among the American republics. It would help to create more friendly relations among the border population through the elimination of unnecessary causes of friction and misunderstanding. Relief loads in certain communities in the United States might be cut down through sound rehabilitation and resettlement. Above all, it would, I believe, be a demonstration, under the auspices of Mexico and the United States, of effective and socially progressive international action in a sphere which has long been neglected.

TESTIMONY OF ERNESTO GALARZA—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. It is now 12 o'clock, but that does not make any difference to us if there are some high lights that you desire to bring out to supplement or emphasize your statement.

We will be glad to hear you.

Now, in your statement I was very much interested in your remark that for years and years and years between the United States and Mexico there have been agreements after agreements in relation to the flow of goods between the two countries.

Mr. GALARZA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And relation to boundaries and the flow of waters.

Mr. GALARZA. Yes, sir.

NO AGREEMENT ON HUMAN COMMERCE

The CHAIRMAN. That so far as you know there has never been any agreement in relation to the human interstate commerce between the two nations, has there?

Mr. GALARZA. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is just the way it is between our States, too. In other words, we have the Interstate Commerce Commission to take care of the iron, coal, and steel, but we haven't a thing in our legislation to protect the human interstate commerce.

Mr. GALARZA. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you go right ahead in your own way and make whatever statement you wish to make.

Mr. GALARZA. Mr. Chairman, I want to say to you and the other members of the committee I recognize your time is extremely limited and I shall be very very brief, beginning by thanking you for permission to appear at this hearing. I want to pick up the thread of your thought and repeat that so far as I know this extremely significant exchange of masses of population between these two American Republics—namely, Mexico and the United States—has never been the subject of systematic, careful, human, farseeing planning or at least consultation.

This flow of immigration has been going on for nearly 40 years and it has gradually spread out through the country so that Mexicans are to be found today in almost every State of the United States.

I want to emphasize, too, that I have been studying this problem closely for some 25 years and it is my considered judgment that in the 25 years there has been no material improvement in the conditions of life of the Mexican migratory worker as I know him.

STORES MULCT MEXICAN LABORERS

In 1915, for example, I worked in the beet farms in the delta area of California. I recall very vividly the conditions of life there at the time—the stores that mulcted these people out of practically all their wages, and the conditions prevailing with respect to health, the lack of education.

I went back to California in 1929 and found practically the same conditions. I was in Texas last year and found materially no change. So these people are pretty much in the same condition in which they were 25 years ago.

I also want to underline, Mr. Chairman, the point I made in the statement for the record, namely, that in Mexico there has been for many years among public officials, among writers, students, a great interest in the condition of the Mexican migratory worker in the United States.

Now, I want to point out that there are two aspects of this. One is a continuing interest in cooperating with agencies in the United States for the betterment of the condition of these people. Another we might call a critical interest. Let me give you an example of that. In 1938, I believe it was in January, there was a strike in San Antonio involving thousands of Mexican migratory workers. Immediately the press in Mexico City played up the more violent features of that strike, and there was a good deal of misunderstanding and friction arising out of that incident.

Moreover, thousands of these Mexican migrants are going back to Mexico year after year, and when they go back they carry back with them psychosis, which I mention in my statement, and I want to emphasize that, Mr. Chairman, because I have lived in these communities and I know from experience that sometimes men will be injured in their work and they will not ask for compensation to which the law entitles them because they have a vague fear that that will involve them with the immigration authorities.

Now, all this misunderstanding and enmity that is carried back to Mexico, I think, is unnecessary and certainly not a contribution to inter-American cooperation.

RECOMMENDS MEXICO-U. S. COMMISSION

I want to close by reiterating the suggestion I make in my prepared statement to the effect that the time has come, in my judgment, when it would be proper for a study to be made leading to the creation of a joint Mexican-United States international commission to be charged with the problem, with the systematic study of the causes of this migration, the problem of rehabilitating Mexicans in Mexico, the problem of aiding the second-generation Mexicans who are in this country, but who belong to neither one culture or the other, and the problem of relieving the movement of migrant workers in relation to the proper needs of agriculture in southwestern United States.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to thank you, and I still feel that you have made a very valuable statement and a very valuable recommendation, and if it were not so late we probably would ask you more questions, but it is just impossible.

The committee is very grateful to you for appearing here, and your statement will be inserted in full in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Mr. Thomas.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID THOMAS

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please state your name for the record, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. David Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are living now at Alexandria, Va.?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And your home is in a trailer, is that right?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your wife testified yesterday. It is now after 12 o'clock, Mr. Thomas, and we have a number of witnesses for this afternoon so we will not take you all over the country like we did Mrs. Thomas. We have that in the record, but what I would like to have you limit yourself to this morning is the question raised by your wife yesterday when she said that you had applied for a job at Fort Belvoir, and that you were told you would have to pay $300 to join the union.

Now, that is what we have you here for this morning.

Now, you applied for work at Fort Belvoir, is that right?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And to keep the record straight, your wife said it was Fort Meade but she was incorrect in that, it was Fort Belvoir?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. THOMAS. That was about 3 weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Fort Belvoir from there?

Mr. THOMAS. That is about 7 miles south of Alexandria, Va.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, in your own words just tell what you did and what you said.

SOUGHT ELECTRICIAN'S JOB

Mr. Thomas. Well, I heard that they were doing a lot of constructing work there and naturally that calls for electricians as well as carpenters. I decided to go down there and apply for an electrician's job.

Well, they have a big employment building there which is just a plain building with aisles there that you line up to to apply for this work.

I asked the man there at the window who the electrical contractor was and they told me it was Harry Alexander, and that I would find him over at the Fort. They showed me a gate to go through, so I went down there—started through with my car and a soldier stopped me and told me I had to have a pass.

I went back up to the employment window and they told me that they couldn't issue a pass to me but they gave me a telephone number. It was Temple something, but what the exact number was I don't remember. But I called that Temple number and they referred me to Washington.

COULDN'T TALK TO NONUNION MAN

I called Harry Alexander at Washington and asked him if there was any work for electricians and he asked me if I was a union man and I told him "no." He said: "Well, I couldn't even talk to you if you are not a union man; apply for a card or permit and then see me again."

So I called up the union in Washington.

The Chairman. What union was that?

Mr. Thomas. That was the local on G Street.

The Chairman. Electrical Workers' Union?

Mr. Thomas. Electrical Workers' Union; and I asked them if I couldn't get a permit to work as an electrician and they asked me if I had been a union man before in any other town or any other State. I told them "no," and they said that they couldn't issue a permit.

Well, I asked them what the initiation fee would be and they told me $300. So when they said that that is when I lost all interest.

The Chairman. Whom do you mean by "they"? What union was it, the A. F. of L. or C. I. O., or do you know?

Mr. Thomas. Well, it was just that local that I told you. I don't know whether it was the A. F. of L. or C. I. O., but it was on G Street.

The Chairman. Local 26?

Mr. Thomas. Yes, sir; Local 26. So when they told me $300 I knew that was beyond my means so we just dropped the conversation and that was the end of that.

The Chairman. In other words, it was Electrical Workers' Union No. 26 at 912 G Street NW.?

Mr. Thomas. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Telephone NAtional 3236?

Mr. Thomas. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is what they told you?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never talked personally to anyone about it, did you?

Mr. THOMAS. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You simply telephoned them?

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You never went there after the telephone call, did you?

Mr. THOMAS. No, sir; because I didn't think there was much use of going.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your mailing address?

Mr. THOMAS. At the Martha Washington Tourist Camp in Alexandria, Va.

The CHAIRMAN. Martha Washington Tourist Camp?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How many years' experience as electrician have you had?

INSTALLS OIL BURNERS

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I worked for the Union Electric Co. in St. Louis for about a year, and I also worked for the Bell Telephone Co. about 7 months. I worked for Becker-Morris & Co. installing oil burners and doing electrical work for them. I worked for the Colonial Fuel Oil Co. during this season installing oil burners and doing the electrical work for them.

I have a journeyman's permit from Alexandria to do the electrical work on oil burners.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you do the type of electrical work that was involved at this camp?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir; such as wiring and running BX and putting in junction boxes and so on.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thomas, did you subsequently apply at Fort Meade for work?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir; I did. I went out there and I didn't have any trouble at all meeting the electrical contractor there, but he told me, he said he didn't have any work at that time but he would take my application, which I gave him, and before I got ready to go I asked him if I needed a union card and he told me that they would take care of that.

And that terminated our interview there.

Mr. CURTIS. What did he mean by that?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I really don't know unless he would make arrangements for me to either work on a permit or pay my initiation fee by time payments. Just what he really meant I don't know, but he said that he would make all the arrangements or take care of such as that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How did you happen to call this particular Electrical Workers' Union? Did some one refer you to them or did you look it up in the telephone book?

Mr. THOMAS. No, sir; I looked it up in the telephone book. No one referred me to it. I didn't know that there was any other union besides that or I would have called them all, but that is the first union that I called and I just figured that that was the proper one to call.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, let me ask you, you said that Mr. Alexander told you that he could not even see you unless you had a permit?

Mr. THOMAS. That is it; yes, sir. He said there was no use in talking to me because if I wasn't a union man they couldn't hire me.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You speak of an electrical contractor. Is he doing the electrical work under a contract with the United States Government?

Mr. THOMAS. That I don't know.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He was just referred to you as the electrical contractor?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir; when I went up to the window I applied for an electrician's job and they said:

> Well, you want to see Harry Alexander; he is the man that has charge of that.

So I asked how to get there and they told me to go through the gate there and a soldier stopped me then and I came back for a pass and I couldn't get it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, wait a minute. You came back where?

Mr. THOMAS. To the employment building.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And they told you they could not give you a pass?

MUST HAVE UNION CARD

Mr. THOMAS. They could not give me a pass; no. They told me to call up Alexander and he would leave word there at the office to issue a pass. But instead of that he told me there wouldn't be any use in that—I had to have a union card before he could hire me.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, then, you called the Washington Local after that?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you ask them about the possibility of paying the initiation fee in installments?

Mr. THOMAS. No, sir; because when a permit is issued to you that is practically the same thing, because they allow you to work while you are not paying anything, as I understand it—they allow you a period of time to make the payment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Nothing was said whether this was to be cash or not?

Mr. THOMAS. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thomas, do you know the name of the electrical contractor at Fort Meade that you talked to?

Mr. THOMAS. No; I do not, but I know they are from Baltimore, and I know what building they are in, but I didn't inquire what their name was, I don't remember what their name was.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Mr. Preller.

TESTIMONY OF C. F. PRELLER

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please give your name and address and whom you represent?

Mr. PRELLER. C. F. Preller, business representative, Local No. 26, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Preller, your local is a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers?

Mr. PRELLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, that is an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. PRELLER. American Federation of Labor; yes, sir.

INITIATION FEE OF $300

Mr. SPARKMAN. This matter which was precipitated, as you know, yesterday when Mrs. Thomas testified that Mr. Thomas had applied for a job at one of the defense projects and was not able to get it because of the fact that he was required to pay a $300 initiation fee. Of course, he could not pay it, being a migrant and out of work, and reduced to almost want. I wonder if you might just tell the committee if that is the charge and, if so, your justification for it.

Mr. PRELLER. The first I knew of this was in the paper yesterday when I heard that there was, or saw, rather, that someone had applied to our union and we demanded $300 from him before he could go to work.

Now, I represent a local union here in Washington. We have had a local here for the past 35 or 38 years, and, while our initiation fee is $300, it has been that for the past 15 years. We recruit our members mostly through apprenticeship system—boys coming in between the ages of 16 and 21.

We have a very rigid apprenticeship system. They have to go to school evenings, and our boys are placed first in one shop and then the other, so they can become versatile.

They learn the business thoroughly. We are in agreement with our contractors, and the contractors get their men only through the union.

As to Mr. Thomas making an application, this is the first time I have seen Mr. Thomas or have in fact—I have never talked to him. I just happened to see—the first I knew of him was when I heard his name called here.

Now, as far as our members are concerned—our work is concerned, if anyone desires to join our union they come down and see an official of the union and he is told how he can go about to join the union.

But as far as $300 being paid down, those things just don't happen, because if a man wants to go to work I don't think he has $300 or he wouldn't bother about the job.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What would be your terms?

$50 DOWN FOR UNION CARD

Mr. **Preller.** He must make application and pay $50 and every day he works he pays a dollar until his initiation fee is paid, and then, when his initiation fee is paid, his dues start.

Mr. **Sparkman.** And how much are the dues?

Mr. **Preller.** They are $7.35 a month. Now, that sounds like a lot of dues, but for that he gets $2,000 of life insurance and a retirement fund of $40 a month when he reaches the age of 65; $15 a week sick benefit, and of course other benefits coming through the local union.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Does he receive any unemployment benefits?

Mr. **Preller.** No; there are no unemployment benefits, but we have a system—the men all work through the union and our men all make about the same amount of time. In other words, we don't have one man work 12 months a year and another man work only 6 months.

The men go to work through the union and we spread it as much as possible so each man makes the same amount of time. Of course, that is almost impossible because some men are much better mechanics and they get on better jobs than other men.

FORT BELVOIR UNION AGREEMENT

Mr. **Sparkman.** Do you have an agreement with the contractor at Fort Belvoir?

Mr. **Preller.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Is that with your local?

Mr. **Preller.** That is with our local.

Mr. **Sparkman.** There is no local at Alexandria?

Mr. **Preller.** Our local takes in Alexandria.

Mr. **Sparkman.** You take in all the metropolitan area?

Mr. **Preller.** We take in what we call metropolitan Washington, which goes down as far as Quantico, Va.

Mr. **Sparkman.** How about Fort Meade?

Mr. **Preller.** That job is worked out of the Baltimore local.

Mr. **Sparkman.** And is not within your jurisdiction?

Mr. **Preller.** It is not within our jurisdiction; no.

Mr. **Sparkman.** And you don't know what their terms are?

Mr. **Preller.** No; I am not familiar with other cities. Other cities have different wage scales and different working conditions.

Mr. **Sparkman.** There has been no increase in your initiation fee or stiffening of the terms since the start of the defense program?

Mr. **Preller.** No, sir.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Mr. Preller, is there a scarcity of electrical workers?

ELECTRICIANS WAITING FOR WORK

Mr. **Preller.** No, sir; we have men in our office at the present time waiting to go to work as soon as the call comes. We have men waiting to go to work at the present time.

Mr. **Sparkman.** There has been an impression throughout the country that there is not necessarily a shortage of labor but a threatened shortage or a scarcity of skilled workers generally.

You say that is not true here.

Mr. Preller. That is not true as far as the electrical workers' local situation is concerned.

Now, in other parts of the country I am not in a position to say, but as far as locally is concerned, we have been able to meet every demand that the contractors have made on us.

In fact, we have always got the men there in 48 hours' time. We have a stipulation in our contract that if we cannot furnish men in 48 hours' time, the contractor may put on any man he sees fit until we furnish competent men.

Mr. Sparkman. How many apprentices do you recruit a year?

Mr. Preller. We have at the present time about 37 apprentices.

Mr. Sparkman. That is for metropolitan Washington?

Mr. Preller. Metropolitan Washington; yes.

Mr. Sparkman. About how many members are there in your union?

Mr. Preller. About 340.

Mr. Sparkman. Do they do the major portion of the electrical work in this area?

Mr. Preller. I will say we do 90 percent of the electrical work in this area.

Mr. Sparkman. And you have a replacement of about 10 percent?

Mr. Preller. Possibly 10 percent.

Mr. Sparkman. Have you found that that is sufficient to replace those who leave?

Mr. Preller. That has been adequate up to the present time.

Mr. Sparkman. Do you think it will be during the defense program?

ALLOWED TO WORK BY PERMIT

Mr. Preller. Well, we hope so, and, of course, if it isn't, we have quite a reservoir to draw from if we need men in a hurry. We can get men from Baltimore, Cumberland, and surrounding towns and give them work in what we call our jurisdiction.

Now, this gentleman spoke about a permit. We do have men working on permits. If a man would come in from New York or Philadelphia, he does not transfer into our union right away. If he wants to stay in Washington he transfers into our union but if he only wants to work here for a few months he works on a permit.

Mr. Sparkman. What do you charge him for that?

Mr. Preller. No charge for that.

Mr. Sparkman. No monthly charge?

Mr. Preller. No monthly charge. The reason we make no charge is that the local he is paying his dues to in Philadelphia or Pittsburgh or New York—they may have certain advantages that we don't have in the way of sick benefits and insurance. Some local unions have more—carry more life insurance than we do. We carry $2,000 insurance now. Some organizations carry $3,000.

Now, a man wouldn't want to come down here to Washington and work for 1 month or 2 months and change over to our union, and then when he goes home make another change.

So he simply works here on a permit from week to week or month to month and when he goes back home he continues to pay his dues in his own local—he stays in good standing in his own local and is the recipient of all benefits in the way of insurance and other features just the same as our men.

Say we have a job going on in Cumberland or Danville, Va. If our Washington men go down there because we are slack in Washington, instead of taking out a card down in Danville where they would only have probably $1,000 insurance, our men carry the $2,000 insurance here.

They certainly don't want to give that up and the $15 a week sick benefits. They pay dues back into our local and work in that town on a permit.

That has been the custom here in Washington.

Mr. Sparkman. In other words the different locals simply swap around among one another?

Mr. Preller. If they need men in Baltimore, we would send them to Baltimore, and if we need men in Washington and they are slack, they would send men here.

Mr. Sparkman. According to your statement, Mr. Thomas, even if he had the $50 cash or the $300 cash, probably would not have been taken in.

BOARD TESTS APPLICANTS FOR UNION MEMBERSHIP

Mr. Preller. We couldn't very well keep a man out of a union if he wants to pay his $50 and subscribe to our working rules and pass our examination. We couldn't very well keep him out.

Mr. Sparkman. What does that consist of?

Mr. Preller. The examination?

Mr. Sparkman. Yes.

Mr. Preller. He would have to prove that he has done so many years of electrical work and has the necessary experience to be able to perform his duties satisfactorily.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, how does he prove that? Do you simply question him?

Mr. Preller. No; we have an examining board duly elected for that purpose.

Mr. Sparkman. And he goes before that board?

Mr. Preller. Yes; he goes before the board.

Mr. Sparkman. And shows that he possesses the requisite qualifications?

Mr. Preller. That is correct; and he passes a written examination.

Mr. Sparkman. I based my statement a moment ago that he could not have been taken in upon the statement that you made that you recruit practically all of your members through your apprenticeship force. You said you had a large reservoir upon which to draw.

Mr. Preller. Not all of them. We have taken in in the past 3 years close to 70 members.

Mr. Sparkman. That is an average of about 23 a year, in other words? You have taken in almost—well, over half as many as you have recruited through your apprenticeship system?

Mr. PRELLER. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, Mr. Preller, the other day Mr. Shishkin was before us representing the American Federation of Labor and somewhat the same matter came up while he was here, because, throughout the different parts of the country there has been a great deal of criticism of these charges by the unions for people to get permission to work on the various defense projects.

In a great many cases it has been charged, whether rightly or not, that there has been an increase of initiation fees since this program has started, and that these people are being recruited from the union membership, not with any idea of becoming permanently loyal members of the union, but simply in order to get a permit to work on that particular job.

Mr. Shishkin stated that this matter came up at the convention for a very extensive and serious discussion, and that as a matter of fact some of the unions had gone to the extent of placing a maximum upon the charge that a local could make.

He referred to the various building trades; and I remember he pointed out that one local, somewhere in the country, had charged as much as $80, and I inferred from his statement that that was regarded as an outrageous charge.

I was just curious to know what your reaction to that thought might be.

Mr. PRELLER. Well, as far as the high dues are concerned we come in sometimes for a lot of criticism, but we pay most of the money out to the insurance company for life insurance and sick benefits.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am speaking of the initiation fee.

INITIATION FEE HAS NOT CHANGED IN 15 YEARS

Mr. PRELLER. Our initiation fee has not been changed in the last 15 years. Our initiation fee has been stable in the last 15 years. There has been no change.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you know whether or not that is in line with the charges of other electrical union organizations throughout the country?

Mr. PRELLER. One of the reasons we have a high initiation fee is that we want our members to be stable. We lose very few members. Even our members after they come into our union and get jobs at other work they usually keep their cards on account of the benefits accruing to them through their insurance features and so forth.

We have found out that by having a high initiation fee we get a better class of men, a better class of mechanics and once in the union they were in, they didn't jump out. They wouldn't go in and out and back and forth as the demand would come on them. They would not join and then drop out in 2 or 3 months.

We have maintained the $300 initiation fee for the last 15 years.

IN CASE OF LABOR SCARCITY, CONTRACTOR CAN HIRE NONUNION MEN

Mr. SPARKMAN. What would be your thought as to any adjustment as suggested by Mrs. Roosevelt that might be made in the event there did develop a scarcity of electrical workers?

Mr. **Preller.** Well, of course, what my thought would be—I am not the whole organization. That would be a matter of policy of the organization to pursue and I am sure if there was a scarcity of electrical workers that our local would meet that emergency in the proper manner.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Of course I understand that you now have the policy if you cannot supply these workers to allow them to take them from wherever they may recruit them.

In other words they wouldn't have to be union men, is that right, Mr. Preller?

Mr. **Preller.** We have never done that.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Well, I understood you to say you had an agreement with your contractors that if you could not supply the labor——

Mr. **Preller.** If we could not furnish a man within 48 hours and it was imperative that the contractor would have to have the man, it would be his privilege to hire any one at all—he could select anybody at all.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Whether union or nonunion?

Mr. **Preller.** Whether union or nonunion; yes.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Then if there did come a scarcity and you could not supply the demand. the contractor would have the privilege of hiring nonunion men?

Mr. **Preller.** That is right.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Don't you think it would be only natural that the nonunion men would get those places rather than pay the high initiation fee?

Mr. **Preller.** Absolutely.

Mr. **Sparkman.** In other words, if you were to hope to continue to recruit members, you would have to adjust your initiation fee downward, if that scarcity developed.

Mr. **Preller.** If the demand was so excessive for electricians, there would have to be an adjustment. And I can tell you this, that our local would only be too glad to go along and make adjustments in the most patriotic manner in view of the defense work that is coming on at the present time.

Mr. **Sparkman.** You haven't seen any necessity for any such adjustment up to the present time?

Mr. **Preller.** Not at the present time.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Of course, Mr. Preller, we are primarily concerned with the migrant problem, but this matter has come to us more or less incidentally because of the testimony of this particular migrant. All the way through these hearings a great deal of criticism has been heaped upon private employment agencies and labor agencies which have recruited migrants and moved them into places where they were not needed, or if they were needed it was for only a very short time and they charged them a fee for locating those jobs.

I wonder if we are consistent when we criticize private labor agencies for doing that when at the same time locals such as yours charge a fee of $300. I don't believe any labor agent has been charged with demanding a fee in that amount.

ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO MEMBERS FROM OTHER LOCALS

Mr. PRELLER. Now, another way of looking at that is, we have any number of migrant workers that come through who are members of the brotherhood. He may come from New York, he may come from Philadelphia, and he goes around the country from place to place and cannot get a job. I mean work is scarce. If that man comes to us with a card we know he is a traveling brother and we always see that he gets a week or 10 days, or enough so that he can live for a while until he gets work somewhere where he wants to go.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Suppose he hasn't kept up his dues?

Mr. PRELLER. There have been a lot of times when they will come in with a letter from their organization that due to circumstances that he just couldn't do otherwise and we manage to give them a few days' work until he can make an adjustment and go on his way.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Suppose this Mr. Thomas, for instance, who a few minutes ago was on the stand, had been a member of an electrical union we will say 5 or 10 years ago before circumstances forced him on the road, but over that period of time he had not been able to keep up his dues. But if he had ever been a member of a union would you have helped him?

Mr. PRELLER. We would have given him every consideration.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, you know that is a word that we Congressmen use in answering letters when we don't want to state a thing too positively, so I want to know what you mean by that.

Mr. PRELLER. When I say "consideration" I mean real help. I will say that there has never been a member of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers that ever applied to us for aid that he did not get it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

Mr. CURTIS. Are there any age requirements that would have barred Mr. Thomas from securing membership in your local or a permit to work?

Mr. PRELLER. The only age requirement is if he is over 55 there would be a difference in the amount of insurance he would receive at his death. And, of course, his dues would be less in proportion to the amount of insurance he would receive.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You speak, Mr. Preller, about apprenticeship. What do you mean by that?

SYSTEM OF APPRENTICESHIP

Mr. PRELLER. By apprenticeship, our boys are indentured to a contractor and they must serve at least 4 years and at the end of each year they are given an examination and they are stepped up according to their ratings. If they fail to pass that examination they are kept back for a period of 3, 6, or 12 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, supposing a man comes to you and is well qualified in every respect and he joins the union, does he still have to go through this apprenticeship?

Mr. PRELLER. No; the apprenticeship is for the younger men, the boys 12 to 16 years.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money do they get?

Mr. PRELLER. The boy, when he starts at the business, when he makes application, pays $25. He pays $25 at the end of 6 months and at the end of the 6 months time he becomes a member—that is, he has insurance standing. He becomes a beneficiary of $1,000 in insurance and $15 a week sick benefit and so forth.

In other words he has all the benefits—all the monetary benefits—of the journeyman. Then he doesn't pay any more money—he pays the rest of the $300 at the end of the 4-year period.

He is given 4 years to pay that.

The CHAIRMAN. How much in wages does he receive?

Mr. PRELLER. You are speaking of apprentices?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PRELLER. Fifty cents the first year, 75 cents the second, $1 the third year, and $1.25 on his fourth and last year.

The CHAIRMAN. Is $1.25 the going wage for electricians?

Mr. PRELLER. No; $1.80 is the going wage. One dollar and twenty-five cents is for the fourth-year apprentice. A fourth-year apprentice is privileged to go out and work by himself and he receives $1.25 an hour, and when he takes his examination and is successful in passing his examination then he becomes what we call a journeyman and he is eligible for $1.80 an hour. That is the going wage in this vicinity.

DISTRIBUTION OF $300 INITIATION FEE

The CHAIRMAN. Can you break that $300 down in this way—you say $300 is paid into the union?

Mr. PRELLER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How is that money used? What does the union do with that $300?

Mr. PRELLER. We use it for administrative purposes. We have two business agents on the street. We have an assistant, myself, and an assistant business agent. We have a secretary and we have a recording secretary who works part time. We have a full-time financial secretary and a young lady in the office that looks after the books.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, part of that $300 goes toward payment of compensation and insurance, does it not?

Mr. PRELLER. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How much does that take out of the $300?

Mr. PRELLER. I am not prepared to say. I could not break it down without giving that some thought. Just on the spur of the moment I don't know. After all, that is the financial secretary's duty. I don't handle any money at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of your own knowledge, Mr. Preller, since this national emergency has arisen, where your union fees have been stepped up in any instance?

Mr. PRELLER. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or in any particular?

Mr. Preller. Absolutely no. Our union fees are the same as they were close to 17 years ago. We haven't changed our initiation fee. We have got increases through the medium of agreements, but we haven't received an increase in the past 2 years. This is the third year we haven't stepped up our wages or our initiation fee.

The **Chairman.** Well, thank you very much, Mr. Preller.

We have one more witness, Mr. Millard W. Rice.

TESTIMONY OF MILLARD W. RICE, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

The **Chairman.** We will now call Mr. Rice.

I am sorry we were rushed so much this morning, Mr. Rice, but this is the last day we are holding hearings and we are doing the best we can.

Mr. Rice. I can well understand that.

The **Chairman.** Will you please give your name to the reporter?

Mr. Rice. My name is Millard W. Rice, national legislative representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The **Chairman.** Now, you know the hour is late and I will just leave it up to you to proceed in your own way as briefly as you can. You have filed a statement, haven't you?

Mr. Rice. Not a written statement, no.

The **Chairman.** If you subsequently desire to file a written statement you will be accorded that privilege.

Mr. Rice. Thank you very much.

(The following statement and charts were submitted to the committee by the witness subsequent to testimony and accepted for the record:)

STATEMENT OF MILLARD W. RICE, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Variances in Old-Age Assistance Benefits

To verify my statements as to the great variances in the average old-age assistance benefits payable in the various States, I insert a chart of statistics compiled from figures secured from the Social Security Board and the Census Bureau. The percentages in the third column of statistics were computed for me by the Statistical Division of the Veterans' Administration.

It will be noted that the percentage of the total population of each State receiving old-age assistance benefits ranges from 0.51 in the District of Columbia to 3.69 in Colorado; that the number of recipients per thousand of the population over the age of 65 ranges from 80, in the District of Columbia, to 617 in Oklahoma; and that the average amount payable per month per recipient ranges from $7.22 in Arkansas to $37.93 in California.

Remembering that the Federal Social Security Board matches not more than $40 per month so expended in each State, we realize that the Federal Government thus pumps out "purchasing power" in the form of "matching money" for old-age assistance benefits several times greater proportionately in certain "financially-more-able" States than it does to other "financially-less-able" States.

The same variances will be found to exist as to other types of social security benefits.

When veterans begin, in increasing numbers, to pass the age of 65, they will become potentially eligible for such benefits. Inasmuch as the first chart shows that they are migrating out of certain States and into certain other States, they and their dependent widows and orphans will become disproportionately heavy burdens upon certain communities and States—as has already happened in many places—unless the burden of the care for those pensioners who have become unemployable or handicapped by permanent disabilities, and of the dependent widows and orphans of those who have died, is transferred solely to the Federal Government where it properly belongs, by the adoption of laws by Congress to provide Veterans' Administration pensions for them.

The welfare of other less fortunate citizens can therefore be bettered by more adequate and extensive pensions for the Nation's handicapped veterans and for the dependents of those war veterans who have died.

The chart above referred to appears below:

Old-age assistance beneficiaries, according to State of residence, with average amounts and percentages, August 1940 [1]

Social Security Board region and State	1940 population	Number of recipients of old-age assistance benefits	Percent of State's population receiving old-age assistance benefits	Number of recipients per 1,000 estimated population 65 years and over [2]	Amount of obligations incurred for payments to recipients [3]	Average amount per recipient per month
Total	131, 669, 275	2, 004, 269	1. 52	[4] 253	$40, 335, 206	$20. 12
Region I:						
Connecticut	1, 709, 242	17, 220	1. 01	147	483, 727	28. 09
Maine	847, 226	13, 608	1. 61	158	287, 633	21. 14
Massachusetts	4, 316, 721	86, 767	2. 01	263	2, 475, 418	28. 53
New Hampshire	491, 524	6. 052	1. 23	114	130, 810	21. 61
Rhode Island	713, 346	6, 915	. 97	154	136, 490	19. 74
Vermont	359, 231	5, 374	1. 50	138	89, 411	16. 64
Region II: New York	13, 479, 142	119, 435	. 89	151	3, 018, 966	25. 28
Region III:						
Delaware	266, 505	2, 601	. 98	124	29, 577	11. 37
New Jersey	4, 160, 165	31, 175	. 75	125	643, 897	20. 65
Pennsylvania	9, 900, 180	99. 016	1. 00	159	2, 202. 112	22. 24
Region IV:						
District of Columbia	663, 091	3, 380	. 51	80	86, 310	25. 54
Maryland	1, 821, 244	18, 392	1. 01	167	325, 820	17. 72
North Carolina	3, 571, 623	36, 176	1. 01	257	364, 895	10. 09
Virginia	2, 677, 773	18, 596	. 69	122	182, 641	9. 82
West Virginia	1, 901, 974	18, 162	. 95	238	252, 958	13. 93
Region V:						
Kentucky	2, 845, 627	50. 830	1. 79	275	448, 298	8. 82
Michigan	5, 256, 106	74, 208	1. 41	254	1, 262, 814	17. 02
Ohio	6, 907, 612	128, 167	1. 86	265	2, 990, 342	23. 33
Region VI:						
Illinois	7, 897. 241	138, 931	1. 76	277	2, 965. 534	21. 35
Indiana	3, 427, 796	66, 644	1. 94	231	1, 205, 239	18, 08
Wisconsin	3, 137, 587	52, 217	1. 66	237	1, 176, 878	22. 54
Region VII:						
Alabama	2. 832, 961	20, 068	. 71	182	187, 151	9. 33
Florida	1, 897, 414	36, 203	1. 91	381	440, 651	12. 17
Georgia	3, 123, 723	31, 735	1. 02	244	255, 445	8. 05
Mississippi	2, 183. 796	22, 417	1. 03	249	189, 229	8. 44
South Carolina	1, 899, 804	18, 753	. 99	303	153, 546	8. 19
Tennessee	2, 915, 841	40, 220	1. 38	298	405, 723	10. 09
Region VIII:						
Iowa	2, 538, 268	55, 689	2. 19	254	1, 165, 971	20. 94
Minnesota	2, 792, 300	62, 847	2. 25	322	1, 333, 604	21. 22
Nebraska	1, 315, 834	28, 055	2. 13	286	465, 951	16. 61
North Dakota	641. 935	8, 783	1. 37	244	146, 463	16. 68
South Dakota	642, 961	14, 815	2. 30	353	290, 793	19. 63
Region IX:						
Arkansas	1, 949, 387	22, 625	1. 16	283	163, 412	7. 22
Kansas	1, 801, 028	27, 373	1. 52	227	531, 391	19. 41
Missouri	3. 784, 664	98, 752	2. 61	317	1, 565, 392	15. 85
Oklahoma	2, 336. 434	73, 466	3. 14	617	1, 303, 319	17. 74

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[1] Compiled by Millard W. Rice, national legislative representative, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Dec. 18, 1940, on the basis of figures obtained from the Census Bureau and the Social Security Board.

[2] Population as of July 1, 1938, estimated with advice of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

[3] From Federal, State, and local funds; excludes cost of administration.

[4] Adjustments have been made for grants covering 2 or more eligible individuals for Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia. Wyoming.

Old-age assistance beneficiaries, according to State of residence, with average amounts and percentages, August 1940—Continued

Social Security Board region and State	1940 population	Number of recipients of old-age assistance benefits	Percent of State's population receiving old-age assistance benefits	Number of recipients per 1,000 estimated population 65 years and over	Amount of obligations incurred for payments to recipients	Average amount per recipient per month
Region X:						
Louisiana	2, 363, 880	32, 119	1. 36	455	$382, 713	$11. 92
New Mexico	531, 818	4, 705	. 88	326	72, 306	15. 37
Texas	6, 414, 824	118, 336	1. 84	415	1, 285, 497	10. 86
Region XI:						
Arizona	499, 261	8, 251	1. 65	485	232, 001	28. 12
Colorado	1, 123, 296	[5] 41, 431	3. 69	[5] 511	[5] 1, 356, 884	32. 75
Idaho	524, 873	8, 988	1. 71	310	199, 064	22. 15
Montana	559, 456	12, 209	2. 18	394	220, 751	18. 08
Utah	550. 310	13, 509	2. 45	500	304, 856	22. 57
Wyoming	250, 742	3, 446	1. 37	346	81, 817	23. 74
Region XII:						
California	6, 907, 387	145, 183	2. 10	316	5, 507, 448	37. 93
Nevada	110, 247	2, 293	2. 08	382	60, 829	26. 53
Oregon	1, 089, 684	18, 748	1. 72	223	400, 798	21. 38
Washington	1, 736, 191	39, 384	2. 27	315	872, 431	22. 15

[5] Includes $117,548 incurred for direct payments to 3,613 persons 60 but under 65 years of age, and $300 for burial payments to persons 60 but under 65. Rate per 1,000 excludes these recipients.

TESTIMONY OF MILLARD W. RICE—Resumed

About 12 days ago the Honorable Pete Jarman, of Alabama, extended his remarks in the Congressional Record, at my request, and inserted a comparative study of World War veterans by State of residence.

I would like that same chart to be inserted in my testimony at this point. It appears on page 2 or on the reverse side of this paper that I have.

The CHAIRMAN. That privilege will be accorded you.

(The chart referred to is as follows:)

Comparative study of World War veterans by State of residence

State of residence	Individuals in service during World War		Estimated living June 30, 1940			Receiving compensation, pension, or retirement—June 30, 1940		Percent of estimated living who receive benefits	Disbursements for compensation to living World War veterans, fiscal year 1940 [1]		
	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	Percent of State's population	Number	Percent of total		Amount for all in State	Percent of total	Amount [1] per recipient
Alabama	84,477	1.80	58,262	1.47	2.06	8,602	2.12	14.76	$3,491,667	1.85	$405.91
Arizona	12,582	.27	12,286	.31	2.46	3,305	.81	26.90	2,232.072	1.18	675.36
Arkansas	70,496	1.50	49,542	1.25	2.54	8,220	2.02	16.59	3,701,018	1.96	450.25
California	162,719	3.46	233,839	5.90	3.39	32,028	7.88	13.70	16,922,114	8.97	528.35
Colorado	43,421	.92	38,841	.98	3.46	5,620	1.38	14.47	3,344,262	1.77	595.06
Connecticut	67,746	1.44	49,939	1.26	2.92	5,432	1.34	10.88	2,707,727	1.44	498.48
Delaware	9,255	.20	5,549	.14	2.08	385	.09	6.94	184,918	.10	480.39
District of Columbia	27,651	.59	[2] 32,103	.81	4.84	4,337	1.07	13.51	2,133,233	1.13	491.87
Florida	42,318	.90	[2] 46,372	1.17	2.44	6,582	1.62	14.19	3,428,752	1.82	520.93
Georgia	103,785	2.21	66,981	1.69	2.14	8,656	2.13	12.92	4,150,041	2.20	479.44
Idaho	22,357	.48	15,457	.39	2.94	1,378	.34	8.92	617,113	4.33	447.83
Illinois	325,307	6.92	288,930	7.29	3.66	19,926	4.90	6.90	8,308,629	4.40	416.97
Indiana	133,645	2.85	107,408	2.71	3.13	10,714	2.64	9.98	4,755,343	2.52	443.84
Iowa	114.292	2.43	89,572	2.26	3.53	6,524	1.61	7.28	2,747,968	1.46	421.21
Kansas	81,724	1.74	64,603	1.63	3.59	5,012	1.23	7.76	2,159,350	1.14	430.84
Kentucky	94,448	2.01	71,737	1.81	2.52	12,059	2.97	16.81	5,335,005	2.83	442.41
Louisiana	76.727	1.63	62,225	1.57	2.63	6.274	1,54	10.08	2,915,581	1.55	464.71
Maine	33,040	.70	24,177	.61	2.85	2,474	.61	10.23	1,076,537	.57	435.14
Maryland	62,495	1.33	54,695	1.38	3.00	5,429	1.34	9.93	2,869,784	1.52	528.60
Massachusetts	199,364	4.24	154,175	3.89	3.57	18,036	4.44	11.70	8,711,757	4.62	483,02
Michigan	164,999	3.51	153,779	3.88	2.93	12,089	2.97	7.86	5,165,183	2.74	427.35
Minnesota	119,360	2.54	95,914	2.42	3.43	11,806	2.90	12.31	5,877,862	3.12	497.87
Mississippi	62,607	1.33	42,012	1.06	1.92	9,676	2.38	23.03	4,275.463	2.27	441.86
Missouri	163.172	3.47	126,828	3.20	3.35	13.409	3.30	10.57	5,754,563	3.05	429.16
Montana	40,160	.86	20,610	.52	3.68	2,513	.62	12.19	1,227,018	.65	488.27
Nebraska	57,329	1.22	45,182	1.14	3.43	3,173	.78	9.02	1,309,962	.69	412.85
Nevada	5,457	.12	3,567	.09	3.24	532	.13	14.91	245,999	.13	462.40
New Hampshire	18,965	.40	13,872	.35	2.82	1,458	.36	10.51	709,465	.38	486.60
New Jersey	144,764	3.08	133,169	3.36	3.20	8.157	2.01	6.13	3,841,601	2.04	470.96
New Mexico	14,361	.31	11,494	.29	2.19	2,584	.64	22.48	1,454,229	.77	562.78
New York	494,020	10.52	433,197	10.93	3.21	30,767	7.57	7.10	13,792,060	7.31	448.27
North Carolina	86,898	1.85	72,133	1.82	2.02	7,051	1.73	9.77	3,642,789	1.93	516.63
North Dakota	27,591	.59	18,232	.46	2.84	1,823	.45	10.00	823,128	.44	451.52
Ohio	241,483	5.14	206,888	5.22	3.00	23,696	5.83	11.45	10,382,789	5.50	438.17
Oklahoma	90,632	1.93	76,493	1.93	3.27	8,483	2.09	11.09	3,664,412	1.94	431.97

Oregon	43, 630	.93	41, 219	1. 04	3. 78	4, 612	1. 13	11. 19	2, 250, 721	1. 19	488. 01
Pennsylvania	361, 869	7. 70	294, 083	7. 42	2. 97	25, 919	6. 38	8. 81	11, 718, 933	6. 21	452. 14
Rhode Island	27, 865	.59	23, 384	.59	3. 28	2, 203	.54	9. 42	987, 468	.52	448. 24
South Carolina	63, 300	1. 35	39, 634	1. 00	2. 09	5, 200	1. 28	13. 12	2, 307, 272	1. 22	443. 71
South Dakota	32, 017	.68	25. 762	.65	4. 01	2, 212	.54	8. 59	924. 262	.49	417. 84
Tennessee	90, 295	1. 92	66, 188	1. 67	2. 27	9, 169	2. 26	13. 85	4, 410, 746	2. 34	481. 05
Texas	192. 829	4. 10	171, 614	4. 33	2. 68	18, 618	4. 58	10. 85	8, 681, 838	4. 60	466. 31
Utah	21, 555	.46	16, 250	.41	2. 95	1, 462	.36	9. 00	685, 831	.36	469. 10
Vermont	13, 940	.30	9, 116	.23	2. 54	1, 301	.32	14. 27	610. 225	.32	469. 04
Virginia	92, 047	1. 96	70, 548	1. 78	2. 63	6, 126	1. 51	8. 68	2, 803, 415	1. 49	457. 63
Washington	67, 408	1. 44	64, 999	1. 64	3. 74	5, 612	1. 38	8. 63	2, 661, 864	1. 41	474. 32
West Virginia	58, 268	1. 24	49, 146	1. 24	2. 58	4, 333	1. 07	8. 82	1, 818, 866	.96	419. 77
Wisconsin	120, 976	2. 58	98, 688	2. 49	3. 15	10, 330	2. 54	10. 47	4, 377, 395	2. 32	423, 76
Wyoming	12, 348	.26	[2] 12, 683	.32	5. 06	1, 101	.27	8. 68	461, 702	.25	419. 35
Total United States	4, 697, 944	100. 00	3, 963, 377	100. 00	3. 01	406, 408	100. 00	10. 25	188, 660, 932	100. 00	464. 22

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[1] Includes service-connected compensation, non-service-connected pensions, and emergency officers' retirement pay.

[2] Estimated number of living June 30, 1940, exceeds the number in service from State.

All figures furnished by the Veterans' Administration, except as to the fifth and eleventh columns which were computed by Millard W. Rice, national legislative officer, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Nov. 15, 1940.

TESTIMONY OF MILLARD W. RICE—Resumed

Mr. Rice. This table of statistics shows in the first column the number of men who came from each State for World War service.

The second column shows the percentage of the entire number who came from each State.

In the third column, the number estimated to be now living in each State; then, in the fourth column, the percentage of the total now living in each State; and, in the fifth column, the percentage of population of each State who now consist of living World War veterans.

The following (sixth) column shows the number of World War veterans who receive compensation, pension, or disability retirement benefits in each State.

The next (seventh) column shows the percentage in each State of the total who receive such monetary benefits from the Federal Government.

The following (eighth) column shows the percentage of all veterans who reside in each State who receive monetary benefits.

The next (ninth) column shows the total amount of dollars in such monetary benefits expended during the last fiscal year in each State.

The following (tenth) column shows the percentage of the total disbursements for compensation to living World War veterans in each State, and the last column shows the average amount of money benefits paid to veterans who receive compensation because of service disabilities, pensions for permanent total non-service-connected disabilities, or disability retirement benefits—the average per recipient.

This chart enables one to dope out in what respects the living World War veterans have migrated into and out of certain States. It also enables one to figure out whether or not the movement into or out of certain States has primarily consisted of able-bodied living World War veterans or of the disabled compensated or pensioned World War veterans.

On the basis of this chart of statistics, therefore, we can arrive at several very interesting conclusions which might prove of interest to this committee. That is the reason for my making the request to come before the committee.

Although about 16 percent of all those who enlisted for World War service have since then died, it would not be safe to come to the conclusion that we could deduct 16 percent of those who enlisted from each State and that that would be the number who now live in such State.

MIGRATION OF WORLD WAR VETERANS

But that would not be true because we find that there are four States in which we now have more World War veterans than the number who enlisted from such States, namely, California, the District of Columbia, Florida, and Wyoming.

Then we also find that there are quite a number of other States where we have a proportionately larger percentage of World War veterans living in such States than the percentage of those who came from such States. Among them would be those that I have just named, plus Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin.

On the other hand, we find that all other States have less, proportionately, than the number who enlisted from such States.

One can come to the conclusion that the migration of these veterans has been, first, because of a search for employment; secondly, because of a search for health; and, third, because of a search for more agreeable or easier or less expensive living conditions.

We can also figure out that both able-bodied and disabled veterans have been moving into such States as California, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Wyoming.

On the other hand, we can dope out that both able-bodied veterans and disabled veterans have been moving out of such States as Kentucky, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Utah, and Virginia, and South Carolina.

And then if we will make further comparison we will find able-bodied veterans have been moving into, and in the opposite direction, disabled veterans have been moving out of, such States as Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Washington—the State of Washington.

Then moving in the opposite direction, we will find that able-bodied veterans have been moving out of, and disabled veterans have been moving into, the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, and Vermont.

PERCENT OF VETERANS RECEIVING BENEFITS

In some other States, such as Arizona, Mississippi, New Mexico, Colorado, and Florida, we find that an extraordinarily high percentage of these veterans are receiving monetary benefits from the Veterans' Administration.

We know by looking at the chart that 10.25 percent of all living World War veterans are receiving monetary benefits, but we find quite a number of States where a much higher percentage than that are receiving them, primarily because of the fact that compensated veterans have moved into such States and/or because the able-bodied noncompensated veterans have moved out of such States.

It is definitely feasible, by making a study of these statistics and comparing them with similar statistics for previous year, to demonstrate that the rehabilitation services which may have been maintained by the various veteran organizations in the respective States have been accountable for a higher percentage of the veterans in such States receiving compensation by reason of disabilities which they have proven to be due to their military service, or by reason of pensions for permanent and total disability. It would be feasible also to demonstrate by the figures in this chart the monetary value of maintaining rehabilitation service out of State appropriations, such as is done in quite a number of States.

On the other hand, it would be possible to demonstrate that quite a number of States have in effect proffered the possibility of securing monetary benefits for veterans who were equitably entitled thereto, but who, because of the lack of technical and legal advice and assistance, have not as yet established their claims to which they were equitably entitled, by extending expert rehabilitation service to these deserving disabled veterans.

On the basis of this chart, I found that there was a considerable variance in the average amount of benefits paid to the veterans in the respective States. We find, for example, that in Alabama the average amount is only $405.91—the lowest in the entire country—whereas, the next State alphabetically, Arizona, paid out an average of $675.36 during the preceding fiscal year to the veterans who were receiving monetary benefits, in other words, about $270 more per year.

There may be several reasons for that, first, that tubercular veterans, badly disabled veterans, have been moving into such States as Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and California. And, secondly, it might be that a lesser amount is paid in such States as Alabama, and others that I could enumerate, because of the fact that badly disabled veterans might be moving out of such States or because of the fact that the rehabilitation service maintained by the State or the several veteran organizations has been extended over a lesser period of time or on a less efficient basis, or because of the fact that the claims and rating boards of the Veterans' Administration may have been less liberal in the technical adjudication of equitable claims.

It could, therefore, be established that certain States are failing to secure several hundred thousand dollars of income to which they might be entitled if the veterans in their States were receiving benefits on the same proportionate basis as in other more interested States.

On the basis of this analysis, and wondering what caused it, I made a further study, and if the committee should be interested, although that departs somewhat from the question of migration, I will be glad to have the chart that appears on page 21388 of the December issue of the Congressional Record also appear in my testimony, together with the extension of remarks on the part of Congressman Jarman, which tends to explain that particular point, although that is somewhat removed from the question of migration.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will leave that with the reporter it will be inserted in the record.

(The following corrected extension of remarks of Congressman Jarman appeared in the Congressional Record for December 16, 1940, and was substituted by witness for original statement:)

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF VARIOUS CLASSES OF WORLD WAR VETERAN BENEFICIARIES ACCORDING TO STATE OF RESIDENCE FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1940—EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. PETE JARMAN, INCLUDING CHART COMPILED BY MILLARD W. RICE, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, in another extension of remarks I have submitted a comparative study of World War veterans by State of residence, with a correction of figures which necessitated changes in several of the statistics presented in my extension of remarks under date of December 9, 1940, which I therefore again submit in corrected form, as follows:

Some very interesting conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of the statistics prepared by Mr. Millard W. Rice, national legislative representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, enabling one to figure, among other things, whether able-bodied veterans, or disabled veterans, or both, have migrated into or out of certain States, because of a search for (1) employment, (2) health, or (3) easier living conditions.

Interesting conjectures as to the reasons for greater, or less, than average Veterans' Administration payments—to veterans receiving compensation, disability retirement, or pension payments—according to the States in which paid could also be made on the basis of these comparative figures.

Because of the differences shown, as to the average amounts paid out to the average World War veteran recipients of all monetary benefits in the various States, Mr. Rice decided to make a further study and analysis and has therefore compiled another chart on the basis of statistics secured from the Veterans' Administration, which appears at the conclusion of my remarks.

It will be noted that in this supplementary chart, which ought to be studied in connection with the chart previously submitted, that Mr. Rice has divided the World War veteran beneficiaries in each State into three classifications—namely, first, those who receive emergency officers' retirement pay; second, those who receive compensation by reason of service-connected disabilities; and, third, those who receive pensions, ranging from $6 to $30 per month, by reason of their permanent total nonservice-connected disabilities. As to each such classification, the chart shows the number of recipients, the total amounts paid to them, and the average annual amounts paid each such type of beneficiary in each State during the preceding fiscal year.

The third column of statistics shows the average amount paid to veteran recipients of all three classes of veteran benefits in each State; such average amount is influenced by the number and proportion of recipients in each classification of benefits as compared with the total for all classes of beneficiaries, as well as by the average amounts paid to each such type of beneficiary.

The average amount paid to the average recipient of emergency officers' retirement pay in each State depends almost entirely upon the number in each rank who have been so retired. Thus, if all of those receiving disabled emergency officers' retirement benefits in a particular State consisted of retired colonels, the average amount per recipient would naturally be much larger than in a State where all of the recipients were former first lieutenants. One may therefore safely come to the conclusion that the figure as to the average amount paid to the average recipient of disabled emergency officers' retirement benefits does not indicate anything as to the comparative liberality of claims and rating boards of the Veterans' Administration in the respective States.

The average amount of compensation paid to the average World War veteran suffering with a service-connected disability, the chart shows, ranges from $401.45 in Alabama to $733.76 per annum in Arizona, with a Nation-wide average of $483.64. Evidently the differences in such average compensation payments are the composite results of several factors: (1) That badly disabled veterans, such as tuberculars, have migrated into certain States, such as Arizona, California, Colorado, and New Mexico; (2) that veterans suffering with minor service-connected disabilities have moved out of, or into, certain States in a search for employment; (3) that claims and rating boards of the Veterans' Administration have been more or less liberal in certain States than in certain others; and (4) that the rehabilitation services maintained by veteran organizations and others have been functioning for a longer period of time and/or more effectively in certain States.

It is quickly apparent that the average amount of compensation paid to service-connected disabled veterans in any State may be either lower or higher than the average amount of all monetary benefits paid to World War veterans in such State; this is probably primarily due to the fact that a higher or a lower percentage than average of the total number of recipients of monetary benefits in any such State consists of World War veterans receiving pensions of from $6 per month—single veterans in governmental institutions—to $30 per month by reason of permanent total nonservice-connected disabilities.

Those receiving permanent total nonservice-connected disability pensions represent from 8.98 percent, in Connecticut, to 27.58 percent, in the United States possessions, of the total of World War veterans receiving monetary benefits in the respective States, whereas, as to all World War beneficiaries, the average is 14.69 percent.

The amounts payable to those receiving pensions by reason of permanent total nonservice-connected disabilities during the last fiscal year ranges from an average of $239.49, in Wyoming, to $363.65, in South Carolina, with an average of $320.49 as to all such pension beneficiaries.

These statistical comparisons should enable local posts and State departments of the various veteran organizations to "dope out" the ammunition with which to demonstrate the relative value of their rehabilitation-service programs on behalf of actual and potential veteran beneficiaries by pointing out the direct financial returns to their respective communities and States by seeing to it that justice is extended to disabled veterans in accordance with the intent of the laws enacted by Congress.

Comparative study of various classes of World War veteran beneficiaries according to State of residence, for fiscal year ending June 30, 1940

	Total World War veteran beneficiaries			Emergency officers' retirement pay			Service-connected compensation cases			Permanent and total nonservice-connected pension cases			
	Number	Amount	Average per recipient	Number	Amount	Average per recipient	Number	Amount	Average per recipient	Number	Percent of total recipients	Amount	Average per recipient
Alabama	8, 602	$3, 491, 667	$405. 91	33	$55, 851	$1, 692. 45	7, 255	$3, 012, 674	$415. 25	1, 314	15. 27	$423, 142	$322. 02
Arizona	3, 305	2, 232, 072	675. 36	14	23, 527	1, 680. 50	2, 772	2, 033, 994	733. 76	519	15. 70	174, 551	336. 32
Arkansas	8, 220	3, 701, 018	450. 25	22	36, 713	1, 668. 77	6, 739	3, 166, 696	469. 90	1, 459	17. 74	497, 609	341. 06
California	32, 028	16, 922, 114	528. 35	227	372, 220	1, 639. 73	26, 924	15, 009, 012	557. 45	4, 877	15. 22	1, 540, 882	315. 94
Colorado	5, 620	3, 344, 262	595. 06	35	60, 949	1, 741. 40	4, 750	3, 024, 452	636. 72	835	14. 85	258, 861	310. 01
Connecticut	5, 432	2, 707, 727	498. 48	20	33, 615	1, 680. 75	4, 924	2, 505, 491	508. 83	488	8. 98	168, 621	315. 53
Delaware	385	184, 918	480. 31	1	1, 273	1, 273. 00	333	166, 012	498. 53	51	13. 24	17, 633	345. 74
District of Columbia	4, 337	2, 133, 233	491. 87	51	86, 037	1, 687. 00	3, 687	1, 865, 495	505. 96	599	13. 81	181, 701	303. 34
Florida	6, 582	3, 428, 752	520. 93	77	130, 088	1, 689. 45	5, 316	2, 895, 198	544. 80	1, 189	18. 06	402, 466	338. 49
Georgia	8, 656	4, 150, 041	479. 44	52	79, 702	1, 532. 73	7, 154	3, 571, 064	499. 17	1, 450	16. 75	499, 275	344. 32
Idaho	1, 378	617, 113	447. 83	3	7, 086	2, 362. 00	1, 199	551, 643	460. 08	176	12. 77	58, 384	331. 72
Illinois	19, 926	8, 308, 629	416. 97	100	157, 860	1, 578. 60	16, 601	7, 214, 769	434. 59	3, 225	16. 18	936, 000	290. 23
Indiana	10, 714	4, 755, 343	443. 84	28	44, 285	1, 581. 60	9, 496	4, 327, 175	455. 68	1, 190	11. 10	383, 883	322. 59
Iowa	6, 524	2, 747, 968	421. 21	9	15, 823	1, 758. 11	5, 410	2, 389, 903	441. 75	1, 105	16. 93	342, 242	309. 72
Kansas	5, 012	2, 159, 350	430. 84	18	31, 940	1, 774. 44	4, 151	1, 863, 453	448. 91	843	16. 81	263, 957	313. 11
Kentucky	12, 059	5, 335, 005	442. 41	19	30, 156	1, 587. 15	10, 669	4, 837, 236	453. 39	1, 371	11. 36	467, 613	341. 07
Louisiana	6, 274	2, 915, 581	464. 71	11	18, 525	1, 684. 09	5, 011	2, 448, 530	488. 63	1, 252	19. 95	448, 526	358. 24
Maine	2, 474	1, 076, 537	435. 14	5	10, 304	2, 060. 80	2, 048	944, 621	461. 24	421	12. 01	121, 612	288. 86
Maryland	5, 429	2, 869, 784	528. 60	33	55, 094	1, 669. 51	4, 614	2, 586, 891	560. 66	782	14. 40	227, 799	291. 30
Massachusetts	18, 036	8, 711, 757	483. 02	94	155, 921	1, 658. 73	15, 762	7, 864, 474	498. 95	2, 180	12. 08	691, 362	317. 13
Michigan	12, 089	5, 166, 183	427. 35	42	70, 953	1, 689. 35	10, 509	4, 606, 690	438. 35	1, 538	12. 72	488, 540	317. 65
Minnesota	11, 806	5, 877, 862	497. 87	26	40, 220	1, 546. 92	10, 402	5, 408, 455	519. 94	1, 378	11. 67	429, 187	311. 46
Mississippi	9, 676	4, 275, 463	441. 86	12	19, 191	1, 599. 25	8, 671	3, 928, 854	453. 10	993	10. 26	327, 418	329. 72
Missouri	13, 409	5, 754, 563	429. 16	50	86, 968	1, 739. 36	11, 739	5, 119, 605	436. 11	1, 620	12. 08	547, 990	338. 26
Montana	2, 513	1, 227, 018	488. 27	8	13, 835	1, 729. 37	2, 270	1, 132, 825	499. 04	235	9. 35	80, 358	341. 94
Nebraska	3, 173	1, 309, 962	412. 85	6	9, 800	1, 633. 33	2, 723	1, 156, 964	424. 88	444	13. 99	143, 198	322. 51
Nevada	532	245, 999	462. 40	2	2, 024	1, 012. 00	465	222, 873	479. 29	65	12. 21	21, 102	324. 64
New Hampshire	1, 458	709, 465	486. 60	6	10, 424	1, 737. 33	1, 285	645, 657	502. 45	167	11. 45	53, 384	319. 66
New Jersey	8, 157	3, 841, 601	470. 96	56	92, 768	1, 656. 57	6, 898	3, 372, 487	488. 90	1, 203	14. 74	376, 346	312. 83
New Mexico	2, 584	1, 454, 229	562. 78	9	15, 991	1, 776 77	2, 163	1, 303, 488	602. 62	412	15. 94	134, 750	327. 06
New York	30, 767	13, 792, 060	448. 27	164	272, 090	1, 659. 08	25, 121	11, 935, 431	475. 11	5, 482	17. 81	1, 584, 539	289. 04
North Carolina	7, 051	3, 642, 789	516. 63	34	52, 962	1, 557. 70	5, 533	3, 085, 669	557. 68	1, 484	21. 04	504, 158	339. 72
North Dakota	1, 823	823, 128	451. 52	1	1, 273	1, 273. 00	1, 583	742, 486	469. 03	239	13. 11	79, 369	332. 08
Ohio	23, 696	10, 382, 789	438. 17	89	147, 286	1, 654. 89	20, 215	9, 161, 808	453. 21	3, 392	14. 31	1, 073, 695	316. 53
Oklahoma	8, 483	3, 664, 412	431. 92	15	22, 590	1, 506. 00	7, 371	3, 264, 391	442. 86	1, 097	12. 93	377, 431	344. 05
Oregon	4, 612	2, 250, 721	488. 01	25	42, 154	1, 686. 16	3, 882	1, 990, 418	512. 73	705	15. 28	218, 149	309. 43
Pennsylvania	25, 919	11, 718, 933	452. 14	114	183, 044	1, 605. 64	22, 511	10, 466, 340	464. 94	3, 294	12. 70	1, 069, 549	324. 69
Rhode Island	2, 203	987, 468	448. 24	4	5, 584	1, 396. 00	1, 873	871, 879	465. 49	326	14. 79	110, 005	337. 43
South Carolina	5, 200	2, 307, 272	443. 71	25	43, 649	1, 745, 96	4, 101	1, 873, 054	456. 73	1, 074	20. 65	390, 569	363. 65

Comparative study of various classes of World War veteran beneficiaries according to State of residence, for fiscal year ending June 30, 1940—Continued.

	Total World War veteran beneficiaries			Emergency officers' retirement pay			Service-connected compensation cases			Permanent and total nonservice-connected pension cases			
	Number	Amount	Average per recipient	Number	Amount	Average per recipient	Number	Amount	Average per recipient	Number	Percent of total recipients	Amount	Average per recipient
South Dakota	2, 212	$924, 262	$417. 84	2	$3, 303	$1, 651. 50	1, 862	$816, 186	$438. 33	348	15. 73	$104, 773	$301. 07
Tennessee	9, 169	4, 410, 746	481. 05	34	56, 607	1, 664. 91	7, 814	3, 906, 233	499. 90	1, 321	14. 40	447, 906	339. 06
Texas	18, 618	8, 681, 838	466. 31	80	126, 923	1, 586. 53	15, 634	7, 565, 143	483. 89	2, 904	15. 59	989, 772	340. 83
Utah	1, 462	685, 831	469. 10	----	----	----	1, 321	639, 384	484. 01	141	9. 64	46, 447	329. 41
Vermont	1, 301	610, 225	469. 04	4	5, 566	1, 391. 50	1, 135	555, 344	489. 28	162	12. 45	49, 315	304. 41
Virginia	6, 126	2, 803, 415	457. 63	36	57, 676	1, 602. 11	5, 112	2, 435, 799	476. 48	978	15. 96	309, 940	316. 91
Washington	5, 612	2, 661, 864	474. 32	21	29, 454	1, 402. 57	4, 731	2, 367, 678	500. 46	860	15. 32	264, 732	307. 82
West Virginia	4, 333	1, 818, 866	419. 77	16	27, 838	1, 739. 87	3, 810	1, 622, 329	425. 80	507	11. 70	168, 699	332. 73
Wisconsin	10, 330	4, 377, 395	423. 76	43	76, 039	1, 768. 34	8, 950	3, 884, 434	434. 01	1, 337	12. 94	416, 922	311. 83
Wyoming	1, 101	461, 702	419. 35	2	3, 002	1, 501. 00	893	409, 365	458. 41	206	18. 71	49, 335	239. 49
Total, United States	406, 408	188, 660, 932	464. 22	1, 778	2, 926, 183	1, 645. 77	345, 392	166, 771, 052	482. 84	59, 238	14. 57	18, 963, 697	320. 12
Outside United States	3, 836	1, 987, 927	518. 22	6	10, 076	1, 679. 33	2, 772	1, 616, 833	583. 27	1, 058	27. 58	361, 018	341. 22
Grand total	410, 244	190, 648, 859	464. 72	1, 784	2, 936, 259	1, 645. 88	348, 164	168, 387, 885	483. 64	60, 296	14. 69	19, 324, 715	320. 49

TESTIMONY OF MILLARD W. RICE—Resumed

Mr. Rice. I do want to call attention, however, to the fact that the migration of these veterans does make a difference economically to the country and does make a difference economically to the various States that are thereby affected.

I think it is generally known that the average amount paid to the average recipient of old-age benefits ranges from $7.22 per month in Arkansas up to $37.90 per month in California.

I think it is also known that the average amounts payable in the form of aid to dependent children ranges from $11.45 per month to $57.55 per month per average family of dependent children throughout the country. And that the average amounts of aid to the blind ranges from $8.25 in Arkansas to $48.05 per month in California.

Now, the Federal Government furnishes one-half of such old-age assistance benefits, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind through the Federal Social Security Board. So, for example, the State of Arkansas receives only about $3.61 for old-age assistance benefits each month, whereas the State of California receives nearly $19 each month for each such case.

In other words, Federal money is being pumped out more than five times as fast to the State of California as it is to the State of Arkansas, approximately, for each case of old-age assistance.

However, we find by making a study of these statistics that these disabled veterans have been inclined to move into the climates where nature treats them a little bit better and where living conditions are somewhat less expensive, when they tend to become badly disabled, or so aged as to become unemployable, and thus they become proportionately greater and greater burdens upon the States into which they have moved.

The Nation has heretofore established the precedent of taking care of all disabled veterans who have become unemployable, through the establishment of a pension system.

I want to point out that there is a very direct economic relationship to the welfare of the respective States by reason of the Federal Government's assumption of that responsibility of providing pensions for veterans who have become so disabled as to become unemployable, as well as the dependent widows and orphans of the deceased World War veterans and other war veterans.

If pensions were granted to these veterans who have become handicapped or unable to work, and to the dependents of those who have died, that would bring increased purchasing power into each State and, consequently, would bring it proportionately in greater sums into the States that have a proportionately higher percentage of disabled veterans and the dependents of deceased veterans.

Such pension payments, in turn, would serve as an additional taxation resource, which the State would collect in the form of sales taxes, transaction taxes, or income taxes, which would thus make it possible for the State, if it wished to do so, to pay out a greater average amount of old-age assistance benefits, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind, in addition to veterans, which in turn would entitle that State to a greater amount of matching money from the Federal Social Security Board, and thus tend to raise the economic and social level in such States.

Therefore, there is a very close and direct relationship between the welfare of disabled veterans and the dependents of deceased veterans, because of their migration from one State to another, and the social-security benefits of other less fortunate citizens.

I think it is of importance that this committee should be aware of the fact that there is such a relationship, and although it is here only indirectly interested in the matter of veteran benefits, it should be aware of the fact that adequate care for the Nation's disabled and unemployable veterans and for the dependents of those veterans who have died will surely also be used to raise the economic and social level of other destitute and less fortunate citizens in those States that are now overcrowded with such citizens or are overcrowded with disabled veterans.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. And we thank you. But Mr. Rice, do you have any idea how fast you talk? I think you are the fastest-talking witness I have ever heard, and I was wondering how the reporter was going to get you. The committee will recess until 2 p. m.

(Whereupon, at 1:15 p. m., the hearing was in recess until 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will please come to order.

Our next witnesses will be Dr. Will Alexander and Mr. Channing R. Dooley.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILL ALEXANDER, VICE PRESIDENT, JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND, CHICAGO, ILL., AND CHANNING DOOLEY, INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS MANAGER, SOCONY-VACUUM OIL CO., NEW YORK, ASSIGNED TO NATIONAL DEFENSE ADVISORY COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Alexander, will you give your full name and in what capacity you appear here today?

Dr. ALEXANDER. I am Will Alexander, vice president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and assigned by the fund to work with the Advisory Council on National Defense.

My work there is particularly in relation to the youth agencies of the Government as they are attempting to train youth for defense work.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Dooley?

Mr. DOOLEY. My name is C. R. Dooley, industrial relations manager of Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., New York, lent to the Defense Commission to develop the training within the industrial program.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Alexander, you were formerly head of Farm Security Administration?

Dr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir; and had to do with larger problems of dealing with agricultural migrants, particularly with relation to establishment of migratory-labor camps in California, Texas, and Florida.

The **Chairman**. I want to say for the benefit of the record that as chairman of this congressional committee you were my first inspiration. We found your handiwork in the principal parts of the United States.

We opened our hearings in New York on June 29. We chose New York purposely in order to attract the Nation's attention to the fact that this is not a one-State problem. And then we went to Alabama, Chicago, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and California, and we think we have awakened the Nation to the fact that it is a national problem.

Now, as this migration of destitute citizens from State to State unfolds to me, speaking for myself only, I have come to the conclusion that, directly and indirectly, it revolves around every one of our economic dislocations in the Nation. In other words, there are so many causes of migration—worn-out soil, unemployment, mechanization, for example—that there is no single solution to the problem. One of the solutions we have heard repeated so many times during our travels is, Why don't they stay at home?

Well, no one of the suggestions so far has been entirely adequate.

The Farm Security Administration has made wonderful strides in keeping some of them at home. But they still will migrate.

Now, Dr. Alexander, I think the best way to proceed is for you to present what you have to say in your own way.

Dr. **Alexander**. All right. Mr. Dooley and I have sort of divided the business of training as it affects this thing, between the two of us.

Mr. Dooley's statements probably will be of more interest to the committee and more important than mine, so I will make my statement brief.

Our interests lie primarily with youth as they are coming into the labor market.

THREE TO FOUR MILLION YOUTHS UNEMPLOYED

The best figures we can get are that there are between three and four million youths out of school between the ages of 18 and 25 who are at present unemployed.

There are between one and two millions of these who are on farms, particularly in the backward agricultural areas. And it is estimated that there is another two million on those farms who are not listed as unemployed, but who are so unprofitably employed that if they get an opportunity that offers them any hope they will be moving just as quickly as those who are counted as unemployed.

We have been trying to get some idea of the number of these youths that are coming into the labor market each year. The estimate seems to be that there is added from the ranks of youth to the labor market each year normally about 650,000 additional workers. So when you begin to put those figures together you get some estimate of the unemployment among these youths.

The years from 18 to 25 represent the age group in which our population is most rapidly increasing. That population is increasing very rapidly and soon will be the largest section of our population.

Some question has been raised as to how much new migration there is among this group of youths, particularly on the farms. They are, of course, the group of people that migrate most easily.

If you make a survey of people who are living away from their birthplace, you will find the majority of them leave somewhere between 18 and 28.

They are the mobile part of the population. Normally these youngsters that I refer to on the farms would have gone to the city or to industries of some sort and would have secured jobs. But as your committee has no doubt heard many times on this trip, there being no opportunities for them to go into industry, they have been accumulating in the last 10 years in these agricultural areas. They are all potential migrants.

The question has been raised as to how much migration there has been as a result of the defense industries among this group of people.

We haven't any figures as yet, but we have some indications, particularly in the old southeastern cotton States, which was the point of origin of many of these people that have become agricultural migrants.

We have had brought to our attention a number of places where work has started, where there has accumulated a surplus population of workers that cannot be employed. I have just had an invitation recently from the departments of labor of these seven southern States to attend a meeting in Atlanta next Monday, where they are going to try to give some attention to the problem of this movement that is already taking place down there.

What is happening is that many of these people are going into the areas where cantonments are being built. A larger number of them go than can be employed.

And many of them who go are without skills. In fact, I should imagine that these farm people in the southern States are the less skilled white people in the world.

They may have had skills in the past, but whatever skills they had when they came to this country are gone. I know of no peasants in Europe that are as lacking in skills as these people are. So they represent a group of people that are not altogether easy to place.

Well, they have gone to these points where they hope to find work. Many of them will find work for a short duration, but many of them cannot be employed because they are not needed. Whatever little skills they have are skills that are not needed, and when these cantonments are built and this construction is over the question of what to do with them next is one that is very serious.

The other question, of course, is to keep any larger numbers from going than have already gone. We have too few facts. Nobody has studied the things that are taking place in the last few months, but it looks rather serious. Now, the Defense Council is trying to think about the labor that would be needed in the job of national defense and has set up a training program to try to get ready the workers that will be needed in the defense industries, about which Mr. Dooley will speak more at length. There seem to be three or four approaches to that training that might be made.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOLS

The one that we would naturally think of first would be the vocational schools. Congress at the last session voted $15,000,000 to begin the training of people in vocational schools—short courses of a few weeks designed to take beginners who have no experience at all and give them some understanding of tools and machines and materials—preemployment courses. Those were pretty largely younger people, because you can't do much with a man who hasn't used his hands when he gets to be 45 or 50 years old.

But there was another group of people who had had some experience in industry but had been unemployed and needed what came to be called refresher courses. From July 1 up to the present time there have been 230,000 workers of these various types who have taken these short courses.

Of these, 120,000 were unemployed people drawn either from W. P. A. or the unemployment rolls, 92,000 were people who had jobs in industry but who needed additional training.

That work is going on. On October 1 there were 102,000 people involved in such courses. Forty-six thousand of them were unemployed and 56,000 of them at that date were from the industries—men coming for refresher courses.

Now, one of the limitations of this program of vocational schools is that the equipment for giving these vocational courses does not exist in the areas where some of the most difficult problems of unemployment exist.

Forty-two percent of all the equipment for doing vocational teaching on the high-school level is in the State of New York. Your State of California has a large expenditure for that sort of equipment, but in these agricultural States, which is the point of origin of many of these agricultural wanderers, there is practically no equipment for giving vocational courses.

And such equipment as there is is in the cities and is entirely out of the reach of these people who must move out somewhere else if they are to find economic foundation. And yet in all this experience of training these people, short-time courses have been, on the whole, satisfactory.

The youngsters that have come in have been particularly desirable from the standpoint of the people who employed them. They have many times been taken into the factories before they got through with their courses. Some of these men with the W. P. A., where they were carefully selected, taken in and given a chance to brush up on such skills as they have had, have been, on the whole, very satisfactory, as they have gone into employment.

And, as the demand for workers goes on, the schools can continue that sort of thing and a considerable number of these people can be gotten back into jobs.

In the N. Y. A. there has been made an attack on the problem of these unemployed youth on their work projects, work projects as conducted by the N. Y. A., which is an effort to give the youngster what they call work experience, actual work at producing something.

It gives them not only the opportunity to develop work habits but it gives them also the opportunity to acquaint themselves with tools and machinery and materials.

As of October 1, there were 300,000 youths on work projects under the National Youth Administration. One hundred and eighty thousand of these were men or boys and 120,000 young women. We were interested in the fact that during October and November something more than around 35,000 of these youngsters did go out and get jobs in industry, and the indications are that they have been satisfactory.

So if that can go on that will be another source of preparing some of these youngsters to take part in the defense industries.

The C. C. C. camps have also been trying to deal with a group of those. They had, as of October 15, 285,000 men. Ten percent of them were veterans but 90 percent of them were young people from 18 to 25.

During the month of October between 4,000 and 5,000 of these boys left to take jobs in industry and another 1,300 of them joined the Army and Navy. So there again is a means of getting some of these young people ready.

But to meet this problem of the rural youth that is still back in the country we have felt that in the first place it is desirable to keep him from moving out until he knows where he is going, so we are building under the N. Y. A., in connection with rural high schools, a thousand shops.

Those shops will be equipped out of an appropriation that was given by the Office of Education, and the Office of Education also has funds to employ teachers.

If we could multiply that shop-building program by three or four times that number, we could begin to get out into these needy places and provide an opportunity to begin training these youngsters and to help them get out of the situations they are in in an orderly manner.

I think there is a good deal of hope in that. Most of the rural schools are pretty impractical in what they teach, and yet these farm boys, many of them, have aptitudes for using tools and have mechanical skill.

It is the opinion of the employers and the opinion of those who have studied it that this farm-shop program offers a very excellent sort of training to introduce a youngster into employment in industry.

The Tolan committee, I think and I hope, if it is within its sphere, will give a little push to that program of supplying these rural communities with some different kinds of training facilities.

The Farm Security Administration and the vocational schools are making a study of the industrial or mechanical experience that these migrants have had, particularly the ones, Mr. Tolan, who are in the migratory-labor camps, in an effort to find out what there is in the way of experience that might be turned into industry.

The study is not finished, but the report is that a good many of those people have had at some time or other experience in some sort of industrial employment and have some sort of mechanical skill.

They are hoping to take just as many of those as they can and put them in schools and get them ready for industrial work and bring their skills back and get them ready for employment.

They are particularly the youngsters among these migrants. I think one of the most striking things brought out in John Steinbeck's story of the migrants is the ingenious way these Joads had of fixing up their old automobile.

Well, that kind of skill is the kind of skill that is needed in industry, and these people have been examining these youngsters in the migrant camps and are inclined to think that a good many of them have aptitudes that can be developed and that some of them can be sent to schools nearby where these short courses are being offered.

But short courses could be set up in the migrant camps. An inexpensive shop could be built and some machinery put in there and some of that training actually could be done in the camps. They are working on that, and I think that is something that may have a bearing on the problem you are investigating.

The thing these people need is jobs, and the Employment Service is also trying to get a little closer to this thing than it has been.

We people in Washington, I think, forget how far away much of our population in this country lives from the things that we talk about here.

And it has been difficult for the Employment Service to reach out into these rural areas where these problems really exist and make the contacts they need to make with these youngsters that need this employment.

They are trying to do that, and I think, with some hope of success. The problem, after all, is that these youngsters are there and unemployed and they can't be employed profitably where they are.

What we have got to find is an orderly movement of labor to substitute for this disorderly thing you have been investigating, people wandering aimlessly over the country.

This training program under the Defense Council furnishes an opportunity for some experiments along that line that may be helpful.

Mr. Curtis. Dr. Alexander, who is going to carry out the details of that program—the Defense Council directly?

Dr. Alexander. No; the program of training will be done by the Office of Education through the vocational schools of the country.

Mr. Curtis. When will it be under way?

Dr. Alexander. It is already under way. I just said before you came in, Congressman, that there were as of the 1st of October 102,000 people enrolled in these courses, and since July 1st there have been 213,000 people who have taken these short courses.

Mr. Curtis. Where are those schools located that are established now?

Dr. Alexander. There are schools of that sort very well scattered over the United States, but 42 percent of the money that has been spent for that kind of equipment is in the State of New York.

Those schools are located largely in industrial areas where there has been somebody interested in that kind of education.

Mr. CURTIS. I am sorry I was detained for a moment, but prior to my coming in, did you say something about the program for agricultural areas?

Dr. ALEXANDER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the plan there?

PROGRAM IN RURAL AREAS

Dr. ALEXANDER. The N. Y. A., as a part of its program, is now building 1,000 shops in connection with rural schools.

The Office of Education has the money to supply those shops with the equipment and the money to supply teachers.

I said before you came in, sir, that I had a feeling that that was one of the ways, if that program can be enlarged, of injecting some order into the movement of labor from the rural areas.

Mr. CURTIS. Has the physical construction of those shops already been started?

Dr. ALEXANDER. Yes; those shops should be completed by the 1st of February.

Mr. CURTIS. In what States are they located?

Dr. ALEXANDER. They are located in every State in the Union, but they have tried to find out where this surplus population is and to weight the thing in that direction.

I am sorry I haven't a list of them, but they are in the States at points of origin from which much of this migration that you have been studying came from.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Dr. Alexander, in other words we can improve the situation regarding the migration of destitute citizens, at least a little bit, by having an accurately informed and reasonably controlled migration, can't we?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Up to now it has been just a hit-and-miss proposition?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We had a representative of Mexico here this morning. He emphasized the fact that down through the years in our relations with Mexico we have set up agreements concerning the flow of commodities and made treaties regarding boundaries and water, but have never done anything about the human interstate commerce between the two countries. Seemingly that is one of our problems here.

Now, I think that what you said here today about vocational training is intensely interesting. As a nation, haven't we overlooked that part of it?

I know as a father that I have overlooked that part of my sons' education. I have not seen to it that they were educated with their hands.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes; I think that is quite true.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, my two boys, one 30 and one 24, first went to grammar school and then high school and then college. But whenever I want something done around the house I have to hire somebody. My wife said to me one day:

"I never saw such a helpless man in my life as you are. You don't know how to handle a saw or hammer or anything else."

"Well," I said, "I think, Mrs. Tolan, you made a mistake when you married me—you should have married a carpenter."

But I think you stressed that very well today, and I think what you are doing is a wonderful work.

Now, Mr. Dooley, you have no prepared statement, have you?

Mr. DOOLEY. No, I haven't. I can talk, and you may interrupt me to ask any questions you may have in mind. I have made some notes.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish to say that the gentleman who just came in is Congressman Sparkman, of Alabama, and this is Congressman Parsons, of Illinois. He said he drew in his district three of your schools. This gentleman is Congressman Curtis, from Nebraska.

Now, I have a notation here that you could tell us something about the response to advertising.

"FAKE SCHOOLS" OF TRAINING FOR AIRPLANE PRODUCTION

Mr. DOOLEY. A number of instances have drifted into our office to that effect. I have no statistics on it. I did mention it this morning to the other gentleman and since then I have checked up with one of the members of the Lockheed Co. who happened to be in my office, to the effect that there are a large number of what he calls "fake schools" to train young men for airplane production.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of schools?

Mr. DOOLEY. Well, he called them "fake schools."

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that has been called to our attention.

Mr. DOOLEY. And particularly in Los Angeles.

I have heard of some around Tennessee and Texas but I have no full data except to feel that that is something to be warned against.

SERVICE-TRAINING PROGRAMS UNDERTAKEN BY INDUSTRIES

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Dooley, would you please discuss with the committee the extent and methods of service-training programs now being undertaken by various industries in the country?

Mr. DOOLEY. As we all know, for the past 10 years there has been very little training within industry. Apprenticeship programs have been on the shelf and now we find ourselves with a rather small number of skilled mechanics.

In most industries—I think today in many of them, anyway—they have about exhausted their lay-off rolls. Concerns which have laid off men in recent years have called them back insofar as they are available.

There are a number of industries that cannot find skilled mechanics in many categories. So they are turning their attention to raw material, so to speak, to inexperienced people, and training them.

There is rapidly growing in many industries a feeling that they must train their own skilled mechanics and the question has become how to do it.

Dr. Alexander's statement was that two-hundred-odd thousand were being trained in vocational schools. Well, in the last year or so, perhaps less, the total employment in industry has increased one million or maybe two million, or at least a million and a half, so many of those people have to be trained on the job when they go to work. The vocational school position in the picture is largely one of pre-employment training plus additional supplementary training after a fellow gets a job.

Now, putting it briefly, the bulk of this skilled training must be done in the plants by the production method, by foremen and instructors in the plants. Now, we have set about to find out some of the best examples in the country where that is being done and to what effect, and some of the technique of it.

I shall be glad to speak on two or three of those if you are interested in them, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; go ahead. We shall be glad to have it.

Mr. DOOLEY. One of the best examples is in your own State in the Lockheed Airplane Co. I checked with them yesterday and again today. They are reaching out to find workers at the rate of about 125 a day. Just as rapidly as they can absorb them they are putting them to work. That is true in a number of other plants. That would be true in the Wright Aeronautical Co.—an engine plant. One is expanding in Paterson and they are building a new one in Cincinnati. It is also true of the Glenn Martin plant, in the Farmingdale and Brewster airplane plants in and about New York and Newark, and a great many others.

So I would say one finger pointing toward an answer to this migrant problem is that by and large, some of the industries, like the airplane industry, are going to absorb these young people just as rapidly as it has mechanical facilities to absorb them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you mean the boys who are not skilled?

Mr. DOOLEY. Anybody.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words they are going to give them the training while on the job?

Mr. DOOLEY. That is right. The program is usually like this: If a man has skill, well and good; if he hasn't, we will train him to do it.

Now it is not quite that idealistic. Not anybody can get a job. There must be some selection; there must be some mechanical aptitude, and there must be a genuine willingness to cooperate and work.

So by setting up a sort of standard which the corporation feels it must have to begin with, and then by getting the assistance of the State Employment Service and the assistance of the vocational school people, they have been able to produce some very wonderful results, the extent of which is limited only by the company's capacity to grow.

You can't put a million men to work overnight. Now, that is true pretty much of all the airplane industry and is true of many of the mechanical industries, except the numbers are smaller.

Instrument makers and lens grinders are being trained out of green, raw, inexperienced people. In fact I have in mind three or four concerns that I have talked with recently who told me privately that they would rather have young, inexperienced people than a good many of the more experienced people.

The Wright Aeronautical Co. in Paterson, N. J., has put on 1,700 or 1,800 young men trained through the vocational schools in Paterson in the last 8 months, and they still have them all. I think they have lost 60 out of that number.

In the Jones-Lamson Tool Works in Springfield, Vt., they are taking green boys out of the villages and off the farms, some of whom have some mechanical aptitude, who have been working in garages, maybe, but have never done any fine precision work. They are teaching them to do grinding operations to a fineness of 1/10,000th of an inch. In a period of weeks they are really doing it more effectively and more satisfactorily than they are able to teach a man who has had a good deal of experience, but not in those fine dimensions.

Mr. Parsons. Isn't that the reason, off the record, that industry probably welcomes the younger ones who are untrained, so they can train them just as they want them to perform?

Mr. Dooley. You might put it that way. They seem to be more moldable, more adaptable, more ready to follow instructions and get up to a high production and high precision.

I am talking more particularly now about precision workmanship and not quantitative. I am not speaking of speed-up and quantitatives, but of actual precision of fine motalished furcases to very accurate dimensions.

I don't want to put undue emphasis on the younger ages, although I take it that is the problem before us this afternoon. Dr. Alexander spoke of the N. Y. A. and the W. P. A. people being satisfactory. That is true, though not perhaps in such large numbers as the vocational-school boys. But in Cleveland they have told us in the Warner-Swasey plant that a number of very excellent boys have come out of the N. Y. A. shops and have taken a hold of the fine precision work in the Warner-Swasey shops in a remarkable way.

And the school principal in Cleveland told me just about 3 weeks ago that the average age of the boys going through the vocational schools in Cleveland is 29.

Well, that shows that some of them must have run up into the 40's, and some of those people in their 40's are people who have never been in a shop before. They have been grocery clerks or various other kinds of workmen and have learned to do these precision operations.

VALUE OF APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM

Mr. Curtis. Mr. Dooley, while all of us are against child labor and such, and we want the children of America to have that full development to which they are entitled, isn't it true that in the passing of the apprenticeship system we are losing something that will require thought and planning to replace?

Mr. Dooley. I think in a broad way I would agree with you, but I think perhaps you had better restate your question.

I think we would agree that the time to get enthusiasm and skill and a perception of skill, not exactly a performance of skill but a perception of skill, is in the younger years.

Now, I don't know that you would call that child labor, but surely the high-school age, down to as low as 17 and 18, is the time to get good work habits of precision.

Now, the apprenticeship idea as such is not really passing. I would like to say just a word as to that.

These plants will need large numbers of skilled mechanics in various categories, many many times the number that are available. It is too bad when looking back that we did not train them during the past 10 years, if anybody would have been around to pay the bill. But we didn't know what was before us and now we must have these skilled workers.

A machine gun with all its various parts or a time fuse or any other instrument—an airplane engine with all its various gears and cams and pistons and so on—all these various parts must fit together. It is not a handmade job. You understand what I mean. It must be an assembled job. An army man told us the other day that in machine-gun work if the gun gets too hot they take the barrel off and put another barrel on—any one would fit. That is precision workmanship.

That is being accomplished through specialization. You can take a man, not necessarily a young man, a man who has mechanical aptitude and a willingness to learn and a sensitiveness to find tolerances—I will tell you a story about that in a minute—and teach him to do one thing, polish a surface or run a milling machine operation, and he will do it just as well as the long-time, old all-around skilled mechanic, only he can do just that one thing.

But if you have a whole group of people, each to do his one part perfectly, all the parts will fit together. But you couldn't run a plant of 100-percent specialists. If you didn't have a few of the old all-around mechanics you would be sunk.

So we are advocating very strongly the retention of the apprenticeship system. It is not apprenticeship versus specialized training. It is both. But the problem is numbers. You may have to have 1,000 specialists and so many apprentices—whatever you may need. They wouldn't be so many, maybe 100 or 150 or whatever it is—in whatever ratio that particular industry requires.

But in either case it would seem to be advisable to bear down in accuracy of performance.

Just as an illustration of that, the Frankfort Arsenal at Philadelphia was in need last summer, before I came on the job, of time-fuse workers whom they called instrument makers, and they couldn't find them.

They advertised through the civil service all over the country, but they were just not to be had. They employed watchmakers and they had proved unable to do the job because of that lack of fine adjustment. They thought a watchmaker could do the job, but apparently that wasn't so. Those men were let go, some 20 of them, and women were employed, women who had been trained in the highly skilled art of embroidery.

The last report we had in September was that these women made 450,000 time fuses with hardly any spoiled work.

There is another phase of this training program I want to make one point on if I may. Someone may get the impression that the training in this extreme specialization may cramp the style and the development of youth and doom him to some narrow outlook which is damaging to his personality.

We don't think that will be true. We know it won't be true if everyone does his part because a part of this program is what is called up-grading.

Mr. PARSONS. Whatever we do to train any of them will be better than what we have been doing in the past.

Mr. DOOLEY. That is very true. Better do that than stand around and do nothing.

Mr. PARSONS. What about the comparison of the vocational schools in Europe with what vocational training we have given in this country?

Mr. DOOLEY. I don't believe I can answer that question with authority. I have not studied the schools in Europe. But I have heard, as you have, a great deal about them.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, for 100 years they have been training their youth in skills of certain types and character—pretty much on the caste system—what father did and what grandfather did, I do. That is the way the child is brought up there.

Mr. DOOLEY. Yes; but I think there is no doubt but what our schools today are improving at a very rapid rate. For instance in the vocational schools today instead of giving a boy a course of 10 weeks with a few days on this machine and a few days on that one and a kind of smattering on everything, they are concentrating on one or two or three operations and bringing him up pretty high in his skill in that one thing.

In some places, like the Wright Aeronautical Co. and Westinghouse up here in New Jersey, they have lent some of their machines to the schools, and lent some of their foremen to help do the teaching. That way they get a boy started at some one thing. From there on he is being moved upward, so if there is a vacancy in a milling-machine operation the foreman just doesn't go out and get another boy and put him on that operation. He simply moves a boy up to that operation and moves the shaper up to the drill-press operator.

Mr. PARSONS. On a kind of promotional basis.

Mr. DOOLEY. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you recall back in the early days when they first started vocational education in the Extension Service for agriculture and home economics?

Mr. DOOLEY. Yes; I do. That was woodwork.

Mr. PARSONS. It was kind of a laughingstock in all the schools that offered it. The young lady who was being taught housekeeping and cooking could hardly boil water without scorching it in some manner or form. The same thing was true in the Extension Service of agriculture. We had to go through that period of trial and error, but those schools now really are doing a very good job.

Every high school, nearly, throughout the country is doing that. We have just waited 50 years too long to start our vocational education.

Mr. DOOLEY. I don't know about the time elements but I do feel that there hasn't been enough emphasis on precision. I should not speak critically because I am not a vocational-school man, but at the present time the training program in the vocational schools and the training program in the factories have focused attention on the idea that whatever you do, you must do it according to a certain high standard.

I know that it is a narrow line, as Mr. McCauley, who is the works manager in a plant in Philadelphia, said the other day in the session we had down here. You have to bring the job down to a narrow enough line so the average man with mechanical aptitude can learn to do it precisely in a very short time. And with five or six hundred employees in that plant they are turning out very fine precision instruments, each one being a special worker with only a handful really, of all-around mechanics.

Mr. **Parsons**. Well, big businessmen are learning that it pays big dividends to aid and assist and cooperate in the training of youth, are they not?

Mr. **Dooley**. Yes; plus another thing, Congressman, if I may say so, that part of the dividends comes indirectly through morale and by taking an interest in the employees and training them and developing them and helping them. If a man has made good in one job, don't keep him there all his life, but move him to another one—help him to get on. In return he puts more interest and enthusiasm in it and he is getting something out of his life as well as turning in a product at the end of each day.

Mr. **Parsons**. In other words they are putting a little more value on the human element in it than they used to do?

Mr. **Dooley**. It is not a sentimental human element. It is based pretty much on efficiency and cooperation—what is best for the man in the long run is going to best for the company too.

PRIVATE VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

The **Chairman**. Mr. Dooley, do you or does Dr. Alexander know of any private vocational schools starting up in this country?

Dr. **Alexander**. I don't know of any that are starting up. There have been some in operation. I have had my attention called to two private schools in New York that do this kind of thing in New York City, but there are others.

The **Chairman**. Are those two schools doing any advertising?

Dr. **Alexander**. I am not aware of it if they are.

Mr. **Dooley**. I have understood there were some in Los Angeles, and Mr. Peterson of the Lockheed Co. told me yesterday that there were and that his company is fighting them as much as it can, although perhaps it is not its business, but they are fighting that kind of private school.

Dr. **Alexander**. The schools I was talking about, Mr. Dooley, are schools that have been licensed by the State of New York but are private enterprises. They come up to the standards. That is not the kind of thing you are talking about.

Mr. **Dooley**. They have some out there. Again, Lockheed has one or two private schools which they have really financed and are operating.

May I say one other thing on this employment business, and again I quote Lockheed, that they are advertising in some 11 States out there—in the far West and Middle West—for help of a certain kind.

The advertising is being done through the California State Employment Service. They are communicating with other State employment services. The program reads that those who are interested should not come to Los Angeles but should go to their local State employment services and register and be preliminarily interviewed. Then when a sufficient nucleus of qualified young men has been gathered in any town as far away as Denver or Cheyenne or anywhere in that vicinity, Lockheed will send their representative to those places to interview them.

I am merely pointing out the way private industry and vocational schools and State employment services can surely do a great deal to meet this problem by cooperating. And many of these youngsters and middle-aged fellows up in the migratory ages who have the required attitude and aptitude, can, through the cooperation of these three agencies, in the very near future, I should think, find jobs, if not all of them.

Mr. Sparkman. There is one thing you said, Mr. Dooley. You said that to get in one of these schools a boy would have to show a previous mechanical aptitude. How are they going to show that?

Mr. Dooley. Well, they have several devices. I suppose mostly it is done simply by an interview.

Mr. Sparkman. It is not experience—they don't have to show experience?

Mr. Dooley. No; no; frequently it is just an interview. Now, there is a feeling that they should use some simple aptitude tests—some mechanical devices to see if a boy can put some nuts and bolts together. There is a great deal of that kind of testing going on—not highbrow intelligence tests altogether, but simply mechanical aptitude devices. And in many instances where the interviewer is a little in doubt he gives the boy a chance. They are requiring no experience.

INDUSTRIES PREFER FARM BOYS

Mr. Sparkman. I am wondering how that program could be shaped up so as to help farm boys, particularly in those sections where they are most numerous.

Mr. Dooley. Well, I suppose I can quote names—no one told me not to. Mr. Finley, the works manager of the new plant in the Wright Aeronautical Co. in Cincinnati, told me the other day that their experience was far better with the farm boys from Pennsylvania and Ohio than with any others, and that he would prefer them between the ages of 18 and 26. They seem to be more adaptable and have more native ingenuity and fewer things to unlearn, so that they just run away with the job. They have many instances of that kind of young men who are in the early twenties and who in 6 months are doing precision work that is perfectly satisfactory.

Mr. Sparkman. Of course, one of the great crying needs of the section of the country from which I come is to get some kind of industrial development to take care of the surplus population that comes off the farms.

I am just wondering how this thing could be handled down there.

Mr. Dooley. Well, all the industrial people that I have had any contact with would prefer the farm boy to any other boy.

Mr. Sparkman. But I noticed a minute ago that you referred to Pennsylvania and some other State up there. I am thinking about turning it south of the Ohio River.

Mr. Parsons. The Congressman comes from Alabama.

Mr. Dooley. I merely said that because that is where he is getting his boys. He is building a new plant in Cincinnati, and he told me the other day he had his scouts out, and he had about 4,000 young men in the vicinity of Cincinnati lined up to go through the vocational schools, then come into the shops.

The vocational schools are not going to make mechanics out of them, but they will orient them and give them a toehold. He will start them on the simplest operations, and they will start to climb the industrial ladder in his plant. You would say it couldn't be done, but 2 or 3 days ago a couple of men from the May oil burner came into my office and wanted to know something about our training program. They are going to make binoculars for the British Government—they make oil burners now—sounds silly, doesn't it; but they will do it and do a good job, because they will get new people—green help that doesn't know much about it. They will have some skilled men to supervise it, and I will bet they turn out a good job.

TRAINING PROGRAM UNDER OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Mr. Sparkman. Either you or Dr. Alexander may have covered it, but you refer to "vocational schools." Are those schools operated by the public-school system of each State?

Dr. Alexander. Yes; under the Office of Education. An appropriation was made, Congressman Sparkman, to the Office of Education. The teaching is actually done in the vocational schools that are a part of the State system. One of the things that we have been trying to do, for your section particularly, is to increase one of the things that needs to be done. We are making a little headway with it—it is to increase the amount of equipment for this kind of teaching in connection with the schools.

I expect you have a little vocational equipment in your schools at Huntsville, but I will guarantee there is not much of it down there in the Tennessee Valley where you come from. Yet there are rural schools out there where, if they could have a shop and shop teacher in connection with it, they could be doing the preliminary teaching there about as well as anywhere else.

Mr. Dooley. And in connection with the N. Y. A., Dr. Alexander spoke of the 1,500 shops they have been developing. Mr. Will has been after us to help him find production engineers. He is trying to develop shops that will have standards of precision and standards of workmanship and standards of time and costs that will be right up to any other shop—inspection must be good. We have found two or three production engineers to help him on the job.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are the C. C. C. camps going into this kind of work?

Dr. ALEXANDER. C. C. C. camps are emphasizing auto mechanics. They are setting up central shops for repairing equipment, gasoline engines, and so on that are being used on the projects of the camp, but that is about as far as they have gone.

They are doing a little something in communications. Perhaps it is largely mechanical work on automobiles and tractors.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Congressman, and chairman, this program of ours, within service training, involves three kinds of training—the specialized training, the apprenticeship training for all-around skill, and the training of supervisors, which I have not yet touched on and which is a tremendously important problem.

Our program as a whole and how we are going to operate is written up in a series of several bulletins, six or seven of them, which I will be glad to put in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have them marked as exhibits and then they will become a part of the record.

(The bulletins referred to appear below:)

ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Labor Division—"Training Within Industry," Bulletin 1)

THE "TRAINING WITHIN INDUSTRY" PROGRAM

The Commission has established this service to defense industries in meeting their increasing needs for capable workers and supervisors.

The underlying purpose of this activity is—

To assist defense industries to meet their manpower needs by training within industry each worker to make the fullest use of his best skill up to the maximum of his individual ability, thereby enabling production to keep pace with defense demands.

Based upon types of requests for assistance which have been received from industry, the problem of increasing all kinds of skill as needed divides itself into three parts:

1. *Inventory of present skills.*—This should cover unemployed, employed, and employed below their greatest usefulness. Various responsible Federal, local, and cooperating agencies are already at work gathering this information, but also each plant should take stock of the talent and experience of its employees and make internal adjustments before employing new men.

2. *Training outside of industry.*—This includes preemployment preparation and supplementary related, out-of-work-time instruction. This part of the program is already being provided for by public and private vocational and trade schools and by engineering colleges, but it is of such vital interest to industry that the closest kind of cooperation must be continuously maintained with them. National Youth Administration, Work Projects Administration, and Civilian Conservation Corps also offer opportunities for preemployment work experience.

It is of utmost importance that the industries served participate actively with the schools in setting up entrance standards, so that all who complete the course will be acceptable for employment. It is also important that the numbers of persons trained be not greatly in excess of the needs of the industries served. Industry can well afford to supply some of its first-class employees to schools as teachers. Some of their retired employees would be excellent instructors. Industrial management can also assist these other agencies in making their services increasingly useful to industry.

3. *Training within industry.*—This particularly deals with industry's own training responsibilities, and is the area in which the efforts of this activity will be concentrated.

The conclusions of various recent conferences confirm experience that this training includes three phases:

(*a*) Development of production workers through intensive instruction and planned job progression based upon analysis and definition of jobs according to basic operations.

(*b*) The establishment of trades apprenticeship, in accordance with Federal standards, separate from production worker training, for the purpose of developing a predetermined, limited number of all-around journeymen mechanics.

(*c*) The development of supervisors through careful selection, assignment of supervisory duties of increasing responsibility, and provision for related organized help through discussions and conferences under both plant and outside auspices. Technicial and other management assistants must be developed also.

It is the intention of this organization to render specific advisory assistance to defense industries in inaugurating programs which they will carry on within their own plants at their own expense. The availability of this service will be made known, but will not be compulsory. There will be no authority to go into a plant on any basis other than at their request.

Four general types of assistance will apply in most cases and will be adapted to fit the various conditions in each specific plant.

1. Help in the analysis of the training needs.
2. Aid in setting up a program within the plant to meet its needs.
3. Make available the experience of other employers who have met similar problems through headquarters and field clearance.
4. Acquaint plant management with the availability of the services of tax-supported Government agencies, such as the State and Federal employment service, vocational and trade schools, engineering colleges, National Youth Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, Work Projects Administration, so that the fullest use may be made of them. Only through the closest coordination and interpretation of the needs of industry to these agencies can they furnish the most effective preemployment education and experience, as well as related instruction for employed workers.

This field service can be most effectively rendered by representatives of "Training Within Industry" working continuously in local areas of the district in which defense industries are located. Their activites wll be carried on under the general direction of a small staff at Washington headquarters, so that the experience in each district will make a contribution to the program as a whole.

The field organization will be set up in some 22 districts as follows, according to the most important industrial centers. Field experience may result in a smaller or larger number of districts.

New England.
Southern New England (Connecticut and Rhode Island).
Upstate New York.
Greater New York City.
New Jersey.
Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.
Maryland.
Virginia, North and South Carolina.
Southeastern States.
Ohio Valley.
Western Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia.
Northern Ohio.
Michigan.
Indiana.
Greater Chicago and Illinois.
North Central States.
Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas.
Texas and Louisiana.
Colorado and Wyoming.
Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico, northern California, Nevada, and Utah.
Pacific Northwest.

In each district the organization will be about as follows:

1. One district representative borrowed from industry because of his experience and standing in this field of work.
2. One field assistant.
3. One office assistant.
4. A panel of 10 or more personnel and training consultants borrowed from industry on account of their knowledge and experience, to be available on call as needed.

All field staff will receive "per diem" expense and travel payment while serving the Defense Commission away from their home stations.

5. Four advisers, two from labor and two from management, will be selected on account of their background and experience in dealing with such problems within manufacturing industries. They will assist the district representative in anticipating and meeting training problems in their areas, and also will be helpful in creating and maintaining public interest.

C. R. DOOLEY,
Director, Training Within Industry.

Washington, D. C. Issued September 24, 1940. Revised October 21, 1940.

ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Labor Division—"Training Within Industry," Bulletin 2)

UPGRADING WITHIN INDUSTRY

The following represents the considered judgment of many representatives of industrial plants who have cooperated in the preparation of this statement of basic practice which prevails in their companies.

C. R. DOOLEY,
Director, Training Within Industry.

PROMOTION FROM WITHIN

Modern industrial organizations are made up basically of three kinds of employees: (1) A large number of production workers who perform one or a few operations skillfully and hence are able to achieve high production in a minimum time; (2) a smaller group of all-around skilled tradesmen or craftsmen; (3) supervisory, managerial, and technical employees and their clerical and office assistants.

The factory is a collection of coordinated processes. In the large, it is itself a machine. Jobs are not static—they are lines of flow through the shop. One job leads to a better and more important one and the employee gets his training and develops his skills step by step. A man's job is a rung on the ladder of promotion and progress. This is the efficient way as well as the American way. It is a system that leads workers from the bottom upward in the pyramid of organization. Rapid and efficient training can be made to meet unusual expansion needs through such a definite step-by-step program.

There are four things to do in setting up such a plan:

1. *Engineer the job structure.*—Carefully analyze jobs into their basic operations as far as possible. Grade and establish their relative worth. Set workers as much as possible to performing single operations, thereby achieving efficiency, high production, good wages, and preparedness for the next step.

2. *Map the naturally effective lines of promotion.*—When the job structure is examined, it will be apparent that there are natural channels through which the worker may be upgraded. The bench worker may be moved to a simple machine operation, then to more exacting operations, next to work requiring him to perform his own set-up, and so on upward. Such natural training paths of movement can be mapped out.

3. *Select qualified employees for upgrading.*—When better jobs are open, they should be filled by the best qualified employees. An inventory of the working force will classify the employee's potential ability, previous experience, education, his job preference, and length of service. No matter what form this inventory takes—whether through interviews or personnel records, or any other means—such information is essential to training through upgrading.

4. *Adopt an upgrading policy and make some one individual responsible for making it effective.*—It is essential that top management establish a definite policy of promotion from within in order to train effectively through upgrading. Under this plan one individual is responsible for all placements. He should know as much as possible about the jobs in the plant and about the employees' qualifications to fill them. In addition, employees should be permitted to apply for changes in their jobs without prejudice.

Such a centrally controlled plan makes available for quick reference, information on worker analysis, job analysis, and paths of upgrading. Such a transfer service collaborates with the line supervision in filling higher jobs with the objective of giving the better job to the best qualified employees. Those who operate this central service must have authority from higher management so that they will be consulted on all upgrading opportunities and be in agreement regarding the final action to be taken. Any disagreement between the line organization and the central service moves up the line for review and final decision by top management. Such a plan can quickly be set up by assigning the responsibility to a man of wide knowledge of jobs and workers in the plant. As it operates, it will build up records and experience which will enable it to do an increasingly better job.

Carrying out such a policy of training through upgrading, coordinated by a central placement service results in rapidly and efficiently training a working force of greater flexibility and effectiveness.

Pay adjustments should be made simultaneously with promotion to the jobs of higher rating. Prompt recognition in compensation and status are the means for stimulating and maintaining interest in the learning process. There will be high morale because of this policy of advancement, based on the fair and unprejudiced consideration of merit. Where merit and other factors are equal, preference should be given to length of service.

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ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Labor Division—"Training Within Industry," Bulletin 2–A)

Expediting Production Through Training

The quick training of production workers is one of the first expansion problems encountered by defense contractors.

It is only natural that in the rush and pressure of new orders there is often little planning for the training of these workers. This is an inevitable part of any rapid build-up period, and unfortunately means, in many cases, needless scrap losses, increased accidents, delays, and difficulties in attaining quality standards.

The following procedures represent successful practice in many leading companies. They are recommended to any company that wishes to develop experienced workers to their greatest usefulness and to get new workers into production in a minimum of training time.

C. R. Dooley,
Director, Training Within Industry.

TRAINING PRODUCTION WORKERS

Three steps normally are taken in training production workers:

1. Engineer the job.
2. Upgrade experienced employees.
3. Instruct new and experienced workers in new skills.

These steps are such that any or all of them can be used and adapted to most any company's production problem.

1. *Engineer the job.*—Some companies find it possible and advantageous to so engineer their producing facilities that each operation requires but one principal skill on the part of the worker or workers to perform. Others find this impossible or undesirable for a variety of reasons.

Of course, the engineering of production processes is not a part of a training program, but it does represent the first and basic step in meeting and simplifying the training problem.

2. *Upgrade experienced employees.*—Nothing is so destructive of a worker's efficiency, loyalty, and morale as to have a man hired from the outside and given a higher-rated job for which the worker feels he could qualify. Telling the worker that the pressure of the defense program is so great that there is no

time to give him the opportunity to learn another job is not a satisfactory answer. This is especially true in the case of a worker who "has his eye" on a better job.

When the time arrives that the pressure for production eases and retrenchment becomes imminent, worker efficiency and loyalty will perhaps be even more necessary. It is essential, therefore, that the foundations for good future industrial relations be laid now.

Successful practice to assure proper attention to upgrading consists of the same four procedures used in putting any company program into effect, i. e., determine the policy, prepare the plan, assign responsibilty, and establish controls:

(*a*) Set forth policy: At the beginning of the expansion or "busy" period, top management issues a written policy statement or letter clearly stating that present workers are to be upgraded, i. e., promoted, transferred, or rotated, before new workers are to be hired.

(*b*) Plan the program: One individual who is familiar with jobs and workers in the plant is assigned the task of collaborating with superintendents and foremen in preparing a plan by which the upgrading is to be done. Such a plan consists of two simple steps:

(1) Determine lines of promotion (from what job to what job.)

Usually it is found that there are many groups of operations for which there are already natural lines of promotion. There are others, however, that do not fit into the normal promotional sequence, and which should be fitted into the sequence to provide normal promotional opportunity and to prevent them from becoming "blind alley" jobs.

All the production jobs in the shop are listed in the order which indicates the lines of promotion from the lowest rated to the highest rated. This is done by departments, occupations, or whatever logical grouping of jobs obtains.

Of course "line of promotion" does not mean that movement from each job to the next is an immediate promotion. Obviously before a promotion is possible to many jobs, workers must be transferred to two or more jobs on the present level to prepare them for promotion. Or perhaps, two, three, or more workers are asked to "trade jobs" (known as "job rotation") to give them necessary background and work experience. The line of promotion, therefore, indicates the order in which jobs must be learned, so that if this learning order is followed over a period of time, each worker will be using his "best skill to the maximum of his individual ability."

(2) Indicate experience necessary to qualify for each job: There is indicated for each job the operations a worker must be able to do in order to qualify for it. This provides for busy superintendents and foremen a ready reference when promotions are considered. It is particularly helpful when planning transfers or rotations for workers who need additional experience and rounding out before qualifying for promotion.

This work can be completed in a short time—usually a day or two—and requires but a few minutes from time to time to keep up to date as jobs change. When completed, it is usually charted and distributed to all shop supervisors.

(*c*) Assign responsibility: Line superintendents and foremen, of course, are held responsible for carrying out the program.

The responsibility for helping them carry out the upgrading program is delegated to the individual mentioned above who has done most of the work in planning it. This is a full-time job in large plants and part-time in small ones. He is given authority to suggest to foremen and others, advantageous moves of workers, and he must be consulted and be in agreement with any promotions or transfers to be made. Any disagreement between the upgrading planning man and the superintendents or foremen moves up the line for review and final decision by a top executive.

(*d*) See that the plan is carried out: A top executive keeps personal touch with and control of the upgrading program during the early weeks. He approves employment of new workers only after shop superintendents and others have shown him in detail that every present worker who is qualified for a better job has been promoted and that all other logical and reasonable transfers to round out experience have been made.

This personal control is maintained only for such time as is necessary to assure that the policy is definitely understood and consistently carried out throughout the organization.

In smaller plants the whole upgrading policy is often planned and carried out by the shop superintendent or general foreman.

Such insistence upon upgrading admittedly works temporary hardship upon many—sometimes all—of the supervisory force. Any foreman finds it easier to hire a new worker for a job than to fill it by moving two, three, or more workers up the line, and having to train each of them on a new job. This is an important practice where the long-term advantage outweighs the short-term inconvenience.

3. *Instruct new and experienced workers in new skills.*—Among others, the following three plans represent successful practice in many industries:

(*a*) Rely on observation and experience: This method needs no explanation. The employee works with an experienced group or is assigned to an experienced worker as a beginner or helper. Gradually, through contact with the work and the usual percentage of mistakes he obtains the necessary knowledge and skill.

While this method has the chief disadvantages of requiring a long time and being an expensive method, it is still a practical one for many operations.

(*b*) Off-the-job instruction by vocational schools: Many firms that are adjacent to vocational schools are making excellent use of these facilities. Airplane engine makers, for example, are able, through special arrangement with vocational schools, to shorten the training time for new workers for use in production shops. During this training period, the students, under close supervision of trained instructors (some of whom are borrowed from the company), learn the new operations and develop beginning skills.

Vocational schools also can give instruction in blueprint reading, mathematics, mechanical drawing, layout work, and variety of other subjects important to defense work. Sometimes local high schools and neighboring engineering colleges are able to give employees preparatory and related instruction.

These are effective to the extent that the school and industrial people plan and agree upon the instruction to be given.

(*c*) Intensive instruction on the job: When inducting new and experienced workers into new jobs, learning time is usually cut in half by giving them individual instruction and coaching on the job. This instruction, naturally, is preferably given by foremen, leadmen, or special instructors. Under force of circumstances, it may be delegated to the skilled workers to whom the new men are assigned.

It is common knowledge that good mechanics do not necessarily make good teachers. Consequently, much time is gained and the interest and morale of the employees are preserved if all those who have the task of instructing them have been specially trained to do this work.

Experience shows that intensive job instruction is the best way by which new workers may be gotten into production quickly. It is equally effective in quickly instructing experienced workers in operations new to them.

Bulletin No. 2–B, How To Prepare Instructors To Give Intensive Job Instruction, deals specifically with this subject.

* * * * * * *

A related problem often arises when new men are being trained by skilled workers, namely, that skilled workers are reluctant to pass on their knowledge and skill, obtained through long years of experience, to new men. This is a natural reaction and is being intelligently recognized in many companies by doing two things:

(1) Consistently applying the upgrading policy outlined in this bulletin. Skilled workers are usually glad to help train and upgrade men for new jobs if they also have the opportunity to be upgraded.

(2) Maintaining a proper rate differential: One company starts new workers at the minimum rate and tells them that they will receive a 5-cents-per-hour increase at the end of 30 days and 5-cents-per-hour increase at the end of each successive 60 days until they are earning within 10 cents per hour of the experienced men who are training them. At this time they remain at the same rate until they attain the matured knowledge and skill of the experienced workers or attain competence in instructing other new workers.

It is also explained to them that the demands of the defense program are such that they must warrant and receive the periodic wage increases or drop out of the work program to make way for men who can learn more quickly.

This plan was developed in cooperation with representatives of the skilled workers involved, and is heartily supported by them.

Each situation will call for its own individual and appropriate treatment.

October 28, 1940, Washington, D. C.

ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Labor Division—"Training Within Industry," Bulletin No. 2–B

How To Prepare Instructors To Give Intensive Job Instruction

Many companies have found it possible to organize effectively the training of new employees and experienced production workers in new skills so that the learning time is spent on the job on production work under actual shop conditions. On-the-job instruction is given by foremen, leadmen, or, where large numbers of men need to be trained at one time, by special instructors.

Some companies have set up training sections separate from the regular production shop, using the output of such sections in the regular manufacturing process. Whether the instruction is given in production shops or in separate training sections, it is necessary to equip those selected to do the instructing with an organized knowledge of production operations and the ability to impart it to others.

In this bulletin are recommended the essentials for the preparation of instructors. It recognizes that modifications must be made to meet varying needs in different situations.

C. R. Dooley,
Director, Training Within Industry.

MAKING INSTRUCTORS

"Instructor" is used here to mean foremen, leadman, or workman who has a major or full-time responsibility for breaking in production workers to new jobs.

Individual plant requirements in respect to the number of instructors, time available for training, and degree of teaching skill necessary on specific jobs will naturally vary. Job training covers a wide range, from an hour or two required to "break in" an employee on a simple, repetitive job to months for more difficult and complicated skills. There are four phases or steps usually followed in developing instructors:

1. Selection of those to be trained.
2. Arrangements for their training.
3. Content of the training program.
4. Supervision and follow-through.

1. *Selection of employees for training as instructors.*—This is the most important step in the process since the ultimate success in training production workers depends upon the ability and skill of the job instructors. The following are important considerations in the selection of employees for training as instructors:

Personal aptitude should be given equal weight with job skill. It is common knowledge that good mechanics do not necessarily make good teachers. A genuine liking for working with people and an ability to express themselves clearly, patience, and ability to get along with different kinds of people are important.

Recognized skill in the job to be taught. The degree of instructing skill required on any given job is governed to a large extent by the simplicity or complexity of the job.

A willingness to accept this kind of responsibility.

Some companies have used general intelligence, teaching aptitude, and personality tests as aids in the selection of candidates for training.

2. *Arrangements for training instructors.*—There are two sources through which trained instructors may be developed.

Under company auspices. If there is not already a supervisor of training within the company, one or more supervisors should be selected and trained to take up this responsibility. An outstanding foreman, engineer, or junior executive might prove to be a good man for this work after he has had some practice. Visits to plants where such instruction is being carried on and help by a training specialist from another company would be useful in launching a program. Some State universities and State vocational education departments are manned to give assistance in training a supervisor to carry on this kind of work.

Usually it is desirable to release from other duties those selected to devote full time to the training of instructors, although in some companies the responsibility is taken over in addition to other duties. Elements of time, convenience, and number of instructors to be trained will be controlling factors.

By outside agencies. Some State departments of vocational training offer courses in how to instruct on the job and are prepared to conduct classes for job instructors within a specific plant or to hold classes for men from several plants at specially agreed upon central locations.

It has been found that the training of job instructors can best be done in groups of 8 to 10. Suitable quarters away from the job should be arranged. Most companies have found it desirable to release men from all job responsibilities during the training, permitting them to give full-time, intensive attention to learning how to instruct.

3. *Content of training program.*—The scope of the training given and length of the training period will vary.

For example, the machine operator who will break in new workers on his kind of machine may require only 12 to 16 hours of training on how to instruct. The training in this instance would embrace the fundamentals of analyzing the one job he is to teach and supervised practice in how to quickly cover the key points of each operation with a new worker.

On the other hand, the full-time instructor, who is responsible for the instruction of a number of new workers on several jobs, requires a greater degree of teaching skill, which may take 30 to 48 clock hours for him to acquire.

A typical program of instructor training, containing the major principles, is outlined below. It will not always be possible or even desirable to apply this entire pattern to all situations.

(*a*) Job analysis for instruction purposes: The purpose here is to develop—

Ability on the part of the prospective instructor to make an analysis of the job to be taught. The experienced man often overlooks details of the job, which, because of his intimate knowledge, have become "second nature" to him. He must look carefully at every detail of a job from the beginner's viewpoint before attempting to teach it.

Ability to recognize and pull out the key operating points or "tricks of the trade" which are most vital to the successful performance of each operation.

Judgment as to the degree of detail to which it is necessary to go in breaking down a job, depending on the complexity of the operation to be taught and the knowledge the learner brings to the job.

These objectives can best be reached by requiring each member of the training group to analyze one job he will teach, under the guidance of the leader. This is done both in the conference group and individually with each trainee who makes an analysis of a job with which he is familiar out in the shop. A general discussion and comparison of analyses is then held with the group to bring about a common understanding of the technique.

Most of such analyses include all or part of the following:

Notes of the steps or operations necessary to do the job;

Special words used in talking about the work, the product, the tools, or doing the job;

Special precautions to insure required quality ("getting it done right the first time");

Notes on waste prevention, either of tools or materials;

Safety and health precautions necessary for the learner to know in doing the job;

Notes on the troublesome points where the learner must exercise his own judgment;

Supplementary information, such as how the product is used and how his part ties into other operations.

(*b*) Planning the instruction: Each prospective instructor is required to make notes of a simple plan for putting over instruction which he is going to give. One or more of these units is tried out in a practice teaching situation (see below) and each demonstration is followed by review and discussion. Using the job analysis as a base, decision must be reached regarding:

What fundamentals must be driven home.

In what order the operations can best be taught.

What must be done to build up satisfactory output after operations have been learned.

What facts must be given to the learner about the job and when.

(*c*) Teaching the job: The new instructor must be helped to understand the teaching process.

The conference leader puts on sample demonstrations, involving real teaching situations, to make clear each of the three following major requirements. The group analyzes and discusses what the leader has done.

(1) The steps through which the instructor leads a learner.

In the process of teaching any part of a job, the new worker is only conscious of acquiring new knowledge and skill and is not aware of the four steps through which the instructor carries him:

First, the learner's attention and interest is secured;

Second, the learner is shown how to do that part of the job;

Third, the instructor lets the learner try to do it, correcting mistakes before they become fixed in ineffective work habits;

Fourth, the learner is put on his responsibilities but is closely watched by the instructor until he has gained skill and speed and confidence.

(2) How the instructor puts across to the learner the ideas he must know to perform each operation.

(3) How the instructor checks to see that the learner understands clearly.

(*d*) The beginner's learning difficulties: It is necessary for the instructor to identify some of the learning difficulties inherent in jobs, how they may be classified, and their effect on the new worker in making it hard or easy for him to become proficient. There are at least six kinds of these learning difficulties:

Confusion over complex details.
Understanding the main idea.
"Unlearning" old habits.
Catching the "knack."
Getting the "feel."
Developing speed, ease, and confidence.

Prospective instructors are placed in the position of "green" learners. The conference leader gives several teaching demonstrations, using simple units of instruction of real interest and new to the learner. Group discussion follows each demonstration to help the new instructor to get the "green" employee's point of view.

(*e*) Practice teaching: Each new instructor must be given the opportunity to gain confidence that he can apply out in the shop what he is learning. Nothing is more helpful than practice under constructive coaching. Let him demonstrate how well he can apply the principles of job instruction in a practical teaching situation.

Throughout the entire period of training and as often as possible, each prospective instructor is required to teach a worker new to the company and to the job, one or more complete operations under the observation of the group and the leader. The operations to be taught are selected by the prospective instructor and are actual jobs which are a part of his own shop work. They are of such a nature that the complete operation can be covered with the learner in 20 to 25 minutes. How to use a file correctly, how to read a micrometer, how to perform a simple assembly operation are examples of the type of instruction units used. The learners are usually sufficiently "green" to make it possible for their interest in learning something new to be genuine.

After each demonstration, through group discussion, the work of each prospective instructor is constructively criticized and evaluated.

4. *Supervision and follow through on the job.*—It is not sufficient to turn out a corps of trained instructors. The training of individual workers begins only at this point, and there are several steps that may be taken to insure the instructor's effectiveness in getting workers into production quickly.

(*a*) Provision should be made for a proper wage differential between the rate for instructors and the top rate of the work classification for which they are training workers. This policy provides an incentive to experienced men to attain competence in instructing new workers.

(*b*) Special instructors, skilled men trained as instructors, or trained leadmen can safely handle 5 to 10 men on production work. A check sheet or record of the worker's performance, the speed with which the worker builds up skill, his method of doing the operations, rejects and spoilage and injuries are points to be closely checked on the job by the supervisor of training as well as by production supervisors.

In most companies, special instructors report administratively to the foreman responsible for production and are a part of the regular production force, but are under the technical direction of the staff training supervisor.

(*c*) Frequent visits to the shop where the new instructor is working should be made by the training supervisor.

(*d*) After instructors have been on the job for a month or two, they should be brought back for a half-day conference in which instruction techniques are reviewed in the light of actual teaching experience. Periodic conferences of this type will help the instructor to improve his effectiveness.

(*e*) Periodic reports regarding the success of new workers thus trained should be made to upper management. Having authorized the program, executives naturally are interested in its progress and success.

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Unless the program results in a saving of at least one-half the time usually taken by the old haphazard watching, telling, or just "showing 'em how" methods of breaking in new workers, the instructor training program has not been well planned or carried out.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 1, 1940.*

ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Labor Division—"Training Within Industry," Bulletin 3, October 1940)

Expediting the Training of Skilled Tradesmen

This bulletin embodies the principal features of apprenticeship taken from the best practices found in leading industries and will serve as a basis for apprentice training in practically all situations. It was prepared with the assistance of the staff of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship. The services of this committee's field and headquarters staffs have been made available to aid with the apprenticeship phase of the "Training Within Industry" program.

The training of production workers in operations requiring a single skill is not a substitute for apprenticeship. Both programs have a distinct place in emergency defense work and should be carried on simultaneously. Trade apprenticeship should be regarded not only as a long-term program from which industry must procure most of its skilled craftsmen but also as a source from which set-up men, leadmen, as well as some future supervisory and technical personnel may be drawn.

C. R. DOOLEY,
Director, Training Within Industry.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The objective of apprenticeship is the development of all-around skilled craftsmen. This is accomplished by having each apprentice pursue a predetermined and scheduled program of (*a*) progressive work assignments and (*b*) supplementary instruction.

A well-balanced program provides not only for efficient training in trade skills but allows time enough for the apprentice to mature as a responsible worker. On the other hand, the program should enable each apprentice to progress according to his individual learning ability. Some apprentices are thus able to successfully complete the entire program in a somewhat shorter time than the established period.

1. *Setting up the program.*—Experience with well-established apprenticeship plans indicates that in setting up a program action should be taken on the following items:

(*a*) Responsibility for the apprentice program: Most companies find that the plan is productive of best results when responsibility for it is placed upon a single supervisor (full time in larger plants—part time but a major responsibility in smaller plants).

(*b*) Occupations to which apprentices will be assigned upon becoming journeymen.

(*c*) Number of apprentices in relation to the number of employed journeymen, anticipating normal journeymen losses, such as retirements, quits, transfers, and deaths.

(*d*) Length of the apprenticeship based upon the number and complexity of the skills to be acquired. (The Federal Committee on Apprenticeship recommends 4,000 hours as a minimum total time.)

Some companies find it mutually advantageous to execute a written agreement with each new apprentice, specifying what the company proposes to teach the apprentice and what the apprentice promises to do in return.

(*e*) Provision for instruction and coaching on the job, including the selection and scheduling of work experience.

(*f*) Provision for classroom instruction in related technical subjects.

(*g*) Wage scale[1] related to the going rate for journeymen in the trade for which training is being given and graduated to permit periodic increases as the apprentice progresses.

(Regulations under the Wage-Hour and Walsh-Healey Acts make it possible to pay a wage less than the minimum wage rates provided the apprentices are registered with the State Apprenticeship Council or the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship if a State council has not been established.)

2. *Selecting candidates for apprenticeship.*—The ultimate success of an apprenticeship plan depends more upon the ability and character of the young men selected than upon any other single factor in the program. The following are fundamental considerations in selecting those to be trained:

(*a*) Give special attention to the character, mechanical aptitude, and intelligence of candidates.

(*b*) Request foremen to recommend likely candidates, and take full advantage of all information available in plant personnel records.

(*c*) Consult with school authorities for additional evidence of aptitude and suitability.

(*d*) Establish a definite probationary period to serve as a double check on the suitability of those selected.

(*e*) Usually candidates who have some trade experience may be found who can complete the program in less than the full period. This is particularly helpful in launching a new program and will make available some trained men at an early date.

3. *Carrying on the program.*—Experience with well-established programs indicates that continuous attention is needed on the two basic features of apprentice training, i. e., shop experience and related instruction.

(*a*) Shop experience: It is essential that carefully organized instruction be given to each apprentice when he starts to work on each new job, and as he encounters difficulties with the job. In larger plants, where the number of apprentices justifies, a section of the regular shop is equipped and used especially for apprentices. By thus grouping apprentices in one section, a great deal of individual instruction and attention can be given. This contributes greatly to thorough mastery of the trade and to shortened learning time.

In smaller plants such instruction is given to each apprentice when placed on regular jobs in the shop. In either case, care should be used in choosing the kind of production work, bearing in mind its teaching and experience value. The thoroughness and speed with which the apprentice learns his trade will largely depend upon the instructing and continuous coaching skill of the foremen and journeymen for his work experience.

In cooperation with foremen the apprentice supervisor should have authority to move apprentices from job to job on the same work level and to upgrade apprentices from lower to higher levels of skill as each skill is satisfactorily acquired.

Upon recommendation of the apprentice supervisor apprentices should be given appropriate increases in their pay when justified by increased skill and knowledge.

(*b*) Related instruction: Vocational schools are usually used for instruction on related technical subjects, although some companies establish classes within their own plants. This supplemental instruction should coincide with current production experience. Ordinarily, 10 percent of the total working hours is devoted to such related instruction, which may or may not be on company time.

Advisory assistance and technical consultation on the establishment and conduct of apprenticeship programs may be secured from the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship and its field staff. Requests for assistance or consultation may be directed to the office of the "Training Within Industry" or to the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, Washington, D. C.

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[1] For survey of wages paid apprentices in representative industries, consult apprentice field representative.

ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Labor Division—"Training Within Industry," Bulletin 4)

Strengthening the Managerial Organization

Helping managerial personnel to meet its operating responsibilities is the key to the success of an organization. It is also the key to the training of new workers and to the upgrading of present workers. Always it is the key to the maintenance of high morale throughout the work force, which represents the very foundation of the industrial defense program.

The recommended practices outlined herein represent successful programs in many companies throughout the country.

C. R. Dooley,
Director, Training Within Industry.

UNDERLYING POLICY

Planned development is the key point in considering the building of a strong executive and supervisory force. In such planning many companies stress one or two features and feel that these will build a strong managerial group. Some maintain a favorable salary scale; others have a liberal retirement plan; some stress periodic rating; others pursue excellent training programs; still others emphasize the close personal relationship between upper and lower levels of supervision.

Individually, these features are sound, of course, but no one or two of them are sufficient. The full range of factors affecting supervisors and executives must be given attention and action if a company is to be assured of a strong, energetic, and cooperative managerial force.

Typical of the many examples showing the necessity of attention to all aspects of this problem are the following:

Foremen are not likely to do their best work in meeting schedules and reducing costs if they are held responsible for delays and costs over which they have no control.

A foreman finds it difficult to be genuinely helpful to a worker who has a wage question if he has a question regarding his own compensation.

Any executive or supervisor is not likely to keep close touch with his group if he is able to see his own superior but once or twice a month.

Many an executive or supervisor stays with his company because the salary is satisfactory, but uses but a portion of his real capacity because his area of responsibility is not clear, his relationship with his boss not cordial, or he is a victim of internal politics.

Examples such as the foregoing illustrate why sound and farsighted management policy is so important and why such policy, even when it has been formulated, does not serve its intended purpose unless all members of the managerial group understand it and know their specific responsibility in carrying it out.

SOUND PRACTICES

The following fundamentals—already well known—represent some of the principal practices which build a strong managerial force:

1. *Selection.*—Select executives and supervisors on a basis of leadership qualities, and not alone on job knowledge and job skills.

An important aid at the time of selection is the preparation of a written position description, setting forth clearly the duties and results expected of the incumbent.

2. *Training.*—Prepare a chart of the whole organization. Discuss it with all executives and supervisors. See that each man understands the functions and relationships of the various units and particularly his own place and function in the organization.

3. See that all members of the executive and supervisory group understand the company's policies, particularly industrial relations policies.

A growing number of companies are reducing to writing their basic policies, both to clarify just what the policies are and to assure that everyone in the company understands them.

4. See that each executive and supervisor is given sufficient authority to carry out the responsibility assigned to him.

5. Give such organized aid and training to the executive and supervisory force as is appropriate and will be helpful on current problems.

This is an important point representing a program in itself. Bulletin 4–B is devoted specifically to how such aid and training may be given. It is important to note that a well-rounded plan for strengthening the managerial organization requires attention to the 12 points mentioned herein, plus the amplification of this section in Bulletin 4–B.

6. Plan transfers and rotations as well as promotions. Some companies make transfers and rotations for the express purpose of developing and rounding out individual executives and supervisors and not solely to fill positions after a need has arisen. They find that competent men in widely differing fields can "trade jobs," not only without impairment to operations, but with distinct profit to the men and to the jobs. Fresh and unprejudiced points of view toward the new jobs usually result in outstanding improvements. It is not uncommon for executives with 25 years' service to have had 10 to 15 different positions. The resultant competence, breadth of knowledge, and judgment is a major factor in the success of companies pursuing this plan.

7. Encourage professional development. Membership in engineering, management, accounting, sales, and other professional societies, and appropriate participation therein is encouraged by many companies. Foremanship, too, is a field of growing professional interest.

8. *Status and pay.*—Give supervisors all the privileges of salaried employees, plus whatever additional privileges are appropriate in each local situation, i. e., parking space, desk equipment, lockers, and other symbols of status.

9. See that supervisors, particularly foremen, are "in the know," i. e., trust them, give them actual departmental profit and loss figures, not just man-hour reports. Have them review (solicit their suggestions when appropriate) and see that they understand any plan that involves them such as:

Job classification.
Wage payment plans.
Contemplated purchase of new equipment.
Rating plan concerning themselves or their workers.
Plans for up-grading workers and supervisors.
Change in cost reports.
New inspection plan.
New layout of department.
Union agreement, grievance procedure, grievance settlement.
New production or quality standards.

And above all, see that foremen are informed as to any new general company policy or provisions before such information is released to workers: Examples: new plant rules; sick-pay plan; provisions relating to military training and service; new union contract, agreement, or procedure; new defense contract received; wage-and-hour law rulings.

10. Pay supervisors not only the going salary rate, but a rate appropriately above those supervised.

11. Pay all supervisors on a salary basis, i. e., all who give their full time to directing the work of others. (Leadmen, working foremen, or those whose supervisory function deals only with assigning work and helping maintain production schedules may be exceptions.)

During periods of temporarily slack operation, do not reduce supervisors to an hourly rate unless such a period is prolonged and it becomes necessary to demote them to hourly rated jobs. Until this action is taken as a last resort, have them work part time and pay them proportionately, but maintain them on the salary roll.

12. Give appropriate salary increases based upon performance. Avoid being influenced by the many personal relationships that obtain in every organization.

In many companies it is the accepted policy that the development of a foreman, superintendent, or works manager is just as important as the development of a product, plant, or policy. Just as much attention is given to planning the one as to the other. In planning the development of managerial personnel, a great many factors are considered. They embrace all the day-to-day practices and influences in the company which make for sound growth, development, and prudent management.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Labor Division—"Training Within Industry," Bulletin 4-A)

EXPANDING THE MANAGERIAL ORGANIZATION

Expanding the organization in the initial stages is a simple problem. However, when expansion is required to the point where, as one company executive expresses it, "the supervisory organization is stretched beyond the elastic limit," the problem becomes crucial. Further expansion and use of inexperienced men may mean failure of certain operation or departments. It may mean the tie-up of the whole plant, high scrap losses, and serious difficulties in meeting production and quality standards.

The following plans have been found successful in many companies, and are such that they may be adapted to most any organization. There are many companies to which these will not be new.

C. R. DOOLEY,
Director, Training Within Industry.

PLANNING FOR EXPANSION

The following four steps are ones normally encountered when expanding an organization. The plans thereunder are basic enough to be adapted to various situations.

1. *Give each present supervisor more responsibility.*—When production volume increases, of course, the first obvious method of handling it is to give each present supervisor more responsibility, i. e., more men, more equipment, more floor space, and often more authority. Occasionally sections or departments are combined and placed under one supervisor where previously there were two or more supervisors.

2. *Select men from present supervisory force to fill positions of new or greater responsibilities.*—Usually, there is a limited number of qualified supervisors from which men may be selected, competent to take full charge of new departments, new plants, or to assume newly created functions.

Immediate attention to replacement and the preparation of understudies is essential. In fact, many executives find it practical to draw an organization chart and to place under each strategic position the names of several men who could fill such position in the order of their availability and competence. On one or two successive charts, plans are drawn showing how the organization would be expanded and men shifted under anticipated contingencies. Thus the department head, general superintendent, or works manager may specifically plan his understudies and moves and avoid "getting in a pinch" when faced with a large order or an important expansion. Where there is a personnel or industrial relations department, this department can be particularly helpful by developing such confidential charts and plans and submitting them to line executives for suggestions and approval.

This procedure also makes it possible to give the maximum amount of organized training to understudies and men who are to be shifted or promoted. The personnel officer, in collaboration with operating executives, can then prepare job rotation, progression, and observation training, and institute organized instruction in the fundamentals of supervision and technical information.

3. *Select and train beginning supervisors.*—When it becomes necessary, new supervisors must be selected and appointed. Each company management shows the best source in each instance, whether from the ranks of workers, engineers, technicians, or others.

Experience proves conclusively that intelligence, personality, vitality, and other leadership abilities should outweigh technical or trade ability when such selections are made. Of course, there are some functions where technical knowledge is essential, and in such cases it must be recognized.

The following approach represents the principal features of a successful plan now being widely used, by which properly chosen appointees are developed into quite competent supervisors in 8 or 10 weeks.

(*a*) Assign the new appointee to elementary supervisory work 2 to 3 weeks: It has been found that special training for a new supervisor in the principles of supervision, labor policies, and similar fields is more effective after he has had a taste of supervisory responsibility. For the first 2 or 3 weeks, therefore, he should be given supervision of a normal experienced group of workmen where there are no exceptional problems of production, discipline, or worker training. During this first assignment he should be made responsible for routine duties, such as shop orders, time tickets, material ordering, work assignment, routine production, quality, and schedule control. He should be closely guided and coached in these matters by an experienced supervisor. He should not be thrown into problems or controversies on wage payment, grievances, discipline, employee selection, transfer or dismissal, maintenance, cost analyses, and like questions.

(*b*) Give the new supervisor intensive instruction 1 to 2 weeks: Take the beginning supervisor (in groups of 3 or 4, up to 12) off the job 4 hours a day for 15 to 18 consecutive days or full time for 6 to 10 days. Give him concentrated instruction in the principal features of his new supervisory job. This will prepare him to deal more confidently with difficult situations as they arise. Otherwise it may be months before he encounters them and learns how to deal with them through costly trial and error. Discussion of typical operating cases, problems, and questions should be lifted directly out of the job situations. An experienced training specialist, using suitable training quarters, can thus help beginning supervisors to acquire much of the knowledge and judgment which would otherwise require months or years to gain.

This intensive instruction should be scheduled about as follows:

	Hours
Supervisory job planning	6
Theory and practice of instructing workers	48
Personnel responsibilities	6
Labor policies and procedures	6

This plan particularly requires the careful attention of management, training specialist, and foreman alike. While it is difficult to take the new man off the job, companies find that the long-term advantage outweighs the short-term inconvenience. After such instruction, men are able to accept full responsibility sooner and make fewer mistakes in the meantime.

(*c*) Assign the new supervisor to more difficult and responsible work 4 to 6 weeks: The new supervisor now has begun to have a basis for judgment and should be placed in a position where he is responsible for a normal working group including some inexperienced workers. He should have contact with the full range of supervisory problems, and under experienced coaching should be given responsibility for them just as rapidly as he is able to handle them properly.

In some situations, it may be found at this stage that it will expedite production if the new supervisor is given the special assignment of instructing new workers. It is sometimes advantageous to use him on such work for several weeks or several months.

(*d*) Put the new supervisor "on his own": At this stage, the new supervisor may be given normal line responsibility under normal supervisory guidance and share in whatever staff meetings, supervisory conference, or other organized aids are available.

4. *Develop a reserve or pool of potential supervisors.*—Future needs for supervisors should be anticipated and a pool of qualified men developed.

Many men are broadening their outlook and scope of knowledge through out-of-hour study in university extension, correspondence schools, company classes, and through individual study of company products and producing methods. Often among such men there are excellent candidates for beginning supervisory jobs.

It has been found advantageous to make arrangements to use an outside service—State university or State vocational education department—for a course in "foremanship" adapted to their particular needs. Under such outside auspices, enrollees do not expect immediate recognition by the company and yet the company has a pool of interested and partially trained potential supervisors from which to draw.

When presupervisory training is set up and offered by a company and open to voluntary enrollment, men who take the training will expect recognition. This is true in spite of the fact that no job offers are made or implied, yet their disappointment is a serious morale factor when they are not selected for supervisory positions.

ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Labor Division—"Training within Industry," Bulletin 4–B)

Improving Supervisory Practice

This bulletin outlines how supervisory practice is being improved in many companies. It is prepared especially for those managements who have the point of view of "anticipation and prevention" rather than "discovery and correction." It is for those who look beneath the surface for the solution to their problems.

The solution lies with each supervisor—his knowledge of his job and of company policies, his breadth of vision, and his ability to impart knowledge to subordinates.

It depends as well, on his capacity for forward planning, his ability to meet emergencies, his capacity as an organizer and expediter, his knowledge of human relationships, and the many other vital attributes essential to intelligent leadership.

No standard procedure is suggested. Rather there is recommended a basic plan or "method of approach" within which any company can develop its own program according to its own problems and needs.

Attention to the 12 points outlined in Bulletin No. 4, plus this amplification of point 5 of that bulletin, represents a well-rounded program.

C. R. Dooley,
Director, Training Within Industry.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPING SUPERVISORS

The most successful supervisory-development programs are those sponsored and directed by upper management, at least by the works or factory head or equivalent.

This is a natural situation, for the one dominant influence in each supervisor's business life, the same as for each employee, is his own boss. Therefore the best supervisory-training program in the world is a "good boss."

Following is a simple and productive method by which each supervisor can make "better bosses" of his subordinate supervisors—in an organized manner. Without some organized plan, this underlying job is easily crowded out of the picture by the rush and pressure of daily duties, and development occurs only in a haphazard manner as a byproduct of costly experience.

The first question is: At what level in the organization should the program start? The obvious answer is: As far up as possible. The ideal program starts with the president.

BASIC FEATURES OF THE PLAN

The following plan is recommended because it is easily administered and productive of outstanding results. It consists of four basic features:

1. Acceptance of responsibility for the program by upper management.
2. Assistance in program planning and operation by staff training man.
3. Regular conferences at organization levels sponsored and directed by the line organization.
4. Frank discussion of, consultation regarding, and appropriate action on company policies and problems at each level.

HOW TO START THE PROGRAM

To initiate a program it is desirable for company or plant heads to hold a meeting at which the need for improving supervision is discussed and thoroughly understood.

The company training director, if there is such, or training specialist from a neighboring industry or other outside agency should meet with the group to explain the basic idea of the program and to lend assistance in planning it if it is decided to go ahead.

The central theme of this meeting is a frank analysis of the problems of the company or department and the reaching of a conclusion as to the extent to which such problems can be met through improved supervision.

Naturally where the problem is one of plant, equipment, or finance there is little that can be done through improved supervision. In the field of utilization of existing facilities, however—production, quality, costs, labor relations—most executives find that there is no other lasting solution except that found through better supervision.

If it should be concluded that "better supervision" represents a large part of the answer to the company's problems, the group would determine to undertake a program devoted specifically to this objective.

For company or plant heads who have reached this conclusion the following procedure is recommended. It is a simple procedure, following regular organization lines:

HOW TO CARRY ON THE PROGRAM

1. *Establish periodic conferences for supervisors.*—Arrange for each supervisor to meet regularly with those supervisors who report immediately to him. Usual practice is 1½ hours each 2 to 4 weeks—more often if groups so desire. Of course, if a superintendent has one or two assistants only, he would include in his meeting his two assistants and all the general foremen or foremen reporting directly to him through his assistants.

The top group mentioned above who originated the program is the "master conference" group. This group sets the pattern for all subordinate groups by meeting regularly and serving as the permanent steering or guiding force for the whole program.

2. *Provide for competent conference leadership.*—The executive or supervisor in charge of each group at each level is chairman of his own conferences. Usual practice is for the chairman to open the meeting and have a competent conference leader direct the discussion period. The chairman tactfully participates in the discussion, of course, and closes the meeting with whatever assignments or announcements need be made as to future action.

As the chairmen (line executives and supervisors) become familiar with conference procedure, some of them gradually attain skill in the method and lead their own conferences entirely.

Others never attain competence in using the conference method and prefer to use conference leaders for all their meetings of this nature. Others who may be capable of leading discussions may still prefer to use conference leaders so they can participate in the discussion and aid the program in other ways.

Accordingly, it is necessary to train one or more qualified men as conference leaders. The training director of a neighboring industry, a representative of a State university, or State or Federal vocational education staff can give this training.

Competent conference leaders represent the key to the program. Group meetings skillfully and efficiently directed are the most helpful and productive source of development and general growth yet discovered. Meetings poorly directed are wasteful, expensive, and destructive of interest and morale. Too much attention cannot be given to provisions for the very best leaders possible and to constant improvement in their skill.

3. *Provide for discussion of, and action on, current supervisory problems.*—The responsibility for determining the questions requiring the attention of the supervisory force rests with the "master conference" group. The company training director or conference leader who always meets with this group assists in these determinations.

The master group places on its agenda two kinds of questions:

(*a*) Those which should be brought to the attention of the whole supervisory force: For example, in one company the production planning function was changed from a centralized basis in the city office to a decentralized basis in each plant. The master conference group had the chief of the planning division thoroughly explain the new procedures at its regular meeting. The conference leader kept accurate notes of the discussion, and, after the conference, in cooperation with the planning man, prepared a question and answer statement on the functioning of the new plan. This statement served as the standard guide for meetings on the same subject later held at each supervisory level.

Examples of other matters flowing from the top group down through all supervisory groups are: Understanding the budgetary control system; grievance procedure; upgrading policy; military service policy; employment policy and procedure; job classification; all matters of common interest needing general attention and understanding.

(*b*) Those of concern to the group only: Naturally there are always questions of interest to only the top group which are discussed and settled by them and which go no further.

In the same way supervisor's groups below the "master conference" have two kinds of questions which require their attention and action:

(*a*) Problems and questions received from the "master conference."

(*b*) Matters of their own choosing, of interest to themselves or to groups at lower levels if such is the case.

This means that the program is flexible, always directed toward the solution of practical problems, and involves no standard subjects which must be "waded through" whether or not they are timely.

4. *Suggestions as to matters requiring the attention of supervisors.*—The "master conference" group usually finds that questions to which supervisors should give their attention are so numerous that conferences are scheduled several periods in advance.

However, for those who may not know "how to start," the following suggestions may be helpful. They represent needs existent rather generally in all supervisory groups.

(*a*) Clearer definition and understanding of company policies: Companies which do not have written industrial-relations policies find many useful purposes are served if supervisors are asked to develop initial drafts of such policies in their regular meetings.

Companies who have long had well-defined industrial-relations policies find it necessary to periodically review them in supervisors' meetings to keep them vital and to see that supervisors' current practices are in accord with current requirements.

Recent wage-and-hour rulings, provisions under Selective Training and Service Act, recent labor agreements, and training programs such as are suggested in these bulletins are typical examples of current problems.

The same need often exists with respect to customer service, quality standards, maintenance, and other policies.

(*b*) Clearer definition and understanding of responsibility, procedure, and interrelationships: The most useful method yet discovered by which areas of responsibility and authority can be clearly determined, overlapping of functions eliminated, internal jealousies dissipated, procedures clarified and simplified is through group analysis of the responsibilities of individual departments, divisions, or supervisors, and group agreement to the conclusions drawn.

Agreement arrived at through group analysis of "activities" which involve a number of departments at different levels is a further refinement of the process that is even more productive of constructive results. Typical "activities" of first importance to many defense contractors are: Procurement of materials and equipment; expediting orders through the shop; individual wage or salary adjustments; and upgrading and employing workers.

All other aspects of the company's work are suitable for group analysis and agreement. Experience shows that there is scarcely a single "activity" which is not materially changed and improved when subjected to the group analysis of the various executives and supervisors affected in its day-to-day application.

(*c*) Improved knowledge of the company, its products, and its technical processes: Presentation to supervisors of company of product and technical information by specialists in their fields is a fundamental factor in company success. Obviously this need exists as long as the company stays in business.

One firm developed two programs in this respect—"Know your product" and "Know your company."

(*d*) Better direction of the work force: Improved methods of "handling men" or "directing the work of others" is a need generally recognized throughout industry.

Improvements in this vital area of contact between management and men have been sought more widely in supervisory groups than all others combined.

"Handling men" has a wide variety of aspects on which all levels of supervision can profitably determine sound practice.

5. *Provisions for special help to first-line supervisors.*—Having general matters start with the "master conference" and flow down through the various conferences at organization levels sometimes requires some special help when such matters reach first-line supervisors. Sometimes there are two or three work shifts involved, which makes it impossible for the foreman or general foreman to meet with all his supervisors, or perhaps it is not possible to remove all supervisors from the floor at one time. In such cases the foreman or general foreman can delegate to a conference leader the responsibility of conducting some of the conferences for him, both on problems which have originated with the master or some higher conference group, and on questions assigned by the foreman himself.

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When properly started and directed, this program quickly becomes an indispensable tool of management, and one which in a few months makes practical operators wonder how they "ever got along without it."

WASHINGTON, D. C., *November 1940.*

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILL ALEXANDER AND CHANNING R. DOOLEY—Resumed

DEFENSE COMMITTEE'S COOPERATION WITH TRAINING PROGRAMS

Mr. DOOLEY. You perhaps will be interested in how we want to implement this thing. As Dr. Alexander said, the Defense Commission is not going to pursue actively any operation. As a committee we are not training anybody.

We have set up in the United States 22 districts. We have borrowed in each district 1 man who is somewhat experienced, similar to myself, from some industry in that district, who will work full time for a while in order to set up an office. His job will be to mobilize all the personnel and training men within the industry in that area, and have them on call, so to speak, so that employers who are in trouble with their training programs—who don't know how to develop green men into skilled mechanics, who have trouble with their supervision—can call on this office. They will, for the duration, if it is necessary, call on the skilled services and the training work of all the industries in that area to advise corporations who are in difficulties on how to carry on their training, which they will do for themselves and by themselves in their own plants.

We will give them counsel services.

STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICES SHOULD BE USED

Dr. ALEXANDER. There is one matter I would like to emphasize before I go and that is to get any orderliness out of this migration, to get this shift that is going to have to take place in some of these areas, I think the committee should give very careful attention as to how to get the employment service in touch with those communities and to get the Employment Service recognized as the agency through which these workers should go for jobs.

Mr. PARSONS. To get them informed instead of misinformed?

Dr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir; and get somebody in touch with the community actually out there who can guide these people when they do have to move.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of the first problems that we will probably approach in our report to Congress.

Our record is quite complete with testimony of that kind. In other words, the people in the various States are entitled to correct information before they actually move.

Dr. ALEXANDER. And they are entitled to guidance and advice such as the Employment Service can give them if it is out where they are.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Dr. ALEXANDER. I think that would be a very important thing.

Mr. DOOLEY. The Employment Service is a new thing in this country, relatively. It is going to take a long while to educate people up to how to use it. The employer doesn't know how to use it. Employees and people just shy away from it, but it is going and it should be promoted.

Mr. CURTIS. Would you men favor Congress providing in various appropriation acts and other legislation in relation to national defense that all the employment, except local employment, in defense industries be handled by the United States Employment Service, and then further requiring that the application for employment be submitted at the point where the worker is and not at the place where the work is to be found?

Would that eliminate the trek of thousands to a point for jobs where there aren't jobs for that many? In other words, to promulgate a program such as you mentioned in connection with the Lockheed Co.?

Mr. DOOLEY. I think we can say that is a topic well worthy of investigation and looking into.

I would think the example I cited in California is an excellent one—go to the point of origin for labor.

On the other hand, I find employers are reluctant to close their doors to anybody who may call on them.

Whatever legislation is actually proposed I don't think it should forbid the employee on his own initiative to go and hunt a job. That is a part of our democratic processes in this country.

You might have some control of the employer reaching out.

Dr. ALEXANDER. I would feel the first thing to do is put the Employment Service in a position where it could get the people out in these areas and see if by educational process we can't get the results without having to do it by legislation.

I think the Employment Service could do a great deal more than it is now doing if it had the resources.

Mr. CURTIS. But don't you think these people seeking work should know and feel that their chances of securing a job are just as well if they submit their application at home?

Dr. ALEXANDER. If the Employment Service was out there, that is exactly what would happen.

Mr. CURTIS. As long as they feel they may have a better chance by traveling through several States and standing in line, they are going to do that.

Dr. ALEXANDER. Yes, that is it; but if the Employment Service was out in each of these counties with a staff sufficient to get out there and deal with these people, I think a good deal could be accomplished in that manner without further legislation.

Mr. DOOLEY. They are improving the Employment Service very rapidly.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Dr. Alexander and Mr. Dooley, I think you have given us a very valuable contribution. I will say this, that if any thing else occurs to you before we close our record, you will have our permission to send it up here.

Personally I would like to question each of you much longer but we can't do it all in 1 day. We have a member of the Cabinet here and we don't want to break up the Cabinet.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture.

TESTIMONY OF CLAUDE R. WICKARD, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Secretary, will you give your name and position to the reporter for the record?

Mr. WICKARD. Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. PARSONS. I did not get a chance to read carefully your statement, but I glanced through it a little while ago. It is a very interesting statement and I shall ask the Chairman to direct the reporter to have it incorporated in the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so ordered.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF CLAUDE R. WICKARD, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

LOW INCOME AND FARM PROBLEMS

The problem of poverty and distress among farm people, in terms of opportunities of income and of living conditions, is the basic problem of American agriculture. This problem has a multitude of aspects, and reaches into every part of our agricultural life, acting with disastrous effect upon farmers, their community institutions, and the natural resources of land and water which form the basis of our future as a nation.

For example, we know what should be done with the land but we can't do it in all cases because we do not know how to deal effectively with the problems of the people on the land.

Rural poverty is, of course, not new. It dates from the period of the pioneers who first cleared the land and settled upon the farms. But present conditions of poverty and lack of opportunity among agricultural people offer a situation that is vastly different from that of the pioneers, who willingly undertook the hardships and privations of opening up the new continent and who believed they could look forward to a future of increasing security. Today 3,000,000 farm families, half those in the Nation, are caught in a vise of poverty and privation and are facing a bleak-appearing future. Furthermore, the agricultural people in this lower-income group have a birth rate higher than any other group in American society, thus making the problem increasingly serious.

RESULTS OF LONG-TIME TRENDS

These conditions are the result of trends which have long been apparent in the Nation. They include technological advances, mechanization, concentration of holdings, monopolistic tendencies, shifting market demands, and others. These trends, however, did not make themselves felt in terms of really widespread distress until comparatively recent years, when we reached the virtual end of agriculture's geographical frontier. Just about the same time, farmers found that the effects of soil erosion and depletion were rapidly reducing the good land available for cultivation.

A few undeveloped areas such as parts of the Mississippi Delta and the Pacific Northwest still remain to us and offer some hope for the absorption of additional farm families. Nevertheless, it is true that we no longer have enough new and good lands to which the displaced and disadvantaged people in agriculture may go and find new chances at the freedom and security lacking to them in the more established areas. Broadly speaking, we have reached the point in agricultural development which compels a large part of our farm people either to remain on farms in areas where opportunities are few or else to seek opportunities outside of agriculture.

This set of factors resulted in the net migration of 6,000,000 farm people to cities during the decade of the twenties, when urban industries needed them to meet the expanding employment requirements of a growing industrial economy. Beginning in 1929, however, the flow of population from farms became dammed up on the land by a depression which shut off employment opportunities even for those who already lived in the cities. During the year 1932 there was a net backflow of displaced industrial workers from the cities to farms. Because of these conditions the Nation now has an agricultural population of about 7,000,000 families, the largest agricultural population in all our history. This is simply another way of saying that the pressure of rural population upon our land resources is greater now than ever before.

WORLD CHANGES AFFECTING AGRICULTURE

At the same time that this pressure has been increasing in our own country, great world changes have been occurring to alter materially the basis upon which our old agriculture was built.

Our shift from a debtor to a creditor nation after the World War has had a profound and continuing effect upon export markets for agricultural products. Our old customers have lacked their former ability to pay for our farm produce. A wave of economic nationalism has arisen and many nations have sought either to grow their own crops, to do without the crops, or to develop substitutes. Reflecting these conditions, the market for our farm export products up to the first of 1939 had shrunk since the early twenties from a level requiring the harvests from 80,000,000 acres of land to a level demanding the output of 20 to 50 million acres.

The present and future effects of war upon American agriculture are an additional menace to the employment and security of the American farmers. We face the actuality of having the Continent of Europe completely removed for some length of time as a consumer of our agricultural exports. Complicating this situation in the long view is the fact that our future export prospects are none too bright, regardless of the outcome of the war.

Not even these distressing facts, however, give a rounded picture of the changing employment outlook on American farms. For the development of mechanization and technology on the agricultural front has been and is going forward fully as rapidly as on the industrial front. The result is that more crops can be grown per acre of land harvested, due to the development of new seed varieties, new fertilizers, and new practices, and that the tractors and other machines are greatly reducing the manpower requirements per acre.

PROBLEMS OF SEASONAL MIGRANTS

Your committee has been chiefly concerned with the problems of farmers who have become migrants, searching aimlessly for new places on the land or for seasonal work in agriculture. They are not people who are going some place, but are people leaving some place, leaving the land from which they have been pushed by increasing mechanization, persistent drought conditions, erosion, and low incomes. Their numbers, constantly increasing as succeeding changes deal additional shocks to agriculture, are already in the hundreds of thousands of families.

This flood of distress migration and the attendant conditions of living which the migrants encounter are a problem we cannot ignore. It must be dealt with courageously and effectively. Yet the matter of present distress migration, important though it is, constitutes but one of the phases of rural poverty and distress. The fact is that the number of potential future migrants from farms is many times greater than the number of those who are already on the road. They are the ones who have not yet been forced out of farming, but whose hold upon the land is becoming more and more precarious and who cannot stay where they are unless conditions change very appreciably or unless the Government lends them a helping hand. From this huge surplus of manpower has come the present stream of migrants, and from it thousands more are likely to come.

POSSIBLE FUTURE MIGRATION ASPECT OF PROBLEM

There is an obvious difference between distress migration and the other type of migration from farms, the trek to the city to jobs in industry. This type of migration should be encouraged, provided, of course, the opportunities for employment are there. If industry expands to the point necessary to take care of the needs of the people, as will have gone a long way toward solving the migrant problem and the farm problem.

Needless to say, programs which deal effectively with the fundamental problem of rural poverty deal effectively with phases of the migrant problem and other phases of the entire farm problem as well.

PROBLEM OF LOCAL, STATE, AND NATIONAL CONCERN

The task of creating a sounder, more satisfactory agriculture for a greater number of people is a matter for the concern of farm people and of city people alike. It is a task of county and State governments and also of the National Government. The Congress has entrusted to the Department of Agriculture the administration of the Federal Government's major activities that attack this problem most directly. Since 1933 the Department of Agriculture programs have dealt directly with the ramified problems growing out of rural poverty.

I am well aware that the Department's programs are by no means perfect and that they have fallen short in many ways. At the same time they have some very real accomplishments to their credit. Without the programs it is my opinion that agriculture would be prostrate. In the actual operation of the programs we have obtained experience and information that could have been obtained by no other means.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, first set up in 1933, is the culmination of a series of acts by Congress, ending with the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. These acts provide for an ever-normal granary, adjustment and conservation programs, crop insurance on wheat, commodity-storage loans, marketing agreements, and a variety of efforts to widen the markets for farm products here and abroad. These programs constitute a very important part of the Nation's present efforts to protect agricultural people against deepening poverty, caused by changing agricultural conditions. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration's work aims primarily at raising farm prices and farm income, in addition to important contributions toward soil conservation on a national scale.

I need not tell you what an important consideration this is to agriculture. Yet, due partly to lack of an adequate income in past generations, the income problem is not the only one troubling agriculture. There are others with roots buried deep in the agricultural policies, attitudes, and practices of the past, and these, too, call for some fundamental adjustments in agriculture. This need resulted in the authorization by the Congress of still other programs, and, in turn, some of these programs resulted in the creation of the Farm Security Administration.

Two large-scale programs are administered by the Farm Security Administration. One of them is for the rehabilitation of farmers that are down and out; the other, authorized under title I of the Bankhead-Jones Act, attacks the problem of farm tenancy through loans to tenants for the purchase of farms.

To help handle another problem, the problem of soil erosion and depletion, Congress created the Soil Conservation Service to help with a national program of rebuilding the soil. Title III of the Bankhead-Jones Act calls for the development of a sound land-utilization program. It also authorizes the public purchase of lands that are submarginal for agriculture, and the development of these lands in ways that will benefit surrounding areas.

The water-facilities program provides assistance to farmers and ranchers in developing more adequate water resources in the arid and semiarid areas. The Flood Control Act of 1936, and subsequent amendments, authorize land treatment for flood control. The work of the Forest Service has been expanded toward greater action in forestry development and conservation. Other acts provide for the development of farm-forestry work, expansion of credit facilities, a sugar program, the disposal of surplus crops, the extension of rural electrification, the establishment of research laboratories to find new industrial uses for farm products, the purchase of lands for public forests and wildlife sanctuaries, and other activities. Each of these programs is aiming at some portion of the problem of rural poverty and insecurity.

All of us here, I know, feel a particularly keen interest in the rehabilitation and tenant-purchase programs being administered by the Farm Security Administration. The Farm Security Administration gives direct and effective assistance to the lower-income groups in agriculture. This aid is given through a system of loans and grants, accompanied by the necessary supervision and guidance.

SUCCESSFUL METHOD OF ASSISTING DISTRESSED RURAL FAMILIES

In rural rehabilitation work, the Federal Government has found a successful and economical method, comparatively speaking, of assisting rural distressed families. More than a million farm families, most of them once on relief or nearly so, have been helped by loans and grants through the Farm Security Administration. Many of these families have already been changed from burdens upon the community into assets. The overwhelming majority of them have been helped toward better incomes, better kinds of farming, better diet, and better health.

These gains have been accomplished largely through common-sense planning for better farm and home management, worked out by agricultural specialists with every family on the farm-security program. A recent survey of rehabilitation clients showed that present borrowers, on the average, have increased their annual net incomes from $375 to $538, a gain of 43 percent since they first came to Farm Security Administration for help.

Rehabilitation costs much less than ordinary work relief. The average cost of work relief in the cities is about $800 per year, and even rural work relief runs to about $350 a year or more. Rehabilitation is being accomplished for a total of about $72 per family per year, counting all the costs of supervision, losses on loans, and every other expense.

The rehabilitation program has brought improvement in rural standards of health and education, which are the lowest in low-income areas. Extensive work has been done especially in encouraging the development of county health associations by Farm Security Administration clients and local medical societies, and in increasing school attendance by the children of needy farm families. Also included in the rehabilitation work are the Farm Security Administration's activities in the improvement of tenure arrangements, through encouraging the development of long-term written leases. The measure of the need for improvement in tenure is apparent when we consider the fact that one out of every three tenants moves to a different farm each year.

EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH TENANCY PROBLEMS

The Farm Security Administration has charge of the efforts to promote farm ownership through the Bankhead-Jones farm-tenant loan program. The number of farm tenants is increasing by about 40,000 families a year, but less than 10,000 loans a year can be made for purchase of farms by tenants with funds available under the present program. Such loans are self-liquidating, and the funds for them are now provided through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation rather than by direct appropriation. Since there are more than 2,800,000 farm tenants in the United States, nearly half the farm population, the importance of the Farm Security Administration's work on the tenancy problem cannot be exaggerated.

Because of the nature of its programs, the Farm Security Administration comes in close contact with the problems of migrant agricultural workers.

Some migration of farm labor is necessary under the present organization of agriculture. Some would be necessary even if distress were not a factor. Furthermore, the problem of rural poverty cannot be solved overnight, and for many years to come we probably will continue to face the problem of large-scale interstate migration of farm families. Recognizing this fact, the Farm Security Administration in 1936 started to build migratory labor camps to provide temporary shelter and basic sanitary facilities for migrant families. There are now 53 of these camps, counting both the permanent and mobile units, located in 7 States and providing facilities for about 10,000 migrants at any one time. More of these camps are needed, since the present facilities can take care of only a fraction of the hundreds of thousands of wanderers in search of work.

The Farm Security Administration also has done some significant work in the field of rural housing. Under the Bankhead-Jones tenant-loan program, it is now building modest but durable homes under private contract for an average of less than $1,400 each, the lowest cost at which comparable homes have ever been built in this country by either public or private enterprise.

Some of the most significant work being done by Farm Security Administration is in the provision of expert technical guidance to its clients, particularly in encouraging the production of greater quantities of food and feed for home use. Production for home use contributes nothing to cash crop surpluses but does a great deal toward raising the living and health standards of low-income farmers. This policy, long advocated by the Extension Service as a means of increasing the real incomes of farm people, is now being carried out to a remarkable degree among Farm Security Administration clients. The live-at-home policy for farmers, in fact, has demonstrated its very real value as a tool for relieving conditions of rural poverty.

The problem of crop surpluses and of the inadequate diets of low-income people is being attacked through the food-stamp plan, the cotton-stamp plan, the school-lunch program, and the direct purchase and distribution program of the Surplus Marketing Administration.

The food-stamp plan seeks to achieve better farm incomes and better diets by means of a Federal subsidy to low-income consumers in the form of blue stamps that can be used to buy certain surplus foods, which they get at grocery stores through this plan.

The Surplus Marketing Administration also is disposing of other agricultural surpluses and increasing consumption of farm products through the cotton mattress program and a free school lunch program. Last year more than 3,000,000 school children, rural and urban, obtained their school meals through this program.

The programs I have mentioned indicate the scope of the new activities entrusted to the Department of Agriculture during the last 7 years. In addition to the new action agencies, many of the older agencies of the Department, notably the Extension Service, the Forest Service, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, have had their work expanded and related more clearly to the aims of direct Federal action in agriculture, including direct action to help low-income farm families.

COORDINATION SOUGHT IN PLANNING AND ACTION

To this end, two things have been necessary—one, the organization of the Department so that all action administration could be grouped around a central core of planning, and, second, a cooperative system of planning that would enable local, State, and Department people to pool their information and combine their judgments in determining specific objectives for the varying agricultural regions.

As a part of the task of widening the democracy in agricultural planning, a Nation-wide land-use planning organization has been established in which the local farmers, technicians from the State colleges, and local administrators of agricultural programs are cooperating in making joint plans and recommendations for public guidance as to long-time goals. The land use planning organization provides a two-way channel whereby counsel and information can go back and forth freely between the farmers, the State agricultural colleges, and the Secretary of Agriculture.

NEED FOR ADJUSTMENTS BECAUSE OF WAR

This planning becomes of particular importance at a time when the European war is rapidly forcing upon us the need for sharp adjustments in American agriculture. Export outlets for crops such as cotton, tobacco, wheat, and others have been drastically reduced. The groups of farmers who are accustomed to raising these crops may have to begin working out rather severe adjustments, possibly with the aid of public action. These necessary adjustments, insofar as possible, must be made in a manner so as to lighten their impact upon all farm people, and especially upon that part of the farm population which is least able to stand up under additional shocks.

The defense program, because it is materially increasing employment in the cities and in the armed forces, will probably increase the demand for some farm products, such as meats, dairy and poultry products, fruits, and vegetables. But difficulties seem likely to continue and increase for areas dependent upon export crops. In particular, this may be true of cotton-growing areas. On the other hand, some of the surplus population in rural areas will obtain work in defense industries or other nonfarm work during the peak of industrial activities.

As the industrial program gathers momentum, the migration of rural people to industiral centers will no doubt drain off some of the surplus farm population. There may even be some decline in rural population, which would temporarily relieve part of the burden of farm unemployment and lack of opportunity. However, it seems doubtful if the industrial speed-up will provide farmers with more than enough increase in farm prices to offset the probable higher prices of other goods and costs.

Contrary to some impressions the defense program will not ease all of the pressure upon opportunity in rural areas by drawing farm people into nonagricultural pursuits.

The defense program is concerned with the unused reserves of manpower in rural areas, and some of the rural unemployed will undoubtedly get defense work. The location of some of the defense industries, in fact, may be determined by the existence of these labor reserves. The defense program, however, may pass its peak of employment within a few years and may be followed by a substantial back-to-the-land movement if industry wheels stop turning at their present rate.

Agriculture cannot look to the defense program for a cure of its primary ills. Surplus population in relation to land resources and opportunities will still be left on the farms after the defense activities have drawn off all of the rural workers that can be used. Rural poverty and lack of opportunity on the land will still be there, and the excess of population will continue to form a reserve of potential migrants.

In the final analysis, the solution to the problem of poverty in agriculture must include action undertaken within agriculture itself. The job is one of creating a better, more satisfactory lot of opportunities on the land for those who are now there. Present activities of the Department are doing much of the work that is needed, but other work will also be required if we are to control fully the problem of increasing rural distress.

One of the steps we might have in mind would be the extension of social-security benefits to farmers. I do not see why farm people should not share in old-age retirement benefits and pensions, minimum standards for wages, and maximum standard for hours along with city people. After all, farmers are Americans just like other Americans.

Of course, I realize that social-security provisions for agricultural workers and croppers under existing conditions would simply mean that farm owners and farm operators would have to take a cut in an already low return for investment and management. But I am sure that farm owners and farm operators would be glad to see the benefits of social security extended to farmers, provided that farm income can be raised to a level with the return of other groups, comparatively speaking, and kept at that level. The encouragement of family-sized, owner-operated farms, improvements in rural health and education, the possible decentralization of industries into rural areas, the development of more adequate live-at-home practices on farms—these also are parts of the attack that must be made.

More active conservation of soil and water resources, establishment of cooperative enterprises, fuller efforts toward satisfactory rural housing, wider rural electrification, the equalization of credit opportunities—these also are needed.

Finally, let me say that I do not believe we should concentrate on the needs of any one group to the exclusion of the needs of others. All phases of the farm problem are intertwined, and any practical plan which helps with one front helps with all fronts. If we help the low-income farmers, we help all farmers. Under the direction of Congress we have made a good beginning toward the solution of our farm problems. I am confident that we will continue to progress in the years ahead.

TESTIMONY OF CLAUDE R. WICKARD—Resumed

Mr. PARSONS. I would like for you to summarize your statement for the benefit of the members of the committee who have not had an opportunity to read it through at length.

Mr. WICKARD. I regard the problem of people about whom your committee is concerned as constituting the basic problem of agriculture. I say that because I think that we in the Department feel that, as far as the land and the soil and soil resources are concerned, we should work out some solution for most of the problems which affect the soil if we had a solution for taking care of the people who live on the land.

TOO MANY PEOPLE ON LAND IS BASIC PROBLEM

The fact of the matter is that there are just too many people trying to make a living from the land, and that is, of course, causing the migration to one point or another.

That is not necessarily a new thing—farm people leaving where they have been brought up and seeking homes or employment elsewhere. But in recent years there has been a different type of migration than we have had before.

My ancestors left Pennsylvania and moved over into Ohio. Their children left Ohio and moved over into Indiana, all, of course, seeking a new opportunity and being successful, perhaps, in improving their position greatly from what they might have enjoyed if they had stayed in their home State or the State in which they were born.

That sort of migration, I say, has been going on for a long time—ever since this country was first settled along the Atlantic seaboard.

Mr. PARSONS. And that is a very desirable type of migration?

Mr. WICKARD. That is a very desirable type of migration. The unfortunate part of it is we cannot continue that type of migration because there is just no new land, with the exception, perhaps, of the Mississippi Delta or the Northwest, for people to go to when they are crowded too much in the territory in which they were brought up or in which they are living.

Mr. PARSONS. In that connection, could you give the committee any idea of what unoccupied lands we still have that are good, productive lands and that would take care of family units?

Mr. WICKARD. Well, as I said, there is some land along the Mississippi River, along the Delta section, that is very productive land. At the present time it is being cleared and put into cultivation in increasing amounts. Perhaps that, I think, could be looked upon as new land and is very productive.

I don't know just how many thousands of acres or square miles are involved, but I have seen some of that, and perhaps some of the members of the committee have seen it.

I think, perhaps, there may be some lands in the Northwest. Of course, you know about the land that will be brought under cultivation because of the new dams out in the Northwest. I think that is about the extent of fertile land that would be available.

Now, we also have opportunity for irrigation, or we have in some places, even here along the Atlantic seaboard, opportunity for drainage of marshy land which we might find we could cultivate and raise perhaps rather an expensive type of agriculture, but we could raise some crops. But that is pretty limited and pretty expensive, so I think that the two areas I spoke about are about the only two areas where land is fertile and where it would lend itself readily to cultivation by clearing off the land and putting it under the plow.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, I heard Congressman Mott, of Oregon, one day state on the floor of the House that the title to one-half of the land in Oregon belonged to the Federal Government. What is more, that is all wooded land, isn't it?

Mr. WICKARD. That is forest land—public. And of course we run into this problem again. As I say, we have no new lands. One thing that is causing the problem to become more severe is that our total amount of land is shrinking due to depletion and erosion of the soil. We are bringing in new land under cultivation less rapidly than we are losing the productive land of our country due to soil depletion.

Now, everyone will agree that we should take some positive steps and measures to stop the depletion of soil resources. That means less cultivation. That is how the trouble started. As long as that land remains in forest land we don't worry much about the erosion or depletion of it. But when it is put under the plow we have erosion effects of both wind and water. So again you can see the problem of the soil as related to the people.

We could say we will stop cultivating if we knew where the people should go, and that could be accomplished in short order. Again I say this whole problem of too many people on the land is the basic problem of agriculture.

Now, another thing I think caused this problem to become more noticeable in recent years grew out of the fact that industry during the twenties did absorb a large number of people from the land.

When the depression came, instead of the usual number, there was a backing up on the land. People moved back. There was a swing back from the cities to the farms. Those people found that although perhaps they could go back and find shelter they could not find a satisfactory way of earning a living and could not maintain what we think are fair standards for our people.

And then again they began to shift from one area to another or the people with whom they were thrown in competition were perhaps members of their own family or neighbors.

The people on the farms began to be crowded, and they began to shift, and that is another reason why the migratory problem has become much more noticeable.

MECHANIZATION A CAUSE OF MIGRATION

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Secretary, can you give the committee some of the suggestions that the Department of Agriculture has to soften or cushion the impact of technological trends in agriculture?

Mr. WICKARD. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Isn't that one of the reasons, maybe only indirectly, that so many people have left the farms since the twenties?

Mr. WICKARD. I was going to mention that. That was one of the other reasons why the problem has become noticeable. There have been introduced in agriculture certain technological changes of cultivation—the introduction of machinery, and so forth—which require less labor to produce a certain amount of crop. That has, again, made it unnecessary from a standpoint of economic production to have as many people on the land.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM TRIES TO KEEP PEOPLE ON LAND

Now, you asked what we are doing. Well, I suspect as far as a direct approach to the problem is concerned I can say we have a direct approach of trying to keep the people on the land, despite the fact that they are being replaced. We are hoping, through various Farm Security Administration programs in particular to make it possible for people to stay on the land that otherwise they would have to leave.

We are offering them through that program an opportunity to help themselves stay on the land. In a large number of cases, through no fault of their own, they just don't have the equipment that they should have in order to make even enough for their own subsistence on the land as far as food and things of that kind are concerned. So that is one way we are doing it.

Another thing, of course, is the tenant-purchase program where farmers are given an opportunity to purchase small blocks of land and make payments over a long period of time.

I had the advantage of seeing some of that work at first hand just a few days ago in western North Carolina. I talked to a number of people there.

These people have been tenants and they, of course, were always operating on a very temporary basis as far as their farming operations were concerned. They were given an opportunity to buy maybe 30 or 40 acres of land that they could cultivate, plus some timberland, and they were all very happy in their new location and felt much more secure, of course. As far as they were concerned this problem of migration is solved.

But that, of course, does not increase the total amount of land. It does prevent, perhaps, that land being taken into a larger unit and may be farmed with the same machinery or equipment that might be in that larger unit and thereby prevent the displacement of another family.

PERCENT OF DISPLACEMENT OF FARM LABOR

Mr. PARSONS. How much do you figure that mechanization on the farm has displaced farm labor?

Mr. WICKARD. Over what period, Congressman?

Mr. PARSONS. In the last 25 years.

Mr. WICKARD. I would say that depends—I don't have a national figure. I don't have that in mind. It would be very interesting to make an estimate on that.

Mr. PARSONS. Our farm population in the last 25 years has shrunk about 10,000,000 people, hasn't it?

Mr. WICKARD. No; there are more people living on the farm today than ever lived on the farm before in this country.

Mr. PARSONS. But from a population standpoint, 25 years ago considerably more than one-third of our population lived on the farm?

Mr. WICKARD. Yes; but our population has increased. There are still more people today—I am sure this is true—there are more people living on the land today than ever lived on the land before.

The CHAIRMAN. In terms of numbers?

Mr. WICKARD. Yes, sir; not in percentage of population.

Mr. PARSONS. We were both right. I was speaking in terms of percentages.

Mr. WICKARD. Percentagewise, of course, the urban people are much greater and increasing all the time as compared to people living on the land.

You asked how many people have been replaced by certain technological development. I would hesitate to make a statement along that line because, for instance, in the Appalachian area, where people were drawn into that area because of the lumber industry, you have had the trees taken away and the lumber mills have moved out but the people didn't go out and they are left there.

Now, whether they were farmers originally or not they are farmers now, after a fashion, and they are living on the land. I don't know what you would say the case is there. I mean what development has taken place that has increased the cultivating class.

I know in my own neighborhood in Indiana that I have counted over a three-mile stretch of road since I went to school in a country school house. There are just half the number of families living there now as when I went to school, and that was a little over 25 years ago. That is an illustration of what happened where there was no change in particular in the number of acres of land or territory that was being cultivated.

Mr. PARSONS. That same picture was going through my mind about my old home.

Mr. WICKARD. I think in my territory there are many communities where only half as many people are living there now as were living there 25 years ago.

Mr. PARSONS. When I was a youngster there were usually on a farm—on this particular farm that I have in mind—four teams and four boys or four hired men to do the plowing in the fall for wheat. In the spring when it was harvested it took one man on the machine with three horses and mules and two to shock and feed. Then we sacked the wheat and it took two or three pitchers in the field and two or three on the wagons and a couple on the stack. Then when the threshing period came along there were about 16 or 20 with the threshing machine. The neighbors also gathered in a cooperative manner to attend to the threshing.

Now, today as the combine goes over a field it only takes about three men to take care of the entire operation and it is all done when the last acre is mowed over.

Mr. WICKARD. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. So it has displaced a number of men in that one particular instance that I am describing.

I think I can say that from 50 to 60 percent of that labor has been displaced by farm mechanization.

Mr. WICKARD. I think that is right; no question about that. And I think in areas even farther west there has been even more displacement.

Mr. PARSONS. There is no question about that. Is it more economical in the long run and profitable to the individual landowner to use this high-priced and efficient machinery?

Mr. WICKARD. Than to use more labor? Well, I suspect in the long run we go toward a more economical operation, although this year as compared with last year might not show the same thing or this year as compared with next year.

But over the long approach I suppose that farmers think that the larger production accomplished by machinery is economical.

I think perhaps there may be another factor. I know I have at home enough horses to do my plowing. They perhaps won't get it done in the same time, but my trouble is I cannot get anybody to go out and break the colts to work. Everybody has gone to the tractor shed instead of the stable.

Mr. PARSONS. Not only has machinery displaced labor, Mr. Secretary, but those horses and mules consume corn and oats and hay.

Mr. WICKARD. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. And they no longer have the horses and mules to consume it, so that makes a surplus in the market to depress the price still further.

Mr. WICKARD. Yes; that is right.

Mr. PARSONS. And that brings up, of course, your statement that a squeeze is taking place, you might say, which results in a loss of exports and a loss of domestic markets due to the technological developments and a loss of exports due to certain international situations that have taken place in the last 20 years.

There is another factor that has caused a migrant problem, because of surplus people, to come to our attention more forcefully than it did 20 or 30 years ago. Our South American neighbors, with whom we are trying to work up trade, are producing very largely the same things that we are producing.

Mr. WICKARD. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. And that presents another serious problem.

Mr. WICKARD. It does.

Mr. PARSONS. As far as our economy is concerned.

Mr. WICKARD. We get into an international situation which involves some aspects of this particular problem.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the time ever come when machinery will become the master of the man and then destroy him?

Mr. WICKARD. I hope it does not destroy him, but it does create a lot of problems for us to solve. I hope we don't have that sort of robot to cause us to have bad dreams at night.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Secretary, I am very much interested in this mechanization problem, too, and I would like to go on with it but I am scheduled to appear before the Bureau of the Budget and I am sorry to interrupt the trend of thought.

ACREAGE REDUCTION IN SUGAR-BEET INDUSTRY

What reduction of acreage in the sugar-beet industry is to be put into effect this next year?

Mr. WICKARD. It is a very slight reduction. I think it grows out of the lack of consumption—the domestic consumption that we thought we would have a year ago and a slight carry-over. I can't give you that figure but it is not very large.

Mr. CURTIS. But doesn't it run as high as 25 percent in some areas?

Mr. WICKARD. No; I don't think so. I will try to find out and let you know, but I am positive it doesn't run that high.

Mr. CURTIS. Would you submit for the record the amount that it is being reduced?

Mr. WICKARD. Later; yes, sir; I will do that.

(This figure was subsequently reported as 159,000 acres.)

Mr. CURTIS. Now, in that connection, isn't that one agricultural industry that is not very much mechanized? It requires a lot of manual labor.

Mr. WICKARD. There is a lot of hand labor involved in the sugar-beet industry, but they do have certain machines that are involved. For instance, the loading devices they have now are a development over what they had a few years ago. There are certain changes that have taken place, but it does require a lot of hand labor.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, I hope I am wrong, but I was informed that the acreage reduction would run 20 or 25 percent in some instances.

Mr. WICKARD. No; not nationally—not this year over last year. I think you will find it is a very small percentage, but I will let the committee know.

Mr. CURTIS. But whatever that reduction is, it would cut down the amount of labor consumed—the proportionate amount—as well as the farm income to those sugar-beet farmers, would it not?

Mr. WICKARD. Well, yes; over what it was last year.

Of course, we are planning on raising more sugar now than we have had in any previous period. We have had some increase in the domestic quota.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. PARSONS. There are in process at the present time a lot of technological changes in the sugarcane industry, too?

Mr. WICKARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Always heretofore, both in the Philippines and in Hawaii and in this country, practically all of the cane had to be handled by hand. Now, we are getting the automatic loaders the same as we have for hay loaders back in the prairie country and that will further displace agricultural labor.

Mr. WICKARD. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. And naturally those people look to the cities for employment and when they get to the cities there is no work there.

Will it be possible in the immediate future, in the next decade, to anchor a lot of these people on unused land where they can at least grow themselves something to eat and help in their economy to that extent?

Mr. WICKARD. Well, after all, just the mere growing of food, a garden spot, will not take care of their livelihood. Now, I think there is and perhaps should be, every effort made to bring to these people some industry or some off-the-land source of cash income so that they could use what they grow for their own home needs as far as food is concerned—gardens, and maybe some dairy products and meat. I think we do have an opportunity if we can bring the other source of cash income to them which they must have for the purchase of clothing and fuel and other necessities. I think there is an opportunity there. I don't want to be too optimistic about it.

For instance, at the present time I think a lot of study is being given to the location of various munition plants where there is a population problem. Now, you also run into certain obstacles in locating such plants—materials, transportation, and that sort of thing. In other words, to me, as a layman in military things, it would seem the logical thing to do would be to take the plants where there was the most labor.

BUYING MARKET OF AMERICA ON FARM

Mr. PARSONS. But that does not always work because of the lack of natural resources that are required.

Being an old country boy myself I have given a lot of thought to agricultural problems. I have maintained for many years that although the farm population is about the poorest so far as dollars are concerned, nevertheless, if they have the money, they are the best spenders on earth. Has that been your experience?

Mr. WICKARD. Well, I think that is true.

Mr. PARSONS. The buying market of America is on the farm if the farmer had the income to buy with.

Mr. WICKARD. I will agree with you, Congressman, in your statement that the greatest market in the world is right out in the rural areas if they had the purchasing power out there. At least the people are there and that is what you are saying. They will spend, and that has been demonstrated, I think, whenever and wherever we have had an increase in farm income during the recent years.

Businessmen know it immediately. They feel that immediately. The farmers are always seeking equipment for their barns or their homes and things they need.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, the farmer uses everything that we use in the cities and uses a great deal of electricity. Now, he uses everything that we use and a thousand and one things besides that we don't need in the city, so he is the best purchaser if he had the cash to purchase with.

Mr. WICKARD. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Now, the farm income in 1932 was less than $5,000,000,000.

Mr. WICKARD. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. It has been on an average of around seven or eight billions since 1933, has it not?

Mr. WICKARD. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. That extra buying power in the hands of the agricultural people have kept a lot of mills and plants running.

Mr. WICKARD. Without question.

Mr. PARSONS. If the farm income was raised another 25 percent, so as to make it $12,000,000,000 income annually, that extra three or four billion would all go into buying power, would it not?

Mr. WICKARD. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. But he is just about breaking even now?

Mr. WICKARD. Yes; in other words, he has fixed charges to meet—interest and taxes and so on—and the extra would tend to go into the purchase of goods that he would like to have.

Mr. PARSONS. And if he ever got his farm paid for and the mortgage eliminated, he would be a much better spender than he ever was before, would he not?

Mr. WICKARD. I think that is true.

Mr. PARSONS. So our big problem, as far as agriculture is concerned, is to raise that farm income per unit and the total, and that is the only way we are ever going to keep the city man employed in peacetimes and normal times, isn't that right?

Mr. WICKARD. Yes; I think I might make this statement in connection with farm income: This year, 1940, the farm income looks as though it will be in the neighborhood of $9,000,000,000. I think that is going to be felt, as you pointed out, and that there is an untouched reservoir of buying power. If we had an increase in the farm income up to any place near what it was for the people living on the farms, you can see what it would do for demand of city-produced goods.

Mr. PARSONS. So many people say, though, that when the price of farm commodities rises it makes the cost of living so great that the people in the cities cannot stand the raise.

Now, with wheat going from $1 a bushel to $1.50 a bushel, the price of bread should not be one and a half times the price just because the price of wheat is raised 50 percent, because the processing is in there and costs the same.

Mr. WICKARD. That is right, plus the cost of transportation and things like that.

Mr. PARSONS. It would amount to only a fraction of a cent a loaf.

Mr. WICKARD. You can use the same illustration in cotton—cotton shirts or whatever fabrics you want to take. There you have the same thing.

Mr. PARSONS. You may not want to answer this, and I will ask it to be off the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WICKARD. Now, I don't want to take any more of your time, except that I would like to say that we of the Department of Agriculture, following your question of what we are doing, are constantly studying not only how we can increase, as I said yesterday in a speech at Baltimore, the size of the economic pie that agriculture should have, but we are studying how we can make the smallest slices larger.

And I think we are making progress in making the family-size type of farm more attractive, more economical. I believe that we must sooner or later perhaps compromise somewhat between the large mechanized, admittedly more efficient unit and the type of farm which will furnish a living and security for people.

Because, as you have said, I believe, and I know others believe likewise, that the farm is the very finest place in the world to live if you can have the necessities of life. That is why I made the statement I did, that the Department of Agriculture is trying to find a way for more of the people to find a satisfactory way of living on the land.

But you have got to do that some way at the expense of commercial type of farming.

Mr. PARSONS. And we don't need the banker nor the industrial merchants and those types of people owning the farms either.

Mr. WICKARD. No.

Mr. PARSONS. We need that family type of ownership that is going to be anchored to the soil and going to look after the soil for the future and produce sufficient to give the necessities and some of the comforts and luxuries—what used to be luxuries are necessities now—to the farm family, isn't that right?

Mr. WICKARD. That is right.

I want to add just one other statement, that all people, the whole people, have a stake in this problem because our new stock in the cities comes from out here in the country. Out there the birth rate is much higher and we have furnished the cities with their new blood and we will continue to do that, and cities should be thankful that they do have that source of new blood.

That is one problem.

Another problem is this: These low-income people offer an excellent opportunity for the sowing of seeds of various isms, and those people who are underprivileged and underclothed and underfed just don't have too much enthusiasm for or knowledge of what democracy offers.

So that is another problem here which we should all be concerned with—giving these people who live on the farm a better opportunity, a more sizeable share of what this country has to offer.

Now, I don't want to take any more of your time. It has been very interesting and a subject very close to me. I will be glad to remain with you as long as you need me.

NECESSITY OF CHECKING HIGH PERCENTAGE OF FARM TENANCY

Mr. Sparkman. I would like to ask a question or two, if I may.

I have read your statement while you were going through this questioning by Mr. Parsons and one thing that I noticed in it is that there are about 40,000 farmers becoming tenants each year. In other words, farm tenancy in the United States is increasing by about 40,000 a year, and the farm tenant loan program by the Farm Security Administration is reducing it by about 10,000 a year.

In other words, we haven't even gotten to a point of holding farm tenancy in check yet. Do you think that can be checked?

Mr. Wickard. Yes; I think it can. Now, whether it is practicable to stop it I am not so sure. I can say that that might require more drastic action and more appropriations for purchasing and financing than we have at the present time.

I am going to say, Mr. Congressman, I think it is very desirable to check it and I think we have made the first start in the last few years on checking it.

We are just recognizing a problem. We have been talking about tenancy for a long time but I believe recently is the first time we have done anything about it. I don't want to make the statement, however, that under the present operation of the plan we are going to stop it.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, I believe the 1935 farm census showed about 42 percent of the farm operators were farm tenants. We can't very well stand a much higher percentage, can we?

Mr. Wickard. No; I would say that the thing is leveling off at the present time, but it is undesirable to have any further increase if we can possibly prevent it.

LAND-USE PLANNING ORGANIZATION

Mr. Parsons. Now, in your prepared statement you mention a Nation-wide land-use planning organization. Can you tell us a little bit about the set-up of that organization?

Mr. Wickard. That has been started in the last 2 years. It is an effort to get local people to study their own conditions in their own community; to get them to think about this problem of the land and the people, and to see that not only do we have a national and State problem, but that there is a local problem that somehow must be fitted in with all of these national programs.

And in a great number of instances we have had those people who have been doing this local planning and studying, come to us and say:

"Well, we never realized before what this local problem of land and people really means."

Unhappily a lot of them see that under the present scheme of things we can't expect all the people that are now out there to have what we would call a satisfactory income. Yet it has called to the attention of the local people the fact that this cry for larger units and resulting efficiency is not the only thing to be desired in solving this land problem.

This work was carried on last year in about one thousand counties in a very attractive way. Local farm people get together and one of the things they do is to map the entire lands in the county and they will classify the land as being land that can be cultivated regularly, land that might be best used for pasture, or land that can be put in woods lots, or lands that might be cultivated just once every few years. When they get all that area in the county mapped out, they sit down and say:

"Well, how are we going to get the people in the county that live on this land a satisfactory income?"

Then they come face to face with the problem.

Now, I want you to understand that these people are doing the planning. They are not administrative people. But nevertheless it is a part of what I said awhile ago, a realization of the problem. I believe enough in the democratic processes to be confident that out of that plan and out of efforts such as this committee is making we will develop just a plain recognition of what we are going to work out and devise plans that are going to help us greatly.

Mr. Sparkman. Are those members appointed or elected?

Mr. Wickard. For the most part I think they are appointed by the county agents.

Mr. Sparkman. It has worked under the county agent and through his leadership?

Mr. Wickard. Yes. They serve without pay and most of them find that the knowledge and enjoyment they get from that work well repays them for the time and effort they put in.

Mr. Sparkman. It is purely voluntary?

Mr. Wickard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. And I presume all classes and interests are represented in those various communities.

Mr. Wickard. Oh, yes. We try to do that and it is desirable, of course.

RECOMMENDS EXTENSION OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION TO AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Mr. Sparkman. In your statement you have recommended the extension of social security and wage-and-hour legislation to agriculture.

Mr. Wickard. Did I recommend it or did I say it is desirable?

Mr. Sparkman. You suggested it.

Mr. Wickard. All right.

Mr. Sparkman. And I wonder if you would include in that also collective bargaining?

Mr. Wickard. Well, I don't believe I put that in. I don't say that I would go that far. I haven't thought of that, Mr. Sparkman.

Mr. Sparkman. I wondered if it was purposely omitted. But what I am leading up to is this: Would you in the application of those benefits make any differentiation between the ordinary family unit farm and the industrialized farm?

Mr. Wickard. Well, I think you have to put that sort of thing upon the basis of day labor or the sharecropper system, which is very much akin to day labor, and in which, of course, there is a way of making some checks for the purpose of these different programs.

I believe that as far as the family-operated farm is concerned we can, perhaps through the tenant-purchase program and other parts of the program that we are now operating in the development of agriculture, take care of the security problem which is involved, of course, in all these social-security measures.

But I am concerned about those people who represent a type of agricultural labor, at least who are on the farm, who have nothing to help them as far as old-age benefits or unemployment insurance are concerned. I take the same attitude, as I explained a day or so ago, toward this sort of thing as I take toward workmen's compensation insurance.

For the men that work for me on my farm I carry workmen's compensation insurance, despite the fact that under the law in Indiana I do not have to carry it. But it is a source of satisfaction to me and a security to them, so I feel that that pays.

Mr. Sparkman. And I notice you couple with that a statement that the farmer would be willing to pay for those benefits provided he felt his income was going to be lifted to a level commensurate with that of other groups.

Mr. Wickard. Well, I think that goes along with that. In other words, when we extend social-security programs to people in industry, that cost was passed on to the rest of society. And I want to make it plain, since you have brought it out, that it is necessary for us to say that this is the contribution of society and not of just farmers to these people, and should be borne by society.

Mr. Sparkman. Of course, it has always been objected that the farmer does not have the privilege of setting the price of his crops, whereas the manufacturer does.

Mr. Wickard. Yes; and that is a problem involved. Yet again it is like the problem we are dealing with. But we are recognizing the problem and we are starting to do something about it. We may not arrive at the perfect solution this year or immediately, but it is a goal for us to shoot at and think about, and I hope that something practicable can be worked out.

And again I want to explain that this is a debt of society to these people who are the low-income people living on the farm.

HIGHER PER CAPITA FARM INCOME EXPECTED THIS YEAR

Mr. Sparkman. Now, let me ask you just one or two more questions. You state that you believe that the farm income this year will be very close to $9,000,000,000.

Mr. Wickard. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. I believe that is the highest since about 1929.

Mr. Wickard. 1929; yes.

Mr. Sparkman. You also stated that there were more people on the farm land now than at any other time, actually looking toward the land for their sustenance. I wonder if that income will give to that number of people a higher per capita income than any year since 1929.

Mr. Wickard. I suspect it will, a higher net, because, as Congressman Parsons pointed out, we are on a lower price level. This $9,000,000,000 means more purchasing power than it did in 1929, but I don't believe I can say just right offhand what the actual comparison will be when it comes down to a dollar or so. I couldn't do that.

CORPORATE FARMING UNDESIRABLE

Mr. **Sparkman.** This is my last question. You have been very generous with your time. Would you care to comment on the significance of the rapid growth, if there has been a rapid growth, of industrialized or corporate big-scale farming?

Mr. **Wickard.** Yes; I will make this comment. I think it is undesirable to have this large corporate type of farming. I think also it is something that cannot be stopped just with a wish because it again brings out this thing that I said a while ago; because of larger units of machinery it is possible to farm more efficiently and therefore we do tend to go into the corporate type of farming.

The **Chairman.** But the social values of the family farm life are to be considered, are they not?

Mr. **Wickard.** Yes; that is a consideration. Now, with the new Diesel tractor out in the West they have a very low figure on the cost of per acre cultivation. They put in a wheat crop with these large caterpillar Diesel units, and those tractors, by the way, cost a lot of money. The individual farmer perhaps could not own one. But a corporation is formed and they can afford to buy that sort of equipment. A great many people are being displaced by that sort of operation. I don't believe it is desirable from a social standpoint to substitute that type of farming for what I termed awhile ago the family-size operation.

Mr. **Sparkman.** I certainly agree with you. Thank you very much.

The **Chairman.** Mr. Secretary, I think you have made a very valuable contribution today. We are not going to hold you any longer. I know you are a busy man. I want to express to you the thanks of this committee for your department's help throughout these investigations and to say to you that we had only a small appropriation and I doubt if we could have functioned without the aid of your department.

We want publicly to express our thanks to you.

Mr. **Wickard.** I am glad to have been of help.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY EPSTEIN, SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK, ALBANY, N. Y., AND MORRIS SHAPIRO, NEW YORK

The **Chairman.** Mr. Epstein, will you please give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. **Epstein.** Henry Epstein, Albany, N. Y.: solicitor general for the State of New York.

The **Chairman.** And Mr. Shapiro, would you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. **Shapiro.** Morris Shapiro, 225 Broadway, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, speaking to both of you: I wish to say that this is our last day of hearings.

We have several more witnesses yet to be heard today; and while I don't want to curtail you in bringing out the points that we are interested in, we hope you will be as brief as possible.

What the committee is concerned about is not so much the legal aspects of the *Chirillo case* as it bears on this problem of migration between States. After all, we are not a court. You will have, of course, to fight the legal aspects of the case out in court. But what we want to know is how it bears on migration between States.

We feel that you gentlemen can give us something from this law or similar laws that will be helpful to this committee when we file our report.

Now, who desires to proceed first?

Mr. EPSTEIN. The State of New York and 30 other States have laws of like character as involved in the *Chirillo case.*

In New York those statutes in general provide for an investigation of a particular case of a person who has not yet gained a settlement, as it is defined in the State welfare laws. If that person applied for and received relief during the time before gaining a settlement, the law permits New York State to return that person to the State from which he came and which was responsible for his support and willing to receive him.

The issue in the case which is now still in litigation in the Federal courts is whether any such statute is valid.

The problem of the individual, however, must be projected into a much broader background. The State of New York stands third in the United States in the number of cases of nonsettled persons for which it is bearing the burden of support.

California stands first.

I have taken the privilege of submitting to the members of this committee the brief before the Federal Court of the State of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And we are glad to have it, and the reporter will incorporate it in his record.

(The brief referred to is as follows:)

To be Argued by HENRY EPSTEIN

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

File No. 11-334—Civil Action

ROSARIO CHIRILLO AND JOSEPHINE CHIRILLO, PLAINTIFFS

against

HERBERT H. LEHMAN, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, JOHN J. BENNETT, JR., ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, GEORGE A. CASEY, SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER, AND RUTH TAYLOR, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE OF THE COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER, DEFENDANTS

MEMORANDUM OF LAW FOR DEFENDANTS

STATEMENT

This is an application, by an order to show cause, for a preliminary injunction in an action to restrain defendants from executing the order of the County

Court of Westchester County, State of New York, dated February 19, 1940, directing the removal of the plaintiffs from the Town of Mamaroneck, Westchester County, State of New York to the City of Wooster, Wayne County, in the State of Ohio and to restrain defendants from taking any steps pursuant to said order or any other action in compliance with § 71 of the Public Welfare Law of the State of New York.

The State and the County of Westchester are interested in having the validity of the statute in question finally determined. However, they feel duty bound to point out to the Court that there is a question whether or not this Court has jurisdiction of the instant proceeding because of the limited scope of § 380 of Title 28 of the United States Code and because of the proceedings already had in the courts of the State of New York.

THE FACTS AND ISSUE

The authorities in Ohio had written, on November 10, 1939, to the Westchester County Department of Family and Child Welfare:

> "The above family has misstated the facts. They are residents of Wooster, Ohio.
>
> "We authorize their return at your expense, although if I were in your place, I would refuse relief and tell them, if they want to get back to Ohio, they will have to pay their own way. There was no valid reason for their going out there. He had a small shoe repair business here and during the slack seasons we did grant a small amount of relief.
>
> "He owns more property than he has told you about." (Exhibit 1, answer, fols. 1–3)

On the basis of this, the investigation of the Westchester County Welfare Department and its own investigation, the State Department of Social Welfare gave its prior approval to the respondent. In part it was based on:

> "They own property in Ohio and have previously received assistance there. The Ohio officials have authorized the return of the family and there is every reason to believe they will make a better adjustment there than here. Mr. Chirillo was able to work on a seasonal basis in Ohio and his possibilities would seem to be better there * * *. This office is definitely of the opinion that this family should be returned to its place of legal settlement * * *." (Exhibit 2, answer, fols. 6, 7)

An affidavit discloses that Mr. Chirillo, speaking of the property he owned in Ohio, has stated that

> "one parcel brings in a rent of $14.00 monthly, and the second parcel is occupied rent free by a married daughter," (Exhibit 3, fol. 22)

and further, that all the children were

> "born in Wooster, Ohio, a town larger than Mamaroneck, New York, presumably with better business and employment possibilities, certainly with years of association for the family which presumably would bring more possibilities of prosperity than the town of their recent choice." (Exhibit 3, fol. 22)

This presumption is rather a fact, according to the Ohio authorities.

Mr. Chirillo "is 62 years old and has complained of and requested medical care for his rheumatic condition" (Exhibit 3, fol. 15). His wife, who is 56, also "mentions poor health, particularly attacks of gallstones in the past, feeling too ill to be working, and chronic bronchitis." One son, "Louis shows serious symptoms of mental difficulty" and will need "permanent support" (fols. 61–62). His brother "Anthony is at present in Maslin State Hospital in Ohio" because of a psychiatric difficulty (*id.*, fols. 17–18).

The agreement by the Department of Family and Child Welfare of Westchester County, that the family ought to be returned to the place of its legal settlement in Wooster, Ohio (Exhibit 3, fol. 23), is particularly important inasmuch as Westchester County, which administered the case, bears no part of the cost of the relief granted to the Chirillos other than the administrative expense involved.

As was pointed out in the opinion of Judge Coyne in the County Court of Westchester below:

> "* * * It unquestionably appears that respondent has been receiving public relief in this County and that for a number of years prior to coming here, he resided in Wooster, where he owns two small pieces of real property, and where all of the children were born. It also appears that at various times in the past, respondent has received public relief in Wooster. While respondent does not question the contention that his legal settlement is in Wooster, he seemingly fails to appreciate the significance of that simple but most determinative fact. In these times valuable rights are conferred by settlements. Where a person moves from one district to another, his settlement rights in the original jurisdiction cease, and are lost usually after the expiration of one year.
>
> "Respondent's legal settlement is in Wooster. No other finding could possibly be arrived at on the papers submitted. The rights which follow the settlement are most important to respondent's general and future welfare. The Wooster authorities acknowledge their responsibility to provide for respondent and his family and expressly state their willingness to do so upon his return. The facts shown bring the case directly within the provisions of the statute." (Exhibit 4)

And the Judge went on further to say:

> "* * * Were the present application to be denied on the ground of respondent's alleged present independence, respondent is likely, if not surely, to lose his settlement in Wooster. In that event his position here would be a pitiable one, should he again experience his unfortunate experience of the past. Under our law a settlement may not be acquired while one is on relief, and thereafter not until various statutory limitations and requirements are complied with. Respondent's present legal settlement should not be placed in jeopardy. In the interest of the common good, the ends of justice will best be served by granting the application * * *" (Exhibit 4).

A reading of the statute discloses that all of its requirements were duly satisfied.

The issue thus becomes clear. It may be stated in different ways:

Is it a privilege or immunity of a citizen of the United States to foist upon any State of his choice, the burden of supporting himself and his family, before he has satisfied reasonable settlement qualifications?

Is there no way short of national action by Congress (which has not acted) by which the States severally or separately may safeguard themselves from the threat to their security and solvency by incoming numbers of indigent families?

If Congress may act in such circumstances, may not the States so act in the absence of Congressional legislation?

Is it a privilege or immunity of a citizen of the United States to starve free, if he will, in any State of his choice, provided such State reasonably refuses to offer him succor?

Is a reasonable and humane statute, designed to protect a citizen of the United States from starvation and to return him to his former place of settlement, where he will be provided for, a violation of the Constitution of the United States?

These questions state the problem in different phases. The discussion herein will be designed to show that historically, logically and under the law of the Constitution as decided by the courts, the provisions of § 71 of the Public Welfare Law of New York State are valid.

THE STATUTE AND ITS GENERAL PURPORT

It will be noted that under § 71 of the Public Welfare Law as applied to the instant case, no person can be forcibly removed unless *each and every one of seven* conditions are fulfilled:

1. A person must be "cared for at the expense of the state";
2. He must "belong(s) to or have friends willing to support or aid in supporting him in any other state";
3. If such removal is made, "the interest of the state * * * will be thereby promoted";

4. If the removal is made, "the welfare of such person will be thereby promoted";

5. Before removal proceedings are instituted, "prior approval of the state department" of Social Welfare must be secured;

6. Then, only can the commissioner of the public welfare district wherein such person is being cared for, "apply to the county judge for the issuance of an order" of removal; and the county judge must deem that the statute is complied with;

7. And then, only an order "to remove the person to the state or country or district therein legally responsible for or willing to support him" can be issued.

It should be noted that in addition to the provisions of § 71 of the Public Welfare Law, removals have long since been authorized by what is now § 27 of the State Charities Law which, in part, reads:

> "State, nonresident and alien poor. The board, and any commissioner or officer of the department may, * * * cause to be removed to the state or country from which he came any such nonresident or alien poor found in any such institution or otherwise supported or relieved at public expense."

The policy of the State Department of Social Welfare for many years has been that which is expressed in current State Charges Informational Bulletin No. SS–1 (July 6, 1937) which reads:

> "8. The removal of State Charges by departments of public welfare should not be effected until settlement is definitely established and an authorization has been received for the return of any such person from the authorized officials in the locality of settlement. Each proposed removal must be considered on a casework basis and a return effected only when the commissioner of public welfare is satisfied that the welfare of the person and the interest of the state will thereby be promoted. State Charges requiring temporary relief and care should be given a reasonable opportunity for rehabilitation unless they desire to return voluntarily.
>
> "No removal of a State Charges under medical care shall be made unless a certificate is secured from the physician or superintendent of the institution indicating that the patient is able to travel. Responsible public welfare officials and interested persons in other states should be informed in advance when a removal is contemplated in order that necessary arrangements for care may be made on arrival * * *"

PERTINENT CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

All the constitutional arguments advanced by plaintiffs are based upon the following provisions of the Constitution of the United States:

Art. IV, § 2, Clause 1:

> "The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States."

Fourteenth Amendment, § 1:

> "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Art. I, § 8:

Power of Congress to regulate commerce "among the several states."

Art. X:

> "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

POINT I. PLAINTIFFS ARE WITHIN THE SCOPE OF § 71

A. Plaintiffs were "cared for at the expense of the state".

From September 5, 1939 through the month of December 1939 plaintiffs were in receipt of public relief from the County of Westchester,[1] which was paid for by the state.

B. Plaintiffs "belong to" an "other state."

Ohio itself states that plaintiffs reside in Ohio (Exhibit 1). They have lived in Ohio for some fifteen year and have been property owners in Ohio and conducted a business there. That plaintiffs "belong to" Ohio is borne out by the legislative history of § 71,[2] the statutes of other states and judicial constructions in other states.

"Belongs to" has been uniformly construed to mean legal settlement.

Town of Washington v. *Warren*, 123 Conn. 268, 193 Atl. 751, 752;
Inhabitants of Eden v. *Inhabitants of South West Harbor*, 108 Me. 489, 81 Atl. 1003;
City of Bridgeport v. *Town of Greenwich*, 116 Conn. 537, 165 A. 797;
Inhabitants of Machias v. *Wesley*, 99 Me. 17, 58 Atl. 240, 241.

C. The interest of the state and the welfare of plaintiffs will be promoted by removal.

As all of the facts (see *supra*) clearly indicate, the State Department of Social Welfare, the Commissioner of Public Welfare of Westchester County and the County Judge of Westchester County exercised very reasonable discretion in determining the desirability of the removal.

Each of the seven statutory conditions required by § 71 prior to removal was fulfilled.

POINT II. SECTION 71 IS CONSTITUTIONAL

A. Section 71 is a reasonable exercise of the sovereign police power to attain a proper objective.

1. Extent of due process constitutional limitations on the police power of the state.

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[1] Plaintiff improperly asserts in his affidavit attached to the order to show cause that he "received total payments of $116.60 for the period of four months to and until December 5, 1939". As is apparent from the bare statement the four months ended January 4, 1940 and not December 5, 1939 as stated by the plaintiffs. Relief is ordinarily paid in advance to the recipient and not as a reimbursement for past expenditures.

[2] The word "non-resident" used in the title of § 71 does not limit the scope of § 71. In any event, as is pointed out in Abbott, "Public Assistance, American Principles and Policies" (1940), page 201:

> "The terms 'non-resident' * * * or 'unsettled' are variously applied to one who has not resided in a state or local unit of a state for a period required by statute to establish such a legal settlement in such state or unit * * *"

Some fifteen other state statutes use interchangeably with "settlement" such words as "legal residence", "resident", "residence", "residence for the purpose of this act", "reside", etc. (*See e. g.*, California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Illinois, Michigan, Montana, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming; Hirsch, Compilation of Settlement Laws of all States in the United States (1939).) Many judicial decisions show that non-resident means non-settled, *Nelson Co.* v. *Williams Co.*, 276 N. W. 265 (N. D. 1937); *Burke County* v. *Brusven, et al.*, 62 N. D. 1; *City of Enderlin* v. *Pontiac*, 242 N. W. 117; and that settlement is legal residence for relief purposes and has been so construed generally. For an ample discussion of the meaning of "resident and inhabitant" as used in the settlement law of New York State (Public Welfare Law § 53, *et seq.*) showing that "residence" has special meanings in different statutes in New York State, see *Re Town of Hector*, 24 N. Y. S. 475 at pages 477, 481.

A predecessor of present § 71, *i. e.*, Poor Law of 1909 § 99 was entitled "Transfer to Other States or Countries". No reference was made therein to "non-resident" or to "alien poor" found in the present title of § 71. The reference in old § 99 to "legal settlement" was changed to "belongs to".

In 1929 Article VIII of the Public Welfare Law (L. 1929, ch. 565) dealt with "State and Non-Resident Alien Poor". Section 65 (1) thereof made the State liable for the support of non-settled cases and those not living in a welfare district sixty days in the year prior to applying for relief. The words used in § 65 (1) are "have not resided". What changes were effected by L. 1937, ch. 358, were not substantial. "State poor" (Public Welfare Law § 65) really includes "non-resident" and "alien poor". That, in part, is the legislative background behind the use of "non-resident" in the present title of § 71.

See also State Charities Law § 27 providing for removal "to the state or country from which he came" (derived from L. 1880, ch. 549, § 1; L. 1896, ch. 546, § 16). Thus here, in a similar provision, we have a state of origin rather than a state of "belonging" as the determining factor.

The power of the state is not created by the Constitution, but limited by it, and except as so limited, is supreme.

> *Matter of Thirty-Fourth Street Railroad Co.*, 102 N. Y. 343, 7 N. E. 172 (1886); *Carter* v. *Carter Coal Co.*, 298 U. S. 238 (1936), 11 Am. Jur. 865 § 171.

The extent of the limitations imposed by the Constitution on the exercise of this supreme power by the Legislature can be simply stated. It must promote the public welfare by means having a real and substantial relation to that end and shall not be unreasonable, arbitrary or capricious.

> *Nebbia* v. *People*, 291 U. S. 502 (1933).

No more definite boundaries are advisable, if the states are to have power to meet great public needs as they arise. Each case must be decided as the problem presents itself and when the validity of the legislative solution is questioned.

> *Noble State Bank* v. *Haskell*, 219 U. S. 104 (1910).

General statements occasioned by different context and subject matter should not be considered as foreclosing a decision as to an issue which warrants a more exact statement as to scope and limitations of constitutional powers and prohibitions.

2. The history of forcible removal provisions demonstrates its recognized need and reasonableness.

(a) Statutory history.

(i) *In England.* In 1662[3] the Poor Relief Act enacted by Parliament (13 and 14 Char. II, Chap. 12) recited:

> "Whereas the necessity, number, and continual increase of the poor, * * * through the whole Kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, is very great and exceedingly burdensome, being occasioned by reason of some defects in the law concerning the settling of the poor, and for want of a due provision of the regulation of relief and employment in such parishes or places where they are legally settled, which doth enforce many to turn incorrigible rogues, and others to perish for want, * * * and for the good of the poor"

and enacted

> "That it shall * * * be lawful, upon complaint * * * by the * * * overseers of the poor * * *, to any justice of the peace, within forty days after any such person or persons coming so to settle as aforesaid, in any tenement under the yearly value of ten pounds, for any two justices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum, of the division where any person * * *, that are likely to be chargeable to the parish, shall come to inhabit, by their warrant *to remove* and convey *such person* or persons *to such parish where he or they were last legally settled*, either as a native householder, sojourner, apprentice, or servant, for the space of forty days at the least, unless he or they give sufficient security for the discharge of the said parish, to be allowed by the said justices." (Italics not in the original.)

Although this section was repealed by the Poor Removal Act, 1795 (35 Geo. 3, Chap. 101, § 1) it nevertheless remains as the foundation of the law of settlement and removal (Little, Poor Law Statutes (1901) 122). The repeal and the provisions substituted by the Act of 1795 altered the law only to the extent of making it lawful to remove persons as

> "shall have become actually chargeable to the parish"

rather than

> "likely to be chargeable to the parish."

(ii) *In the United States.* The problem described in the preamble of 13 and 14 Char. II, Chap. 12, became accentuated in a dramatic fashion, particularly in recent years. By act of Colonial Legislatures similar provisions found their way into the statute books. They have been carried forward and in number extended so that at the present time there exist forcible removal provisions for those unable to take care of themselves in some thirty states (California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming[4]), including New York. Of these many can be interpreted to, and eleven others in addition to New York expressly authorize forcible removals to other states.[5]

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[3] The Statute of Laborers in 1350 (25 Edw. III, Chap. 1) aimed at a problem similar to that set forth in the preamble of 13 and 14 Char. II, Chap. 12: The poor were to remain where they were resident or be sent to the place of their birth (4 Holdsworth, History of English Law (1924) 390, *et seq.*).

(iii) *In New York.* Following the enactment by the New York Colonial Legislature in 1773[6] of a statute practically identical with that of 13 and 14 Char. II, the New York State Legislature enacted that

> "* * * it shall and may be lawful, upon complaint made by the overseers of the poor, of any district within this State, to any justice of the peace, within forty days, after any person or persons, shall come to settle in such district, in any tenement under the yearly value of five pounds, for any two justices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum, in, or next unto the district where any such person or persons, that are likely to be chargeable to the district, shall come to inhabit, by their warrant, under their hand and seal, to remove and convey, such person or persons, to such district, where he, she or they, were last legally settled, * * *." (L. 1784, Ch. 35.)

Subsequent enactments[7] culminated in present §27 of the State Charities Law[8] and §71 of the Public Welfare Law.

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[4] Ala. Code, Ann. (Michie, 1928) § 2806 (26); Calif. Code (1933 Supp.) § 4041.16 (4); Colo. Stat. Ann. (Michie, 1935) c. 124, § 7; Ill. Ann. Stat. (Smith-Hurd, 1939) c. 107, § 16; Ind. Stat. Ann. (Burns, 1939 Supp.) § 52–156; Iowa Code (1935) § 5313; Kan. Gen. Stat. Ann. (Corrick, 1935) § 39–313; Me. (Laws of 1933) Ch. 203, § 36; Mass. Ann. Laws (1939 Supp.) c. 117, § 18; Mich. Stat. Ann. (Henderson, 1936) § 16,188; Laws of Minnesota, 1939, § 3161–2; Miss. Code Ann. (1930) § 5707; Mont. Rev. Codes Ann. (Anderson & McFarland, 1935) § 2 (d); Neb. Comp. Stat. (Kyle, Supp. 1937) § 68–112; Nev. Comp. Laws (Hillyer, 1929) § 5144; N. H. (Laws of 1933) Ch. 107, § 18; N. J. (Public Laws, 1931) Ch. 373, § 29; N. C. Code Ann. (Michie, 1939) § 1343; N. D., Laws of 1935, c. 119, § 14; Ohio Gen. Code Ann. (Page, 1935) §§ 3484, 3484.1; Okla. St. Ann. § 36; Ore. Code Ann. (Supp. 1935) § 27–1416; Pa. Stat. Ann. (Purdon, 1939) tit. 62, § 1871; R. I. Gen. Laws (1938) § 5; S. C. Code (1932) § 4970; S. D. (Rev. Code 1919) Ch. 3, § 10048; Vt. Pub. Laws (1933) Ch. 160. § 3948; Va. Code Ann. (Michie & Sublett, 1936) § 2802; Wis. (Stats.) (1933) Ch. 49, § 49.06; Wyoming Session Laws (1937) Ch. 88, § 38.

[5] See note 2 *supra* as to California, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Virginia, Wisconsin.

[6] Charity Legislation of N. Y., 1604–1900 (1904) 39. As to earlier enactments of the Colonial Legislature of New York, see "Colonial Laws of New York" (1894) Vol. 1, pp. 131, 237. In 1683 the Colonial Legislature of New York enacted that persons who were not "able to give security for their well demeanor" be transported "to the place from whence they came, or att least out of the province and dependences" and if "beggars * * * remove from one county to anothere and cannot give security as aforesaid itt shall be lawful for the constable to returne such persons to the county from whence they came."

[7] See *e. g.* L. 1788, c. 62 ("out of this state into the state from whence he or she came"); L. 1801, c. 184 ("out of this state into the state from whence he came"); L. 1817, c. 177 ("to the place where such person was last legally settled without this state"); L. 1821, c. 220 ("to the place of his former settlement"); more recently see *e. g.* L. 1873, c. 661 ("to such state or country"); L. 1896, c. 225 ("to their county, town or city"); L. 1909, c. 57 ("to the state or country from which he came"); L. 1928, c. 859 ("to the state or country"); L. 1929, c. 565 ("to such state or country"). A complete list of citations to the relevant statutes can be found in "Charity Legislation in New York 1609–1900" (1904), *et seq.* For a period forcible removal seemed to have been discontinued in New York (L. 1824, c. 331; L. 1827, c. 20). The fact that since that time they have been reinserted in the statutes makes relevant what was stated without dissent by Judge Crane:

> "During various periods, therefore, in the hundred years, the Legislature of the State of New York has had occasion to consider the re-enactment or the amendment of this auction sales law. We must assume that there have been conditions and reasons which called the matter to the attention of these various legislatures and that the enactment of the laws was an attempt to meet present-day conditions and not a mere continuance through ignorance or mistake of dead legislation." *Biddles, Inc.* v. *Enright*, 239 N. Y. 354, 146 N. E. 625 (1925).

The statute was upheld. As a matter of fact § 71 of the Public Welfare Law was amended as recently as 1938 (L. 1938, Ch. 443).

[8] § 27 State Charities Law:

> "State, nonresident and alien poor. The board, and any commissioner or officer of the department may, at any time visit and inspect any institution subject to its supervision to ascertain if any inmates supported therein at a state, county or municipal expense are state charges, nonresidents or alien poor; and it may cause to be removed to the state or country from which he came any such nonresident or alien poor found in any such institution or otherwise supported or relieved at public expense."

(b) Relevance of Statutory History.

Mere statement discloses the materiality of the words of Justice Cardozo who in upholding a statutory seizure of property of a husband absconding from a wife and child likely to become public charges, said:

> "The procedure thus authorized has its roots in a distant past."
>
> "During all this long history there has been, so far as the published records show, no challenge of its binding force, though the enforcement of its remedies has been part of the routine of the * * * courts. Judges, as well as administrative officers, have taken its validity for granted."
>
> "Not lightly vacated is the verdict of quiescent years. Ownbey *v.* Morgan, 256 U. S. 94, 108, 109, 41 S. Ct. 433, 437 (65 L. Ed. 837, 17 A. L. R. 873); Otis Co. *v.* Ludlow Mfg. Co., 201 U. S. 140, 154, 26 S. Ct. 353, 355 (50 L. Ed. 696); Biddles, Inc. *v.* Enright, 239 N. Y. 354, 361, 146 N. E. 625, 627 (39 A. L. R. 766).
>
> " 'The Fourteenth Amendment, itself a historical product, did not destroy history for the states and substitute mechanical compartments of law all exactly alike. If a thing has been practiced for two hundred years by common consent, it will need a strong case for the Fourteenth Amendment to affect it.' Jackman *v.* Rosenbaum Co., 260 U. S. 22, 31, 43 S. Ct. 9 (67 L. Ed. 107).
>
> "This background of tradition gives the setting of the statute and the method of approach when today its validity is challenged."
>
> *Coler* v. *Corn Exchange Bank*, 250 N. Y. 136, 164 N. E. 882 (1928), aff'd subnom *Corn Exchange Bank* v. *Coler*, 280 U. S. 218 (1929).

As was stated in *Twining* v. *N. J.*, 211 U. S. 78 (1908):

> "What is due process of law may be ascertained by an examination of those settled usages and modes of proceedings existing in the common and statute law of England before the emigration of our ancestors, and shown not to have been unsuited to their civil and political condition by having been enacted on by them after the settlement of this country * * *"

The statute before the court is even more necessary today than it was in the seventeenth century.

3. The relief of those in need is a matter of public concern and provision therefor with checks to prevent the burden from becoming unbearable is not unreasonable, arbitrary or capricious.

Unlike the statutes of most other states,[9] the New York State Legislature, in its desire to be humane, has provided:

> "It shall be the duty of public welfare officials, insofar as funds are available for that purpose, to provide adequately for those unable to maintain themselves."
>
> Public Welfare Law § 77.

And thus every person in the state, no matter how long and regardless of residence, citizenship, or any other factor, if unable to maintain himself, is cared for by the state and the welfare districts therein. But

> "Neither aliens nor the citizens of other states are invested by the Constitution with any interest in the common property of the people of this state."
>
> "How far the state will go beyond its own citizens in thus applying its own resources to the betterment of conditions the Legislature must say."
>
> *People* v. *Crane*, 214 N. Y. 154 at 161 and 165; 108 N. E. 427. (1915.)

If the sovereign state extends its bounty as an act of grace to others than those with settlement in the state, it can unquestionably impose reasonable conditions to such beneficence. It is not violative of any fundamental law to arrange for such provision in the place of proper settlement.

The Constitution of New York expressly recognizes that:

> "The aid, care and support of the needy are public concerns * * *"—Art. XVII, § 1.

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[9] Twenty states have requirements ranging all the way up to four years of residence for eligibility for general relief as of January 1, 1936. Webb and Brown, "Migrant Families", W. P. A. Research Monograph 19, 1938, Table 25. In the remaining states, twenty-two have requirements ranging up to five years of residence as a prerequisite to eligibility for general relief, *ibid.*

Poverty, whether it be of citizens of others actually within the state

> "* * * destroys health and life itself * * * has a destructive influence upon standards of social behavior * * * a greater incidence of crime * * * even more detrimental is the influence * * * on mental health and happiness * * * creates fear, depression, despondency and suicides * * * envy, bitterness, self-depreciation * * *" POVERTY: VI Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (1935) 284 at 289.[10]

But in addition to the human values, the taxpayer's interests must be considered and so it is not arbitrary or capricious to suppose that such altruistic bounty can be made mandatory and under the law, as it has been in New York, without certain checks and balances.[11] One of the most important of these is the authority in the statutes to remove to the place where they belong, persons cared for at public expense, whether it be within the state or outside the state. (Public Welfare Law, §§ 59, 59–a and 71; State Charities Law, § 27).

This is no theoretical discussion. To the very real concern of the taxpayer the state cost of the maintenance of state charges in New York State has increased from $74,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, to close to $3,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.[12] This is an increase of over 3,000 percent. Although the causal factors cannot be isolated to a large extent this must have been due to the fact that as to average home relief grants New York ranks first in the country. Ohio, from which the plaintiffs come, ranks nineteenth. Within New York State, Westchester County occupies third position amongst the sixty-two counties.

> *Social Security Bulletin* (January 1940) 77; *New York State Department of Social Welfare, Report on Public Assistance* (November 1939) 3–4.

Thus for the month of November, 1939 in Ohio the average home relief grant was $15.99 whereas in New York State the average was $36.12, with Westchester County exceeding the average of New York by having an average grant of $40.18 or, to put it more briefly, *more than double the amount granted in Ohio.*

The late Justice Cardozo in *People* v. *Crane*, 214 N. Y. 154, 108 N. E. 427 (1915), in upholding the constitutionality of a statute which prevented the employment of aliens in the construction of public works said of the state:

> "It may discriminate between citizens and aliens in its charitable institutions, or in other measures for the relief of paupers"

and cited § 17 of the State Charities Law. That section, now § 27, in part provides:

> "The board, and any commissioner or officer of the department may * * * cause to be removed to the state or country from which he came any such

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[10] Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine of New York City in his annual departmental report pointed out that "the unemployed and transit population are responsible for most of the crimes in New York City". New York World Telegram, May 21, 1940.

[11] Migration of destitute persons to New York, even under the present law, is great: On June 30, 1935 in transient migrant families New York ranked third in the Union, exceeded only by California and Colorado. Webb and Brown, "Migrant Families" W. P. A. Research Monograph 18, Table 5.

[12] Cost of maintenance of State charges in New York State:

Fiscal Year Ended June 30:	*Cost of Maintenance*
1939	$2, 830, 000
1938	1, 557, 000
1937	323, 000
1936	275, 000
1935	220, 000
1934	179, 000
1933	184, 000
1932	148, 000
1931	120, 000
1930	74, 000

Source: New York State Department of Social Welfare, Bureau of Research and Statistics, March 8, 1940.

The *monthly average* number of state charge cases increased from 3,923 during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938 to 6,764 in the following fiscal year, an increase of seventy-two percent in one year. *Ibid.*

> nonresident or alien poor found in any such institution or otherwise supported or relieved at public expense."

While the point at issue in *People* v. *Crane, supra,* is not precisely the point at issue in the instant proceeding, it is worthy of note that § 17 of the State Charities Law permitted a forcible removal to another state of persons supported at public expense. Lower courts have repeatedly issued orders pursuant to § 71.[13]

That a State in the exercise of its police power may exclude from its territory paupers coming from other states has been repeatedly intimated by the Supreme Court of the United States.

> *Freund, The Police Power* (1904) § 271;
> *City of New York* v. *Miln*, 11 Pet. 102, 141, 148 (1837) ;
> *Prigg* v. *Pennsylvania*, 16 Pet. 540, 625 (U. S. 1842) ;
> *Passenger Cases*, 7 How. 283, 425 (Wayne), 463 (Grier), 469 (Taney dissenting) (U. S. 1849) ;
> *Henderson* v. *Mayor of New York*, 92 U. S. 259, 275 (1875) ;
> *Chy Lung* v. *Freeman*, 92 U. S. 275, 280 (1875) ;
> *Railroad Co.* v. *Husen*, 95 U. S. 465, 471 (1877) ;
> *Plumley* v. *Mass.*, 155 U. S. 461, 478 (1894) ;
> *Smith* v. *St. Louis & Southwestern Ry.*, 181 U. S. 248, 254 (1901).

In speaking of the statute before the court in *City of New York* v. *Miln, supra,* the Supreme Court of the United States said:

> "The section * * * is obviously passed with a view to prevent her citizens from being oppressed by the support of multitudes of poor persons * * * New York * * * is, perhaps more than any other city in the Union, exposed to the evil of thousands of foreign emigrants arriving there, and the consequent danger of her citizens being subjected to a heavy charge in the maintenance of those who are poor. *It is the duty of the State to protect its citizens from this evil;* * * * " (*id.* at 141; italics not in the original.)

In the *Passenger* cases, supra, Justice Wayne stated:

> "The states have also reserved the police right to turn off from their territory paupers, * * * "

Justice Grier stated:

> "A state in the exercise of her acknowledged right may exclude paupers * * * "

Justice Taney went on to say:

> "It is a power of self-preservation, and was never intended to be surrendered."

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[13] As far as one has been able to ascertain during 1938 and 1939 there have been some thirty-four court orders of forcible removal to places outside the state pursuant to § 71 of the Public Welfare Law. They have been issued in the following counties amongst others: Albany, Broome, Chautauqua, Clinton, Erie, Essex, Fulton, Montgomery, Steuben and Washington. See *e. g.* Matter of *Jeacock* for an Order of Removal v. *Longo, et al.* (Erie County Court, May 8, 1939) (constitutional questions of "due process", "equal protection", "privileges and immunities" and "cruel or unusual punishment" were each raised unsuccessfully; a removal to Newark, New Jersey, was ordered) ; In the Matter of *Cali, et al.* to Dunmore, Pennsylvania (Chautauqua County Court, June 23, 1939) : In the Matter of the Removal of *Dalto, et al.* to Youngstown, Ohio (Chautauqua County Court, March 28, 1938) ; In the Matter of the Removal of *Vrooman, et al.* to the County of Warren, Pennsylvania (Chautauqua County Court, June 19, 1939) ; In the Matter of *Jeacock* for an Order of removal v. *Coleman, et al.* to Memphis, Tennessee (Erie County Court, March 31, 1939) ; In the Matter of the Application of *Jeacock* for an order of Removal v. *Gibson, et al.* to Mortgomery, Alabama (Erie County Court, May 9, 1939) ; In the Matter of the Application of *Jeacock* for an Order of Removal of *Jones, et al.* to Detroit, Michigan (Erie County Court, March 31, 1939) ; In the Matter of the Application of *Jeacock* for an order of Removal v. *Ray, et al.* to Cleveland, Ohio (Erie County Court, May 9, 1939) ; In the Matter of the Removal of *Vallejo, et al.* to the County of Carbon, Pennsylvania (Essex County Court, October 24, 1938) ; In the Matter of the Removal of *Szuty, et al.* to the County of Luzerne, Pennsylvania (Fulton County Court, August 4, 1938) ; In the Matter of the Removal of *Brudzisz, et al.* to Haverhill, Massachusetts (Montgomery County Court, September 26, 1938 ; In the Matter of the Application of *Hardenbrook* for the Removal of *Guthrie, et al.* to Sharon, Pennsylvania (Steuben County Court, November 28, 1938) ; In the Matter of the Removal of *Scism, et al.* to Hoboken, New Jersey (Washington County Court, October 28, 1938).

Only in grammatical form is "liberty" absolute.[14] Constitutionally, it has never been so interpreted. In speaking of the constitution, Chief Justice Hughes has said:

> "It speaks of liberty and prohibits the deprivation of liberty without due process of law. In prohibiting that deprivation the constitution does not recognize an absolute and uncontrollable liberty. Liberty in a social organization which requires the protection of law against the evils which menace the health, safety, morals and welfare of the people. Liberty under the constitution is thus necessarily subject to the restraints of due process, and regulation which is reasonable in relation to its subject and is adopted in the interests of the community is due process." *West Coast Hotel Co.* v. *Parrish*, 300 U. S. 379 at 391 (1936).

Scores of cases which infringe absolute liberty or certain privileges or immunities have been upheld as being within the police power.

There may be added what was said in *Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad Co.* v. *Husen* (1877), 95 U. S. 465 at 471:

> "It may also be admitted that the police powers of a state justify the adoption of precautionary measures against social evils. Under it, a State may legislate to prevent the spread of crime or pauperism or disturbances of the peace. *It may exclude from its limits, convicts, paupers, idiots and lunatics and persons likely to become a public charge*, as well as persons afflicted by contagious or infectious diseases, a right founded, as intimated in the Passenger Cases, 7 How. 283 by Grier, J, in the sacred law of self defense. Vide, Neff *v.* Penoyer, 3 Sawyer 283 * * *" (Italics not in the original.)

Speaking of *Chy Lung* v. *Freeman*, 92 U. S. 275 (1873) and *Henderson* v. *Mayor of N. Y.*, 92 U. S. 259 (1875) Justice Strong stated:

> "Neither of these cases denied *the right of a State to protect herself against paupers*, convicted criminals * * * *in the absence of legislation by Congress* * * *" (*id.* at 472) (Italics not in the original.)

In *Plumley* v. *Massachusetts*, 155 U. S. 46 (1894), in which a statute was attacked on "commerce", "priviliges and immunities of citizens in the several states", "privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States", "due process" and "equal protection", the court held the law constitutional, and, in part expressly stated (p. 478):

> "It has therefore been adjudged that the *States may* * * * *exclude from their limits paupers* * * * persons likely to become a public charge * * * These and other like things have immediate connection with the health, morals, and safety of the people, may be done by the States in the exercise of the right of self defense.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> "We are not unmindful of the fact * * * that the acknowledged power of the States to protect the morals, the health, and safety of their people by appropriate legislation, sometimes touches, in its exercise, the line separating the respective domains of national and state authority. But in view of * * * numerous state governments, which retain and exercise all powers not delegated to the Union, 'the judiciary of the United States should not strike down a legislative enactment of a State—especially if it has direct connection with the social order, the health, and the morals of its people * * *'" (Italics not in the original.)

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[14] The "freedoms" contended for by plaintiffs are not absolute as plaintiff claims. *Davidowitz* v. *Hines*, 30 Fed. Supp. 470, dealing with fingerprinting aliens, is not pertinent to the issue herein. Nor is there any question of "ghettos" or "peonage" involved. It must be conceded that confinement to a poorhouse or poor farm might be a result of indigence. Freedom of residence is certainly restricted, yet no instance of invalidity has been pointed out to poor laws permitting commitment to poor farms of indigents. Even free speech and free assembly are subject to restrictions consistent with orderly life. One cannot abuse the freedom and transform it into license. The cases are not subject of such generalization as plaintiff's position seeks to imply. Freedom of locomotion is not interfered with by Section 71, but merely freedom to remain fixed to the detriment of the state and menace of the community chosen by the indigent person.

Even statutes allowing removal within the state of those likely to become chargeable have been utilized:

> *Anderson* v. *Miller*, 120 Pa. Super. 463, 182 Atl. 742 (1936);
> *In Re Barnes*, 119 Pa. Super. 533, 180 Atl. 718 (1935).

In both these cases a forcible removal was held justified.

Objection of "due process" was discussed and discarded in *Lovell* v. *Seeback*, 45 Min. 465, 48 N. W. 23 (1891) in which a statute authorizing forcible removal of a person likely to become a public charge was sustained:

> "Its validity * * * may be sustained * * * upon grounds of general necessity and expediency, was sanctioned by statute before the adoption of our constitution, has ever since been acquiesced in, and that similar statutes have been in force since the early settlement of this country * * *" (*id.* at 469.)

Other state courts have validated forcible removals within the state on the ground that paupers constituted a special class because of their dependence on public funds and therefore must be subject to this type of public control.[15]

> *Harrison* v. *Gilbert*, 71 Conn. 724, 43 Atl. 190 (1899);[16]
> *Bristol* v. *Fox*, 159 Ill. 500, 42 N. E. 887 (1896) (alternative holding).[17]

Freund, in The Police Power (1904) §491 puts it on this ground:

> "However, as has been shown before, *liberty of settlement cannot be claimed by those who cannot support themselves*, for their taking up a residence in a district means the imposition of a pecuniary burden upon the community. Hence paupers, *i. e.* persons actually chargeable upon the public, not merely likely to become chargeable, may be compelled to remain where they have their domicile and may be removed to it. * * * In these cases the restraint of liberty is justified by the condition of the person restrained, * * *" See also id. §271. (Italics supplied.)

B. Section 71 does not contravene any provision of the Constitution.

1. Interstate Commerce.

Even if it be assumed[18] that the movement of plaintiff's affect commerce it is not such commerce as is beyond the pale of state jurisdiction. The Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly recognized that in the absence of congressional preemption the states must be permitted to control this commerce by reasonable regulations of the police power.

> *Morgan* v. *Louisiana Board of Health*, 118 U. S. 455 (1885);
> *Campagnie Francaise* v. *Louisiana State Board of Health*, 186 U. S. 380 (1902);
> *Eicholz* v. *Public Service Commissioner*, 306 U. S. 268 (1938);
> *Ziffern Inc.* v. *Reeves*, 60 S. Ct. 163 (1939).

As was stated in the *Eicholz* case, *supra:*

> "We may assume that Congress could regulate interstate transportation of the sort here in question, whatever the motive of those engaging in it. But in the absence of the exercise of federal authority, and in the light of local exigencies, the State is free to act in order to protect its legitimate interests even though interstate commerce is directly affected. Cooley

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[15] State courts have even upheld laws making it a crime to bring indigents into the state. See *e. g. State* v. *Cornish*, 66 N. H. 329 (1890); *Winfield* v. *Mapes*, 4 Denio 571 (N. Y. 1847).

[16] In the *Harrison* case a forcible removal was sustained, the court stating at page 729 and at 191–192:

> "* * * Town paupers belong to a certain class. The law assigns them a certain status. This entitles them to public aid, and subjects them, in a corresponding degree, to public control. There is nothing in the statutes under which the defendants justify which pushes this right of control further than is reasonably adapted to keep the public burden within due bounds * * *."

[17] In the *Bristol* case it was said at page 508 and at 890:

> "* * * So soon as they became a charge, and while they remained so, they ceased to be free agents, but were in the hands, and to a certain extent under the control, of the public officers intrusted with the execution of the poor law * * *."

[18] "Labor of human beings is not a commodity nor an article of commerce and shall never be so considered". New York Constitution, Article I, § 17.

> *v.* Board of Wardens, 12 How. 299, 319; Morgan's S. S. Co. *v.* Louisiana, 118 U. S. 455; Smith *v.* Alabama, 124 U. S. 465; Kelly *v.* Washington, 302 U. S. 1, 9, 10." *id.* at 274.

In the *Ziffern* case, *supra*, the court said:

> "The power of a state to regulate her internal affairs notwithstanding the consequent effect upon interstate commerce was much discussed in South Carolina Highway Dept. *v.* Barnwell Bros., 303 U. S. 177, 189, 58 S. Ct. 510, 515, 516, 82 L. Ed. 734. There it was again affirmed that although regulation by the state might impose some burden on interstate commerce this was permissible when 'an inseparable incident of the exercise of a legislative authority, which, under the Constitution, has been left to the states.' * * *" *id.* at 168.

Likewise what was stated in *Clason* v. *State of Indiana*, 59 Sup. Ct. 609, (1939) is equally applicable here:

> "We can find no substantial basis for the charge of discrimination against legitimate interstate commerce. That any real burden upon commerce which the State is not free to inhibit will result from the challenged statute seems impossible."

In a similar manner, speaking of articles of trade which if permitted in a state would "bring in and spread disease, pestilence and death," the Supreme Court has said:

> "The self-protecting power of each state, therefore may be rightfully exerted against their introduction, and such exercises of power cannot be considered regulations of commerce prohibited by the constitution." Bowman *v.* Chicago & C. Railway Co., 125 U. S. 465, 489 (1888).

The federal government has not preempted this field.[19] Section 71 of the Public Welfare Law is part of a statutory scheme, equally applicable to home relief, medical care, institutional care, assistance to the blind, old age assistance and aid to dependent children. As to the latter three it is part of the "state plan" approved by the federal social security board as a basis for reimbursement under the Federal Social Security Act. U. S. C. A. Tit. 42 (1939) §§302, 602 and 1202.

In *H. P. Welch Co.* v. *State of New Hampshire*, 59 Sup. Ct. 438, at 441 in which there was the question of whether a federal statute superseded a state statute, it was stated:

> "Its purpose to displace the local law must be definitely expressed. Mintz *v.* Baldwin, 289 U. S. 346, 350, 53 S. Ct. 611, 613, 77 L. Ed. 1245. The rule applicable is clearly stated in Illinois Cent. R. R. Co. *v.* Public Utilities Comm., 235 U. S. 493, 510, 38 S. Ct. 170, 176, 62 L. Ed. 425. 'In construing federal statutes enacted under the power conferred by the commerce clause of the Constitution * * * it should never be held that Congress intends to supersede or suspend the exercise of the reserved powers of a state, even where that may be done, unless, and except so far as its purpose to do so is clearly manifested.' We have frequently applied that principle. See *e. g.* Reid *v.* Colorado, 187 U. S. 137, 148, 23 S. Ct. 92, 96, 47 L. Ed. 108, Missouri Pacific Ry. *v.* Larabee Mills, 211 U. S. 612, 621 *et seq.*, 29 S. Ct. 214, 217, 53 L. Ed. 352; Missouri Kansas & Texas Ry. Co. of Texas *v.* Harris, 234 U. S. 412, 418, 419, 34 S. Ct. 790, 792, 793, 58 L. Ed. 1377, L. R. A. 1915E, 942; Smith *v.* Illinois Bell Telephone Co. 282 U. S. 133, 139, 51 S.

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[19] Although it has regulated the immigration from and deportation of aliens from and to foreign countries at the present time there is no federal statute which has anything to do with the movement of such persons from state to state. Congress began exclusion in 1875 (Act of March 3, 1875, § 5, 185 Pet. 477) of alien convicts and alien prostitutes; in 1882 (Act of Aug. 3, 1882, § 2, 225 Pet. 214) lunatics, idiots and "any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge"; in 1891 (Act of Nov. 3, 1891, § 1, 26 Stat. 1084) "paupers or persons likely to become a public charge" and other classes. In 1891 Congress began deporting aliens who within a year after admission had become public charges for causes existing prior to landing. Cutting the history short U. S. C. A. Tit. 8, § 136 (1920), provides:

> "The following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: Paupers, professional beggars, vagrants * * * Persons likely to become a public charge * * *." See sections which follow §136.

> Ct. 65, 66, 75 L. Ed. 255; N. W. Bell Tel. Co. *v.* Nebraska State Ry. Comm., 297 U. S. 471, 478, 56 S. Ct. 536, 538, 80 L. Ed. 810; Kelly *v.* Washington, 302 U. S. 1, 10 *et seq.*, 58 S. Ct. 87, 92, 82 L. Ed. 3."

Laying all frills aside, the one and only question involved in so far as interstate commerce is concerned is: If it be assumed that interstate commerce is here involved, whether the extent to which the national interest in free intercourse between the states is affected by the few forcible removals of persons who are public charges, counter-balances the general welfare interest of having a humane statute which takes care of all those in need regardless of how long they have resided in a particular state. In this connection it should be noted that the statute does not prevent the ingress and egress from one state to another by one who has not applied for and is not receiving public assistance.

2. Privileges and Immunities of State Citizenship.

In the words of Mr. Pinckney, who was a signer of the Constitution and the supposed author of Article IV, § 2 of the United States Constitution, it has been

> "formed exactly upon the principles of the fourth article of the present confederation." Farrand, Records of the Federal Convention, (1911) Vol. I–III, p. 112, 445. See also Elliot, Debates on the Federal Constitution Contained in Madison Papers (1863) Vol. 5, p. 132, 381, 563.[20]

Article IV of the Articles of Confederation provided that:

> "The free inhabitants of each of these States, *paupers*, vagabonds and fugitives from justice *excepted*, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." (Italics not in the original.)

The practice of forcible removals of public charges not only existed before the adoption of the Constitution but continued to exist subsequently.

This clause has been held to be applicable only to acts of a state with regard to the citizens of another state and not applicable to the acts of a state with regard to its own citizens.[21] *Colgate* v. *Harvey*, 296 U. S. 404 (1935) said nothing to the contrary. Since the early case of *Corfield* v. *Coryell*, 6 Fed. Case, 546, No. 3, 230 (C. C. E. D. Pa. 1823), the protection of this clause has been confined to what are considered fundamental privileges of state citizenship. Even if

> "the right of a citizen of one state to pass through, or reside in any other state"

has frequently been repeated, § 71 does not interfere with this right, but states that if one coming from another state applies for care at public expense, to which he has no constitutional right (People v. Crane, supra),[22] he can avail himself thereof only within the limitations of that section which states that if it be and *only if it be for his welfare* and the welfare of the state he subjects himself to the possibility of return to the state to which he belongs.

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[20] Any attempt to draw a contrary conclusion from Article 4 of the Articles of Confederation is wholly unwarranted. The omission in Art. IV, § 2 of the Constitution of the exceptions of "paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice" does not indicate an intent to enable *paupers* to have complete freedom of residence without interference by the States. The same conclusion would seem to follow, if that is correct, for fugitives from justice and vagabonds. Yet it is obvious that these latter may be restricted in residence or locomotion or in freedom. The complete answer is that the recasting into Art. IV, § 2 of the United States Constitution did not alter the meaning or effect of the provision.

[21] The distinctions made repeatedly between *residence* and *citizenship* as affecting privileges of the latter (either by virtue of § 2 of Art. IV or the 14th Amendment of the Federal Constitution) should be carefully noted.

> *Frost & Dickinson* v. *Brisbin*, 19 Wend. 11/15;
> *Robinson* v. *Ocean Steam Nav. Co.*, 112 N. Y. 315.
> "A construction of the constitutional limitation which would apply it to such a case as this would strike down a large body of laws which have existed in all the states from the foundation of the government, making some discrimination between residents and non-residents in legal proceedings and other matters."
> *Robinson* v. *Ocean Steam Nav. Co.*, *supra;*
> *La Tourette* v. *McMaster*, 248 U. S. 465.
> "Citizenship and residence, so often declared by this court, are not synonymous terms. (*Parker* v. *Overman*, 18 How. 137.)"
> *Robertson* v. *Cease*, 97 U. S. 646.

"Citizenship" implies more than mere residence and carries a more permanent identification with the State and its functions.

> *Baker* v. *Keck*, 13 Fed. Supp. 486, 487;
> *State* v. *District Court of Seventeenth Judicial District*, 80 Pac. [2d] 367;
> *Rawstone* v. *Maquire*, 265 N. Y. 204, 208.

"Settlement", a residence qualification, wholly confined to administration of relief and "poor laws", is a restriction reasonably placed on residence and citizenship and not an arbitrary or invalid abridgment of any privilege or immunity of citizenship, Federal or State.

The questions of returning one to a state to which he does not belong, which has not authorized his return, and which is not legally responsible for him, are not involved in view of Ohio's authorization for the return (fols. 50–51) and acknowledged responsibility.

3. Privileges and Immunities of a Citizen of the United States.

"Feeble indeed" is an attempt to have this statute declared invalid on the basis of the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

In *Hague* v. *Committee for Industrial Organization*, 59 Sup. Ct. 954 (1939) Justice Stone pointed out:

> "Of the fifty or more cases which have been brought to this Court since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in which state statutes have been assailed as violating the privileges and immunities clause, in only a single case was a statute held to infringe a privilege or immunity peculiar to citizenship of the United States * * * *Colgate* v. *Harvey*, 296 U. S. 404, 56 S. Ct. 252, 80 L. Ed. 299, 102 A. L. R. 54, (1935)."

That one and only case, within just five years, was buried by being expressly overruled. *Madden* v. *Commonwealth of Kentucky*, 60 Sup. Ct. 406 (1940). On page 411, Mr. Justice Reed speaking for the United States Supreme Court said:

> "*Colgate* v. *Harvey*, *supra*, must be and is overruled."

In commenting on *Madden* v. *Kentucky*, *supra*, the following appears in the Harvard Law Review for March, 1940:

> "In overruling its only actual holding that a state statute violated the privileges or immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court apparently turns the clause back toward the limbo whence that decision had summoned it. * * * *Colgate* v. *Harvey* might have been interpreted as a decision that the privileges or immunities clause forbids classifications along state lines which are unreasonable when considered in the light of national interests, although satisfying the criterion of reasonableness in the light of the state's welfare adhered to in the interpretation of the due process and equal protection clauses."

Even on such basis this statute would be sustained. In the *Madden* case, however, the Supreme Court "made emphatic its disinclination to interfere on constitutional grounds in a State's pursuit of its own welfare at the expense of a truly national economic system." The argument in favor of the State's action is far more forceful in the instant case, in the light of the social and economic dangers thus avoided.

In his dissent in *Colgate* v. *Harvey*, *supra*, Justice Stone speaking of the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment said:

> "It created no new privileges and immunities of United States citizenship, *Bartenger* v. *Iowa*, 18 Wall 129, 133, and, as they are derived exclusively from the Constitution and laws enacted under it, the states were powerless

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[22] Although sometimes denied, the Supreme Court has frequently held that where the state may withhold a privilege altogether, it may condition the grant of the privilege on the foregoing of a constitutional right, on the theory that the greater power includes the lesser.

Lafayette Insurance Company v. *French*, 18 How. 404 (U. S. 1856);
Davis v. *Massachusetts*, 167 U. S. 43 (1897):
Pullman Company v. *Adams*, 189 U. S. 420 (1903);
Atkin v. *Kansas*, 191 U. S. 207 (1903);
Oceanic Steam Navigation Company v. *Stranahan*, 214 U. S. 320 (1909).

In *Davis* v. *Massachusetts*, 167 U. S. 43 (1897) it was said at 48:

> "The right to absolutely exclude all right to use, necessarily includes the authority to determine under what circumstances such use may be availed of, as the greater power contains the lesser."

But resort need not be had to this principle to decide the instant case because no constitutional right or privilege has been interfered with. The statute was in force long before the appellants applied for relief in New York. When they applied § 128 of the Public Welfare Law provided:

> "Any public relief received by such person shall constitute an implied contract."

Under this implied contract they may be considered subject to § 71, a section that could be utilized when their welfare would be promoted thereby.

> to abridge them before the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment as well as after." See *Crandall* v. *Nevada*, 6 Wall 35.
>
> "*Crandall* v. *Nevada* is overruled so far as it referred the protection of such commerce to the privileges and immunities clause rather than to the commerce clause. *Helson and Randolph* v. *Kentucky*, 279 U. S. 245, 251." *id.* at 443 and 446.

Freund, The Police Power (1904) in §491 states:

> "If it is a privilege of a citizen of the United States to move freely within the whole country, the power of the state to control the migration and settlement of its own people within its own territory must logically be denied, for the whole country includes the state."

No matter how absolute "privileges and immunities" are in form they have never been held to be so in constitutional interpretation. And this is so with added force where the health and welfare of the community is concerned. Never has it been held that there is a privilege to remain where one will when there was danger to the safety and welfare of others.

4. Equal Protection.

There is no invalid classification.

Heim v. *McCall*, 239 U. S. 175 (1915);
People v. *Crane*, 239 U. S. 195 (1915);
Barbier v. *Connolly*, 113 U. S. 27 (1885).

Section 71 of the Public Welfare Law is part of the general scheme set up therein. Sections 59 and 59–a respectively authorize the forcible removal of a person from one public welfare district to another public welfare district within the state and from one town or city within a public welfare district to another town or city within the same public welfare district. In like manner a person may be removed outside of the state to the state or country to which he belongs on compliance with §71. Thus, *all* persons, who are supported at public expense are accordingly subject to removal to the place where they belong; and where they will be supported by the persons or governmental unit responsible for their support. It is no privilege or immunity of a New York citizen to obtain relief under its constitution and laws, except at the cost of, and subject to removal to his place of settlement. Thus he cannot demand it in Albany, except subject to removal to Erie, if he is there settled. This petitioner is thus treated no differently in principle than a citizen of New York under like circumstances.

5. Plaintiffs' Position.

The fundamental fallacy of plaintiffs' position is the failure to recognize that there is not inherent in citizenship a constitutional right to be supported at public expense; to live where one will and be a menace to society. Nor does the constitution make it mandatory to starve, or guarantee the right to starve where one wishes.

(a) The arguments which may be pressed on this basis of the due process clause of the 14th Amendment are not applicable to the facts or law herein. No interference is observed with a citizen's or non-citizen's right to choose and "establish a home." What is controlled is the unrestricted imposition of indigent persons and families without settlement upon a community and State where they cannot establish a home because of their indigent status. A *condition* may often interfere with what would otherwise be a freedom. *Vagrancy* is one example. *Mental deficiency* is another; *disease* is a third. Individual rights and freedoms must yield to the rights, security and freedom of the rest of a community or State. There is no such "right to reside anywhere in the nation", without restriction or qualification as an attribute or privilege of national citizenship. Necessities and protection of the great body of citizens, taxpayers, health, general welfare—all are factors which may warrant qualification of such alleged freedom. Due process involves a consideration of the tradition and legislative background, of the century and more of an acknowledged legal process which has been unimpaired. No violation of such due process is shown in the instant case.

(b) The *Hague* case, *supra*, on which reliance may erroneously be placed, went no further said the court (*id.* at 512) than to hold that one could not be denied the right to "disseminate information concerning the National Labor Relations Act", a federal statute, "to assemble peacefully for discussion of the Act, and of the opportunities offered by it." Neither poverty, public funds nor the considerations of health and welfare, so important in this case, were there involved.

(c) Likewise plaintiffs may not rely on *Truax* v. *Raich*, 239 U. S. 33 (1915). All that case decided was the invalidity of an act providing that every employer who employed more than five workers shall employ

> "not less than eighty per cent. qualified electors or native born citizens of the United States or some subdivision thereof."

But the court, there, did say expressly:

> "The discrimination defined by the act does not pertain to the regulation or distribution of the public domain, or of the common property or resources of the people of the state, the enjoyment of which may be limited to its citizens as against both aliens and the citizens of other states * * * and it should be added that the act is not limited to persons who * * * receive the benefit of public monies * * *" *Truax* v. *Raich*, 239 U. S. 33 (1915) at 39–40.

(d) Nor would *Baldwin* v. *Seelig*, 294 U. S. 511 (1935) be applicable. There one state prohibited the sale of milk imported from another state unless the price paid in the other to the producer was up to the minimum prescribed by the first state for purchases from local producers. As the court pointed out the barrier that was set up was as effective as if custom duties had been exacted and violated the express prohibition in Article I, §10 of the Constitution against "imposts or duties" between the states.

Bangor v. *Smith*, 83 Maine 422 (1891).

CONCLUSION

The judges of the New York Court of Appeals who considered the merits of this case [See *In the Matter of Chirillo*, 283 N. Y. 417, 28 N. E. [2d] 895, (1940)] Finch, J. (dissenting, in which Rippey and Lewis, JJ. concurred) dismissed all the constitutional objections here raised by petitioner and concluded

> "The Public Welfare Law of New York seeks, with due regard to the rights of all those affected, to deal in a humane way with the problem of pauperism. The sovereign police power of the State of New York has been exercised properly and reasonably. Such legislation is permitted by the Constitution of the State, and nothing in the United States Constitution compels a holding that such legislation is invalid."

holding § 71 of the Public Welfare Law constitutional. *Section 71 by its very words can never be utilized if it does not promote the welfare of the individual involved.* In the light of the problem and facts known to exist the sovereign police power has been constitutionally, reasonably and properly exercised. Before a court should decide otherwise or nullify the statute by issuing a preliminary injunction, or that it is necessary as an alternative to let people starve, the necessity leading to such a result should be overwhelmingly demonstrated. We find no such proof offered here.

> "All power may be abused, and if fear of abuse is to constitute an argument against its existence, it might be urged against the existence of that which is indispensable to the general safety."
> *Marshall, C. J.*—12 Wheat. 440.

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APPENDIX

The language of the cases, including those which plaintiff may cite, lend added support to the validity of § 71. Following are excerpts, with occasional comment:*

1) As early as 1823 limitations on the privileges and immunities clause of Article IV, § 2 were expressly indicated. In *Corfield* v. *Coryell*, 4 Wash. 371 (U. S. 3d Cir. 1823), the defendant had been dredging oysters in the waters of New Jersey contrary to the law of New Jersey. He was a citizen of Delaware and claimed rights equal to New Jersey residents. The sixth section of the law conferred rights to beds on New Jersey residents. The question was whether this offends the "privileges and immunities" clause.

Washington, J. at page 380 said:

> "The inquiry is, what are the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states? We feel no hesitation in confining these expressions to those privileges and immunities which are, in their nature, *fundamental;* which belong, of right, to the citizens of all free governments; and which have, at all times, been enjoyed by the citizens of the several states which compose this union, from the time of their becoming free, independent, and sovereign. What these fundamental principles are, it would perhaps be more tedious than difficult to enumerate. They may, however, be all comprehended under the following general heads: protection of the government; the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right to acquire and possess property of every kind, and to pursue and obtain happiness and safety; *subject nevertheless to such restraints as the government may justly prescribe for the general good of the whole.* The right of a citizen on one state to pass through, or to reside in any other state, for purposes of trade, agriculture, professional pursuits, or otherwise; to claim the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus; to institute and maintain actions of any kind in the courts of the state * * * These, and many others which might be mentioned, are strictly speaking, *privileges and immunities* * * *"
>
> "But we cannot accede to the proposition which was insisted on by the counsel, that, under this provision of the constitution, the citizens of the several states are permitted to participate in all *the rights* which belong exclusively to the citizens of any other particular state, merely upon the ground that they are enjoyed by those citizens; much less, that in regulating the use of the common property of the citizens of such state, the legislature is bound to extend to the citizens of all the other states the same advantages as are secured to their own citizens."

2) *City of New York* v. *Miln* (11 Pet. 36 U. S. 102 (1837)), involved a New York legislative enactment requiring from vessels reports for protection against possible indigence of immigrants. Deportation was required of those who became public charges prior to gaining settlement. The issue was whether that was a regulation of commerce, or police. If the latter, then it was not granted away to Congress. The law was held valid. Barbour, J. at 133 said:

> "The Federalist, No. 45, speaking of this subject, says: the powers reserved to the several states, all extend to all the objects, which in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people; and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the state."

and at 141:

> "Now in relation to the section of the act immediately before us, that is *obviously passed with a view to prevent her citizens from being oppressed by the support of multitudes of poor persons,* who come from foreign countries, without possessing the means of supporting themselves. *There can be no mode in which the power to regulate internal police could be more appropriately exercised.* New York, from her particular situation, is perhaps, more than any other city in the Union, exposed to the evil of thousands of foreign emigrants arriving there, and the consequent danger of her citizens being subjected to a heavy charge in the maintenance of

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*Emphasis supplied throughout by italics.

> those who are *poor. It is the duty of the state to protect its citizens from this evil;* they have endeavoured to do so, by passing, amongst other things, the section of the law in question. We should, upon principle, say that *it had a right to do so.*"

Thompson, J. at 148 stated:

> "*Can any thing fall more directly within the police power and internal regulation of a state, than that which concerns the care and management of paupers* or convicts, or any other class or description of persons that may be thrown into the country, and likely to endanger its safety, or become chargeable for their maintenance? It is not intended by this remark to cast any reproach upon foreigners who may arrive in this country. But if all power to guard against these mischiefs is taken away, the safety and welfare of the community may be very much endangered."

Baldwin, J. was of the opinion that

> "*Poor laws are analogous to health, quarantine and inspection laws, all being parts of a system of internal police,* to prevent the introduction of what is extremely dangerous to the safety or health of the people; * * * *Laws excluding convicts and paupers are as necessary to preserve the morals of the people from corruption, and their property from taxation, as any laws* of the other description *can be; nor do they interfere any further with the regulations of commerce* * * * There is no middle ground on which health and quarantine laws can be supported, which will not equally support poor laws * * *" *id.* at 153-l-m.

Even Story, J. (dissenting) said at 155–6

> "I admit, in the most unhesitating manner, that the states have a right to pass health laws and quarantine laws, and other police laws, not contravening the laws of congress rightfully passed under their constitutional authority. *I admit, that they have a right to pass poor laws, and laws to prevent the introduction of paupers into the state,* under the like qualifications."

3) The *License Cases—Thurlow* v. *Mass.*, 5 How. 504 (1847) involved the validity of state liquor licensing laws. It was there stated by Chief Justice Taney:

> "But it must be remembered that disease, pestilence, and *pauperism are not subjects of commerce,* although sometimes among its attendant evils. *They are* not things to be regulated and trafficked in, but *to be prevented, as far as human foresight or human means can guard against them.*" (*id.* at 576–577.)
>
> "And I am not aware of any instance in which the court have spoken of the grant of power to the general government as excluding all state power over the subject, unless they were deciding a case where the power had been exercised by Congress, and a State law came in conflict with it." *id.* at 585.

and by Mr. Justice McLean:

> "The acknowledged police power of a State extends often to the destruction of property. A nuisance may be abated. Every thing prejudicial to the health or morals of a city may be removed * * * This comes in direct conflict with the regulation of commerce; and yet no one doubts the local power. It is a power essential to self-preservation, and exists, necessarily, in every organized community * * * And it is the settled construction of every regulation of commerce, that, under the sanction of its general laws, no person can introduce into a community malignant diseases, or any thing which contaminates its morals, or endangers its safety * * * Individuals in the enjoyment of their own rights must be careful not to injure the rights of others * * * They are not regulations of commerce, but acts of self-preservation. And although they affect commerce to some extent, yet such effect is the result of the exercise of an undoubted power in the State * * * *id.* at 589–590.

> "In all matters of government, and especially of police, a wide discretion is necessary. It is not susceptible of an exact limitation, but must be exercised under the changing exigencies of society. In the progress of population, of wealth, and of civilization, new and vicious indulgences spring up, which require restraints that can only be imposed by the legislative power. When this power shall be exerted, how far it shall be carried, and where it shall cease, must mainly depend upon the evil to be remedied." *id.* at 592.

4) The *Passenger Cases—Smith* v. *Turner*, 7 How. 283 (1849) were similar cases involving taxes dealing with alien passengers. Mr. Justice Wayne there said:

> "*The States have also reserved the police right to turn off from their territories paupers*, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice * * * *Paupers*, vagabonds, and fugitives *never have been subjects of rightful national intercourse*, or of commercial regulations, except in the transportation of them to distant colonies to get rid of them, or for punishment as convicts."
>
> * * * "*The States may* meet such persons upon their arrival in port, and may *put them under all proper restraints. They may* prevent them from entering their territories, may *carry them out or drive them off*." *id.* at 424–5, 426.

Chief Judge Taney (dissenting) stated:

> "*The State can scarcely be required to* take upon itself, and *impose upon the industry of its citizens, the duty of supporting the immense mass of poverty* and helplessness which is now pressing so heavily upon property in Europe, and which it is endeavouring to throw off. It cannot be expected that it should take upon itself the burden of providing buildings, grounds, food, and all the necessary comforts for the multitude of helpless and poor passengers who are daily arriving from foreign ports." *id.* at 490.

5) *Crandall* v. *Nevada*, 6 Wall. 35 (1867) held a tax on carriers per passenger taken out of the State void as a burden on free passage of citizens through states or access to other states.

6) In the *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. 36 (1872) butchers protested against monopoly for the slaughter of cattle to a corporation in restricted area. All others were forbidden. It was held justified under the police power. Speaking of the Fourteenth Amendment:

> "* * * It declares that persons may be citizens of the United States without regard to their citizenship of a particular State * * * the distinction between citizenship of the United States and citizenship of a State is clearly recognized and established." *id.* at 73–74.
>
> "* * * Not only may a man be a citizen of the United States without being a citizen of a State, but an important element is necessary to convert the former into the latter. He must reside within the State to make him a citizen of it, but is is only necessary that he should be born or naturalized in the United States to be a citizen of the Union." *id.* at 74.

Speaking of the fourth Article of the Confederation which was like Article IV, § 2 of the Constitution it was said:

> "There can be but little question that the purpose of both these provisions is the same, and that the privileges and immunities intended are the same in each. In the article of the Confederation we have some of these specifically mentioned, and enough perhaps to give some general idea of the class of civil rights meant by the phrase." *id.* at 75.

Some mentioned were (1) privileges of trade and commerce, (2) equal legal protection from duties, etc., (3) free ingress and egress to and from any other State.

> "But lest it should be said that no such privileges and immunities are to be found if those we have been considering are excluded, we venture to suggest some which owe their existence to the Federal government, its National character, its Constitution, or its laws.
>
> "One of these is well described in the case of *Crandall* v. *Nevada*." *id.* at 79.

There were then cited (1) free access to seaports, to subtreasuries, land offices, and courts of justice in the several States; (2) the protection of life, liberty and property on high seas and in foreign jurisdictions; (3) peaceable assembly and petition for redress of grievances; (4) privilege of *habeas corpus;* (5) use of navigable waters: (6) treaty rights thus secured; (7) citizenship in a State by *bona fide* residence therein, with the same rights as other citizens of that State.

7) In *Bradwell* v. *State*, 16 Wall. 130 (1872), the refusal of Illinois to allow women to practice law was held not a violation of a privilege of a citizen of the United States within Article IV, § 2 or Amendment Fourteen, § 1.

8) *Henderson et al.* v. *Mayor of New York*. 92 U. S. 259 1875 involved a New York statute which required a bond or cash sum for each passenger brought in by vessels. In holding the particular statute to be an invalid interference with Congressional powers it was said:

> "In whatever language a statute may be framed, its purpose must be determined by its natural and reasonable effect, and if it is apparent that the object of this statute * * * is to compel the owners of vessels to pay a sum of money for every passenger * * * it is as much a tax on passengers as if collected from them * * *". *id.* at 268.
>
> "It is said that the purpose of the act is to protect the State against the consequences of the flood of pauperism immigrating from Europe, and first landing in that city.
>
> "But it is a strange mode of doing this to tax every passenger alike who comes from abroad." *id.* at 269.

In the instant case there is no such strangeness about the statute. It is reasonably designed to accomplish its aim. In the *Henderson* case the court left open consideration of State action as to paupers when Congress has not acted.

9) *Chy Lung* v. *Freeman, et al.*, 92 U. S. 275 (1875) involved a California statute requiring bond for certain classes of immigrants. The entire power so to classify vested in the local official. The statute was distinguished from the New York Act which applied to *all* immigrants, and was held invalid as discriminatory and subject of great possible abuse. However, the Court stated:

> "*We are not called upon* by this statute *to decide* for or against *the right of a State*, in the absence of legislation by Congress, *to protect herself by necessary and proper laws against paupers* and convicted criminals from abroad, nor to lay down the definite limit of such right, if it exist. Such a right can only arise from a vital *necessity* for its exercise, and cannot be carried beyond the scope of that necessity. When a State *statute*, limited to provisions necessary and appropriate to that object alone, shall, in a proper controversy, come before us, it will be *time* enough to decide that question." *id.* at 280.

That time; that statute; those circumstances of necessity, have now arrived. This is the case. It has taken more than half a century to arrive.

10) *United States* v. *Cruickshank*, 92 U. S. 542 (1876) involved the sufficiency of certain federal indictments. The defendants were ordered discharged the court reasoning in part that the right to bear arms for a lawful purpose was not granted by the Constitution; nor was the right of suffrage a necessary attribute of national citizenship.

11) *County of Mobile* v. *Kimball*, 102 U. S. 691 (1880) held an act of the State of Alabama to provide for the "improvement of the river, bay, and harbor of Mobile" constitutional. The court said:

> "The objection that the law of the State, in authorizing the improvement of the harbor of Mobile, trenches, the commercial power of Congress, assumes an exclusion of State authority from all subjects in relation to which that power may be exercised, not warranted by the adjudications of this court, notwithstanding the strong expressions used by some of its judges." *id.* at 696.
>
> "But it would be extending that power to the exclusion of State authority to an unreasonable degree to hold that whilst it remained unexercised upon this subject, it would be unlawful for the State to provide the buoys and beacons required for the safe navigation of its harbors and rivers, and in case of their destruction by storms or otherwise it could not tem-

> porarily supply their places until Congress could act in the matter and provide for their re-establishment. That power which every State possesses, sometimes turns its police power, by which it legislates for the protection of the lives, health, and property of its people, would justify measures of this kind." *id.* at 698.
>
> "State action upon such subjects can constitute no intereference with the commercial power of Congress, for when that acts the State authority is superseded. Inaction of Congress upon these subjects of a local nature or operation, unlike its inaction upon matters affecting all the States and requiring uniformity of regulation, is not to be taken as a declaration that nothing shall be done with respect to them, but is rather to be deemed a declaration that for the time being, and until it sees fit to act, they may be regulated by State authority." *id.* at 698–699.
>
> "There have been, it is true, expressions by individual judges of this court, going to the length that the mere grant of the commercial power, anterior to any action of Congress under it, is exclusive of all State authority; but there has been no adjudication of the court to that effect." *id.* at 699.

12) *Fong Yue Ting* v. *U. S.*, 149 U. S. 698 (1892) upheld the validity of a federal statute which required all Chinese laborers within the United States "who are entitled to remain" to apply within a year to a collector of internal revenue for a certificate of residence; and provided certain consequences for non-compliance.

13) *Allgeyer* v. *Louisiana*, 165 U. S. 578 (1897) involved a statute which made it an offense for a citizen of Louisiana to insure with a company outside State not authorized to do business in State. The act was held a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, as depriving one of liberty without due process, abridging freedom,

> "to live and work where he will; to earn his livelihood by any lawful calling; to pursue any livelihood or avocation, and for that purpose to enter into all contracts which may be proper, necessary and essential to his carrying out to a successful conclusion the purposes above mentioned." *id.* at 589.

But this is all inapplicable to the facts and statute here involved, dealing as it does wholly with protection of the State from the burdens of those without means and whose "settlement" is elsewhere.

14) *Williams* v. *Fears*, 179 U. S. 270 (1900) held valid a tax on an "emigrant agent" (*i. e.* a person hiring laborers in Georgia for work outside the State). The Fourteenth Amendment and Article IV § 2 were unsuccessfully raised:

> "Undoubtedly the right of locomotion, the right to remove from one place to another according to inclination, is an attribute of personal liberty, and the right, *ordinarily*, of free transit from or through the territory of any State is a right secured by the Fourteenth Amendment and by other provisions of the Constitution." *id.* at 274. (Italics not in the original.)

But this does not include freedom to take up residence permanently, free from restrictions reasonably connected with the welfare of the State so chosen. There, as here, "*ordinarily*" carries with it a possible restriction.

15) *Smith* v. *St. Louis and Southwestern Railway Co.*, 181 U. S. 248 (1900), held the quarantine laws of Texas on cattle because of fear of disease valid. It was said:

> "The prevention of disease is the essence of a quarantine law. Such law is directed not only to the actually diseased but to what has become exposed to disease." *id.* at 255–6.
>
> "Quarantine regulations cannot be the same for cattle as for persons, and must vary with the nature of the disease to be defended against." *id.* at 257.

16) *Gitlow* v. *New York*, 268 U. S. 652 (1924) held constitutional a criminal anarchy statute prohibiting "language advocating, advising or teaching the overthrow of organized government by unlawful means." The court said:

> "It is a fundamental principle, long established, that the freedom of speech and of the press which is secured by the Constitution, does not confer an

> absolute right to speak or publish * * * or an unrestricted and unbridled license that gives immunity for every possible use of language." *id.* at 666.
>
> "Reasonably limited, it was said by Storey in the passage cited, this freedom is an inestimable privilege in a free government; without such limitation it might become the scourge of the republic." *id.* at 667.
>
> "And, yet for more imperative reasons, a State may punish utterances endangering the foundations of organized government and threatening its overthrow by unlawful means. These imperil its own existence as a constitutional State * * * In short this freedom (of speech and press) *does not deprive a State of the primary and essential right of self-preservation; which so long as human governments endure, they cannot be denied.*"

In *Toledo Newspaper Co.* v. *United States*, 247 U. S. it was said:

> "The safeguarding and fructification of free and constitutional institutions is the very basis and mainstay upon which the freedom of the press rests, and that freedom, therefore, does not and cannot be held to include the right virtually to destroy such institutions." *Id.* at 667–668.

17) *Mayor* v. *McNeely*, 274 U. S. 676 (1926) involved several questions. One was whether the town may make its consent and license a condition precedent to a right to engage in ferriage from its river front. The court said:

> "* * * here the town proceeded on the erroneous theory that the complainant's ferry need not be considered. Not only was no new landing place assigned for his ferry, but the place theretofore and then in actual use for it was assigned to the competing ferry. In this the town plainly deviated from its duty in the premises, for it was under the same legal obligation to accord a landingplace to one ferry as to the other. * * * *id.* at 683–684.
>
> "* * * Where particular state action in respect of an interstate ferry was condemned as placing an inadmissible burden on interstate commerce, there was express recognition of the authority of the State to prescribe 'such measures as will prevent confusion among the vessels, and collision between them, insure their safety and convenience, and facilitate the discharge or receipt of their passengers and freight'." *id.* at 681.
>
> "* * * The practical advantages of having the matter dealt with by the States are obvious and are illustrated by the practice of one hundred and twenty-five years. And in view of the character of the subject, we find no sound objection to its continuance. If Congress at any time undertakes to regulate such rates, its action will of course control." *id.* at 682.

18) *Helson* v. *Kentucky*, 279 U. S. 245 (1929) on a ferry engaged in interstate commerce involved a state tax on the use of gasoline purchased in the state. It was held invalid as a tax upon an instrumentality of commerce.
The court said:

> "A state cannot lay a tax on interstate commerce. * * * " *id.* at 249.

19) *Near* v. *Minnesota*, 283 U. S. 691 (1931) held unconstitutional as applied to publications charging neglect of duty and corruption upon the part of state law-enforcing officers, a Minnesota statute which provided it was a nuisance to regularly publish a "malicious, scandalous and defamatory newspaper." Under the statute malice could be inferred from publication. The court took pains to point out that:

> "It is recognized that punishment for the abuse of the liberty accorded to the press is essential to the protection of the public." *id.* at 715.
>
> "* * * the protection even as to previous restraint is not absolutely unlimited." *id.* at 716.

20) *Colgate* v. *Harvey*, 296 U. S. 404 (1935), held invalid a Vermont tax on income from business outside the state at greater rate than within the state. It was expressly overruled in *Madden* v. *Kentucky*, 60 Sup. Ct. 406 (Jan. 1940). In the *Colgate* case it was said at page 429:

> "Among those privileges, however, undoubtedly is the right to pass freely from one state to another. *Crandall* v. *Nevada*, *supra*, *Williams* v. *Fears*, 179 U. S. 270, 274. And that privilege, obviously, is as immune from

> abridgement by the state from which the citizen departs as it is from abridgement by the state which he seeks to enter. This results from the essential character of national citizenship."

But as was pointed out by Justice Stone (dissenting):

> "In no case since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment has the privileges and immunities clause been held to afford any protection to movement of persons across state lines or other form of interstate transaction." *id.* at 445.

21) *De Jonge* v. *Oregon*, 299 U. S. 353 (1937) held an Oregon Criminal Syndicalism Law's violative of due process in a situation where the defendant attended a meeting which was peaceful and orderly. That could not be, said the court, a basis for a criminal charge. (*id.* at 365). The court recognized, in speaking of the right of peaceable assembly, freedom of speech and of the press,

> "These rights may be abused * * * The people through their legislatures may protect themselves against that abuse." *id.* at 364.

22) in *Davidowitz* v. *Hines*, 30 Fed. Sup. 470, (D. C., Nov. 1939), a three judge court held the statute for alien registration unconstitutional, a denial of equal protection. It was said:

> "His right to reside in the United States or in any State depends upon and is settled by Federal law. * * * The principle is decisive in the case at bar. It has been enunciated by the Supreme Court several times." *id.* at 474.
>
> "The Act therefore is unconstitutional because it purports to operate in a field in which the individual states of the United States are without anything to legislate. * * *
>
> "The Act does not pertain to a field in which a state may sustain an interest. * * * " *id.* at 476.

Quite the contrary is the instant case of a time-honored statute aimed to safeguard the economic and social well-being of a state against dangers from starving hordes or their burden of support.

23) *Hague* v. *C. I. O.*, 307 U. S. 496 (1939), involved a local ordinance which required a permit to hold meetings on three days' notice. Refusal of a permit was discretionary, to prevent riots and "disorderly assembly." The facts show unlawful action of officials under color of the ordinance. It was said:

> "Article IV, §2 does not import that a citizen of one State carries with him into another fundamental privileges and immunities which come to him necessarily by the mere fact of his citizenship in the State first mentioned, but, on the contrary, that in any State every citizen of any other State is to have the same privileges and immunities which the citizens of that State enjoy. The section, in effect, prevents a State from discriminating against citizens of other States in favor of its own." *id.* at 511.

Obviously this must be read in the light of recognized restrictions based on residence, as in "settlement", residence, licensing, voting—all of which are in a sense discriminations. The privileges and immunities referred to are those which do not conflict with the State's own self-preservation, or with reasonable police regulations, (e. g., Freedom of Press, Assembly, Speech, Religion, Habeas Corpus, etc.).

Roberts, J. continued:

> "Although it has been held that the Fourteenth Amendment created no rights in citizens of the United States, but merely secured existing rights against state abridgement, it is clear that the right peaceably to assemble and discuss these topics * * * is a privilege inherent in citizenship of the United States which the amendment protects." *id.* at 512.

The right to impose one's self and family on the bounty of another state or community before establishing a "residence" of "settlement" there, and thus to burden or endanger such state or community, cannot be deemed a *privilege* or *immunity* of citizenship of the United States. It is in fact gravely doubtful if

Congress could so provide and force support on the victim state or states. In the absence of any action by Congress, does not the ample police power of the state or states acting in mutual cooperation control?

Stone, J. concurring, said:

> "* * * there is no occasion, * * * to consider whether freedom of speech and of assembly are immunities secured by the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to citizens of the United States, * * * *id.* at 519–20.
>
> "The privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, it was pointed out, are confined to that limited class of interests growing out of the relationship between the citizen and the national government created by the Constitution and federal laws." *id.* at 520.
>
> "If its restraint upon state action were to be extended more than is needful to protect relationships between the citizen and the national government, and if it were to be deemed to extend to those fundamental rights of person and property attached to citizenship by the common law and enactments of the states when the Amendment was adopted, such as were described in *Corfield* v. *Coryell, supra,* it would enlarge Congressional and judicial control of state action and multiply restrictions upon it whose nature though difficult to anticipate with precision, would be of sufficient gravity to cause serious apprehension for the rightful independence of local government. That was the issue fought out in the *Slaughter House* cases with the decision against enlargement" *id.* at note 521.

24) In the *Matter of Chirillo*, 283 N. Y. 417, 28 N. E. (2d) 895, 1940, the appeal was dismissed because improperly taken. With this Finch, J. dissented and proceeded, with Rippey and Lewis, JJ. concurring, to discuss the merits, in part saying:

> "It is submitted that we should consider and decide the constitutional question.
>
> * * * * *
>
> We pass then to a consideration of the validity of section 71 of the Public Welfare Law as it affects these appellants. Upon this appeal we are concerned only with the removal of a class of persons situated as are these appellants, namely, those coming into the State of New York who have had a legal settlement for the purposes of relief in another State of the United States, or, as section 71 puts it, 'belongs to * * * any other state * * *.' Parenthetically the term 'belongs to' has been construed in other States to mean legal settlement the same as held at Special Term and not controverted upon this appeal. (*Town of Washington* v. *Town of Warren*, 123 Conn. 268; *Eden* v. *Southwest Harbor*, 108 Me. 489.)
>
> * * * * *
>
> We turn then to consider seriatim the constitutional objections advanced against the power of the State of New York to protect itself against an unprecedented influx of persons on relief or paupers coming from other States. Stating the question in different ways: It is a privilege or immunity of a citizen of the United States to impose upon any State of his choice the burden of supporting himself and his family before he has satisfied reasonable settlement qualifications, as in the case at bar, of one year? Is there no way short of action by the Congress by which the States, severally or separately, may safeguard themselves from the threat to their security and solvency by incoming numbers of indigent families from other States? Lastly, is a statute designed to safeguard the welfare of the individual and the welfare of the State, and to protect a citizen of the United States from starvation and return him to his former place of settlement, where he will receive succor, a violation of the Constitution of the United States?
>
> We take up first the objection based upon a claimed lack of due process under the Fourteenth Amendment and endeavor to show that section 71 is not unconstitutional but a reasonable exercise of the sovereign police power to attain a proper objective. Obviously, the State of New York, prior to the adoption of the United States Constitution, possessed the powers of a sovereign nation, which included the power to refuse ad-

mittance to, or to deport a person coming from, without its borders, whether or not that person crossed the State line with the intention of seeking permanent residence in this State.

Likewise, it is authoritatively settled that the adoption of the Constitution of the United States did not create the power of the State, but only limited such power and, except as so limited, the power of the State remains supreme. (*Carter* v. *Carter Coal Co.*, 298 U. S. 238; 11 Am. Jur. 865, §171.) How then, may we ask, has there been cut down this fundamental police power of the State to enact legislation removing paupers who have not yet acquired a legal settlement in this State, to the place of their last legal settlement? Under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the only limitation upon the exercise of the police power must be that it concerns itself with the promotion of the public welfare through having a real and substantial relation to that end, and shall not be unreasonable, arbitrary or capricious. (*Nebbia* v. *People*, 291 U. S. 502.) The historical background and present conditions leading up to forcible removal proceedings demonstrate not only their recognized need, but their reasonableness.

From the time of the early common law, the liberty of the pauper has been curtailed in the interests of the welfare of the various communities. In 1350, by statute, the poor were to remain where they were resident, or to be sent to the place of their birth. (Holdsworth, History of English Law, 390 *et seq.*) In 1662 Parliament enacted the Poor Relief Act (13 and 14 Charles II, ch. 12), which permitted Justices of the Peace, upon complaint of the Overseers of the Poor, to remove by warrant to the place of their last legal settlement, paupers and those 'likely to be chargeable to the parish.' Counsel for the State of New York has pointed out that this principle of forcible removal of paupers to the place of their last settlement has been projected into the poor law of some thirty States. In 1773 the Colonial Legislature enacted a statute practically identical with the above statute enacted in England in 1662, and since that time successive Legislatures of this State have continued statutes along the same line, culminating in section 71 of the Public Welfare Law. In addition, it should be noted that removals have long since been authorized by what is now section 27 of the State Charities Law (Cons. Laws, ch. 55), which in part reads as follows: 'State, non-resident alien poor. The Board and any commissioner or officer of the Department may * * * cause to be removed to the state or country from which he came any such non-resident or alien poor found in any such institution or otherwise supported or relieved at public expense.'

Action under these sections has long been the policy of the State Department of Social Welfare, under appropriate rules and regulations, which provide, among other provisions, that settlement in the other State must be definitely established, and that an authorization must be received for the return of such person from the authorized officials in the locality of settlement. 'Each proposed removal must be considered on a case work basis and a return effected only when the Commissioner of Public Welfare is satisfied that the welfare of the person and the interest of the State will thereby be promoted. State charges requiring temporary relief and care should be given a reasonable opportunity for rehabilitation unless they desire to return voluntarily.'

In addition, in all cases there must be considered not only the welfare of the State, but also the welfare of such person, together with a prior approval of the State Department of Social Welfare, and then the approval and action by the Commissioner of Welfare, who may only apply to the County Judge for the issuance of an order of removal and satisfy the County Judge that the statute has been complied with. Then and then only may the County Judge issue the order to remove the person to the State where he has a legal settlement.

In the light of such a statutory history, the objection of arbitrariness and unreasonableness seems weak indeed.

"What is due process of law may be ascribed by an examination of those settled usages and modes of proceedings existing in the common and statute law of England before the emigration of our ancestors, and show not to have been unsuited to their civil and political condition by having been acted on by them after the settlement of this country." (*Twining* v. *New Jersey*, 211 U. S. 78, 100.)

"The Fourteenth Amendment, itself a historical product, did not destroy history for the States and substitute mechanical compartments of law all exactly alike. If a thing has been practiced for two hundred years by common consent, it will need a strong case for the Fourteenth Amendment to affect it." (*Jackman* v. *Rosenbaum Co.*, 260 U. S. 22, 31.) (See, also *Coler* v. *Corn Exchange Bank*, 250 N. Y. 136; Affd. 280 U. S. 218; *Owenbey* v. *Morgan*, 256 U. S. 94.)

As illustrating the need, and showing that the issues herein are not sporadic but of great importance, it appears in Social Security Bulletin 77 of January, 1940, issued by the New York State Department of Social Welfare, that the average home relief granted in Ohio for the month of November, 1939, was $15.99, as against $36.12 in New York, with Westchester county exceeding the average of New York by having an average grant of $40.18, or, to put it more briefly, more than double the amount granted in Ohio. It also appears that the State cost of maintenance of charges in New York State has increased from $323,000 in 1927 to $1,557,000 in 1938 and $2,830,000 in 1939. The monthly average number of State charge cases increased from 3,923 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, to 6,764 in the following fiscal year, or an increase of seventy-two percent in one year. To a large extent this migration of destitute persons to New York must have been due to the fact that as to average home relief grants, New York ranks first in the country; Ohio ranks nineteenth. Within New York State, Westchester county occupies third position among the sixty-two counties. The city of New York has filed a brief amicus, in which it joins with the State in emphasizing 'the very great importance * * * of the determination of the question raised,' and says that the burden of relief is becoming intolerable and that unless those legally chargeable or willing to assume the burden can share the burden, the result will be 'to jeopardize the entire structure of relief in this State.'

The statute in the case at bar is thus a reasonable means adopted by the State in order to prevent financial submersion while engaged in caring for the unfortunates and thwarting the spread of sickness, disease and crime.

It is next contended that the power given to the Congress, 'To regulate commerce * * * among the several States * * *' (Art. 1, § 8), renders invalid section 71 of the Public Welfare Law. In the consideration of questions of constitutional construction we are reminded that 'unless the party setting up the unconstitutionality of the State law belongs to the class for whose sake the constitutional protection is given * * *,' the objections will not be heard, and imaginary cases will not be gone into where, as here, the statute involved may be constitutional as affecting the litigants before the court and may not be constitutional as to others. (*Hatch* v. *Reardon*, 204 U. S. 152, 160.) While the forcible removal of persons who are public charges and not entitled by reason of lack of length of residence to a legal settlement for relief purposes in the State, may to some extent affect interstate commerce, the case at bar does not present such an interference as is forbidden to the State when exercising the police power in defense of State welfare. It is settled by the authorities that, in the absence of congressional preemptions, the police power inherent in the States may be exercised within reasonable restrictions, even though there may be interference with interstate commerce. (*City of New York* v. *Miln*, 11 Pet. 102; *Railroad Co.* v. *Husen*, 95 U. S. 465; *Plumley* v. *Mass.*, 155 U. S. 461, 471; *South Carolina State Highway Dept.* v. *Barnwell Bros. Inc.*, 303 U. S. 177; *Ark.-La. Gas Co.* v. *Dept. of Public Utilities*, 304 U. S. 61; *H. P. Welch Co.* v. *New Hampshire*, 306 U. S. 79; *Eicholz* v. *Public Service Commission*, 306 U. S. 268; *Clason* v. *Indiana*, 306 U. S. 439.)

No claim can be advanced that section 71 prevents any person from coming into this State. The statute, as construed below, would seem to have the effect only that, when a person who has not established a legal settlement in this State, applies for public care, he subjects himself to the removal provisions of section 71. Under this law, the State has no power of removal until application is made for State aid. Then, in the interests of the protection of the People from the spread of crime and disease and for the preservation of the financial resources of the State, the latter remits the applicant to the place legally responsible for him under well-settled principles of law.

Appellants further urge that the State had no power to enact section 71 of the Public Welfare Law for the reason that it is in contravention of the provision of the United States Constitution (Art. IV, § 2, cl. 1) which provides that 'The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' As was said by Mr. Justice ROBERTS in *Hague* v. *C. I. O.* (307 U. S. 496), at page 511; '* * * it has come to be the settled view that Article IV, § 2, does not import that a citizen of one State carries with him into another fundamental privileges and immunities which come to him necessarily by the mere fact of his citizenship in the State first mentioned, but, on the contrary, that in any State every citizen of any other State is to have the same privileges and immunities which the citizens of that State enjoy. The section, in effect, prevents a State from discriminating against citizens of other States in favor of its own.'

To hold that this clause protects the right of a citizen to be supported at public expense in any community to which he may journey, it is necessary to find that there is inherent in State citizenship a constitutional right to be supported at public expense free from any limitations whatsoever. This would include a right of the indigent person to live where he will although the crowding into one State may be a menace to society. No such right exists. 'Neither aliens nor the citizens of other States are vested by the Constitution with any interest in the common property of this State.' (*People* v. *Crane*, 214 N. Y. 154, 161.) Section 71 does not interfere with the right of a citizen of one State to pass through or reside in any other State. Only if on coming from another State he applies for relief at public expense, to which he has no constitutional right, he is bound to accept the relief *cum onere*, or with the limitations of the reasonable provisions of the Public Welfare Law of New York State. If it be for his welfare and for the welfare of the State, he then subjects himself to the possibility of being compelled to return to the State wherein he has a legal settlement. Nor does section 71 of the Public Welfare Law make any discrimination upon the basis of State citizenship, for all who seek public relief must comply with the same requirements for a legal settlement or be subject to forcible removal. (*Douglas* v. *N. Y. R. R.*, 279 U. S. 377.)

It is urged that that portion of the Fourteenth Amendment which affords 'to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws,' renders invalid section 71. There is here, however, no invalid classification. (*Heim* v. *McCall*, 239 U. S. 175; *People* v. *Crane*, supra.) In *Barbier* v. *Connolly*, (113 U. S. 27), it is said, at page 32: 'Class legislation, discrimination against some and favoring others, is prohibited, but legislation which, in carrying out a public purpose is limited in its application, if within the sphere of its operation it affects alike all persons similarly situated, is not within the amendment.'

Section 71 of the Public Welfare Law is only a part of the general plan set up therein. Sections 59 and 59-a authorize the forcible removal of a person from one public welfare district to another within the State. In like manner an indigent person may be removed outside of the State to the State or country in which he has a legal settlement, if the conditions for his welfare and the welfare of the community, as laid down in section 71, are complied with. Thus, all persons who are supported at public expense are subject to removal to the place in which they have their legal settlement, and where they will be supported by the governmental unit responsible for their support. A New York citizen, under its Constitution and laws, may go on relief only at the cost of and subject to removal to his place of settlement. He cannot demand such relief in Montauk except subject to removal to Erie, if he has a legal settlement in the latter place. Thus the petitioner is treated no differently in principle than a citizen in New York under like circumstances.

Lastly, there is no merit to the claim that section 71 is rendered invalid by the constitutional provision that 'no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States * * *.' It would seem that the privileges and immunities of United States citizenship are none other than those which result from other provisions of the Constitution and from the laws of Congress; that unless some other constitutional provisions or Federal statute prescribes the right claimed to be a privilege or immunity of United States citizens, no further protection may be had by resort to that clause. (*Hague* v. *C. I. O.*, 307 U. S. 496, 519–522; *Slaughterhouse Cases*, 16 Wall. 35, 79–80.) It has been shown above that the statute as herein applied does not contravene other guaranties of the Constitution; nor has the claim been advanced that there is applicable congressional enactment.

Freedom of residence is restricted as to citizens only while on relief. This statute applies whether the citizen is of this State or of another State. Confinement to a poor house or farm may be the result of indigence. No interference is had with the right of any citizen to choose and establish a home. What is controlled is the unrestricted imposition of indigent persons and families without settlement upon a community and State where they cannot establish a home because of their indigent status. Freedom of residence is certainly restricted as to paupers; yet no instance of invalidity has been pointed out as to the poor laws permitting commitment of indigents to poor farms. A condition may often restrict a freedom. Vagrancy is one example; disease is another; and mental deficiency, a third. Such conditions restrict individual rights and freedom in the interest of the right, security and freedom of the rest of the community of the state.

The Public Welfare Law of New York seeks, with due regard to the rights of all those affected, to deal in a humane way with the problem of pauperism. The sovereign police power of the State of New York has been exercised properly and reasonably. Such legislation is permitted by the Constitution of the State, and nothing in the United States Constitution compels a holding that such legislation is invalid.

The order appealed from, in so far as it holds the provisions of section 71 of the Public Welfare Law constitutional, should be affirmed."

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF HENRY EPSTEIN AND MORRIS SHAPIRO—Resumed

COST TO NEW YORK STATE OF TRANSIENT RELIEF

Mr. Epstein. In order to present the problem to you in its clearest light may I ask you to turn to page 3974 of that brief, where, perhaps, the facts which are more of interest to this committee are set forth in footnote 12.

The members of the committee will there find, beginning with the year 1930 and up to and including the year 1939, the cost to New York State for the support of the nonsettled cases which are State charges.

Now, only those are State charges who have no settlement within the State, because those who have settlements within the State are charged back to the local community within the State to which they in turn belong, in a similar manner to the intended operation of the statute on an interstate scale.

In 1930, $74,000 a year was spent on transient relief and in 1939 we find it has increased to $2,830,000 a year. And I am advised that the year 1940 will have shown an increase to over 3½ million dollars for the out-of-State cases which are furnished with the same relief on the same basis of case study as are those within the States.

From 1938 to 1939 the increase was from 3,923 cases per average month to 6,764 cases, and I am advised that that will show a proportionate increase also up to 1940.

Now, when you project that picture into the expansion of industry at the present time, we can cite, for example, the Curtis plant. I believe in Erie County, near Buffalo, N. Y., it will by July 1941 take on some 12,000 more workers.

The Remington Arms plant in Utica, N. Y., will take on some 6,000 more workers.

The number of those who will seek employment will come from any number of places of origin.

A number of those necessarily will not procure employment and then they will become immediately, if they are unable to support themselves and their families, charges upon the State of New York.

To the extent that individual case study by the Department of Welfare of the State of New York indicates that it is for the best interest of the State as well as for that family to be returned to the State of which they are citizens or where they have settlement and which might be legally responsible for their support, and with the concurrence of the welfare officials of that State, New York State believes it is of the utmost importance that the right of the State and the exercise of the power of the State in such individual cases is preserved in the light of a constantly expanding picture.

Now, while it is true that New York State has a high relief standard in the country of $35 odd per month, and Westchester County, to which county this Chirillo family removed, has the third highest in New York State of $40 per month per family, and the State of Ohio with about $15.90 per month stands nineteenth in the country.

I would not want to be understood as saying that these people come to New York in order to obtain higher relief standards, because I am not of that conviction. I am not convinced that at some time it may not be a factor, but they seek to better their economic conditions.

RIGHT OF NEW YORK STATE TO RETURN NONSETTLED INDIGENTS TO STATE OF LEGAL RESIDENCE

The State takes the position, however, that it is not a privilege or immunity of citizenship in the United States, by reason of citizenship in a State, to remove one's self and one's family to another State and immediately, by virtue of intention, thereby place yourself and your family in a position where it becomes the responsibility on that State to support you.

Now, I know that my good friend here will say that the State does not have to support them—the State does not have to supply them with relief; the State can place reasonable restrictions of residence and if it doesn't care to, perhaps may even deny them relief.

But that resolves itself down to the position that the contention of my friend would be that a person by virtue of citizenship in the United States, arising out of citizenship in another State, has a right to starve.

His freedom of movement, he says, cannot be impaired in any degree by a State.

These statutes go back in their history far beyond the origin of the Constitution. I shall not undertake in any way to burden this committee with any review of that historical treatment. If you will do me the honor of glancing through, when you have the time, the brief, you will find it sets forth the case rather exhaustively because in the State of New York almost this identical statute was on the books of the colony before the Constitution was adopted, and it dates back in its origin in some form to the statutes of Edward III in the year 1350.

But suffice it to say that it is a part of the framework of some 30 States, and that it has been in force over a period of our entire history.

At the present time it becomes more acute by reason of the dislodgement of population from economic causes. This dislodgement may become much more accentuated in such States as California and New York and Colorado as a stopping-off place, and in Florida, because of certain climatic attractions it has that do not exist in other industrial States.

What New York contends for here is the right in individual-case studies, where both States are willing, to remove them, where they are unwilling so to go, to the State which is responsible and willing to receive them, and where the officials of both States agree that it is for their best interests and of their families that they do so.

Now, entirely aside from the legal argument, this projects itself, I would say, into the picture of this committee. The problem this committee is studying, by reason of the fact that it may perhaps be necessary in order that there be some so-called no-man's land in this particular type of case, where a person is to be returned to the place of origin that there might be the occasion for the form of Federal aid, either to assist in the transportation or to assist those States which may be so unduly burdened by reason of such dislocations of population, in meeting a part, at least, of that burden.

But even though that is done we strongly believe that it would be not only perhaps an unwarranted intrusion upon a constitutional privilege of the States under the tenth amendment, which still remains in the Constitution, but economically and from a social point of view it would be unwise that families should be afforded the privilege by virtue of citizenship, where they are unable to support and sustain themselves and families, so to burden the populations and the taxpayers of other States.

That briefly stated is the position of the State of New York; and it is more extensively set forth in the brief which we have submitted and ask the committee to receive.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, aside from the legal aspects, you believe, do you not, Mr. Epstein, that there comes a time when the saturation point is reached in the State of destination—that is, the ability of the State to sustain that migrant load becomes too heavy, is that correct?

Mr. EPSTEIN. There may come such a time. I don't say it has yet been reached in New York but it would be a rather unhappy circumstance if a State should be so tied that it could not in any way protect itself or that States that might reach agreements should be so tied that they could not help themselves under such circumstances.

And if a saturation point be reached or be approaching, if the problem is one of sufficient magnitude, it might call for Federal assistance.

But I would still say that even though it did, it should not in any way militate against the States having independent power of taking some action in self-preservation.

RECOMMENDS GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATES

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know whether I understood you correctly or not, but representing the State of New York and speaking for yourself personally, do you think that there should be grants-in-aid to States to assist in this migration problem?

Mr. EPSTEIN. I think it would seem to me that to the extent that it might be required for transportation back some form of a grant-in-aid—and while those people without settlement are still within a State—would be a reasonable part of a Federal program.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, take this situation. Our record discloses in the hearings at Lincoln, Nebr., and at Oklahoma City, Okla., that the Great Plains States have lost 1,000,000 farmers during the last 10 years. In the Great Plains States what was once productive soil is now 5,000,000 acres of soil of which 25 percent of the topsoil is gone.

Now, what I am trying to picture to myself is, those people are good American people who want to remain there if they can—they don't want to leave. But they lose their land, the cows are gone, the chickens are gone; they won't starve standing still.

Now, what are we going to do with those people?

Mr. EPSTEIN. Well, certainly the State from whence they came would not wish them back to become an added problem. Under those circumstances they could not be sent back under the statute similar to that of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, still the State of destination would have to absorb them.

Mr. EPSTEIN. Yes; the State of destination would then have to absorb them.

The CHAIRMAN. I have thought many times of my own State of California, where 875,000 people came into the State during the last 5 years, and 493,000 of them were so-called destitute migrant citizens. I have compared these migrants with a catastrophe, such as an earthquake or a national disaster of some kind in Illinois, which required the moving of 493,000 people into Ohio. If that were the case, Congress would convene a special session at once to take care of them, wouldn't it?

Mr. EPSTEIN. I assume that it would.

The CHAIRMAN. I think I understand your position very clearly. You have stated it very clearly, and it is going to be a valuable contribution to the record we are making here.

Mr. Shapiro, what have you to say about it?

Mr. SHAPIRO. General Epstein has spoken very forcefully on the question of the age of this type of legislation. But I should like to call the attention of the committee to the fact that migrants in colonial days were punished by whipping, a general persecution, loss of the ears, and even execution. We certainly don't desire to carry over to the present day the punishment that was exacted of migrants in those days, nor the purpose or tenor of the law relating to migrants, or to their removal or to any other possible position that a State may take.

GOVERNMENT SHOULD AID MIGRANTS

It seems to me that the soundest attitude on the whole problem is the public attitude taken by Dr. Adie, the State commissioner of social welfare in New York State.

Although Dr. Adie has made affidavits looking toward the removal of migrants to Ohio, nonetheless he publicly stated, and I quote from the New York Times of March 25, 1940:

> The Federal Government must recognize the right of people to move across State lines. People always have moved to satisfy the urge of ambition or frustration and the Federal Government should help by providing funds for transient relief and for resettlement.

That is the position I take. And it is the position I have taken throughout the progress of the *Chirillo case* and it is the reason why I have been interested in that case.

FACTS RE CHIRILLO CASE ON SETTLEMENT IN NEW YORK

The facts I think are important and those facts should be viewed in the light of the 1930 census figures which show that of the native-born population throughout the country, 23 percent did not, in that year 1930, reside in the State where they were born.

The CHAIRMAN. And furthermore right in that connection, the final census reports, Mr. Shapiro, were held up for weeks on account of hundreds of thousands of American citizens who had lost their residences in one State and did not gain them in another. The Bureau of Census didn't know to what State to allocate them.

Mr. SHAPIRO. I don't have the census figures for 1940 but the figures that I gave you are those of the year 1930 and they are impressive figures, showing the movement of 23 percent of the native-born population away from their States of origin—their States of birth—to other places, as Dr. Adie says:

> To satisfy ambitions, desires, and to improve their own lot.

And that is what happened in the *Chirillo case.*

Mr. Chirillo was a resident of Wooster, Ohio, where he was naturalized as a citizen in July of 1926. He had a modest establishment repairing shoes.

Two of his children, finding conditions rather adverse in the State of Ohio, decided to move to Mamaroneck, where they were married and settled down, obviously for the purpose of improving their economic life.

Mr. Chirillo moved there in 1936 and when he did he moved with him his machinery and cobbler's tools and so on. He resided there for a period of some 8 months. Conditions were so adverse that he was obliged to apply for relief. He received a total of $116 relief over a period of 4 months when he was promptly faced with the necessity of defending himself in court against a forcible removal to the State of Ohio because, perforce, he had asked for relief and had not obtained settlement in the State of New York.

Now, the law of the State of New York, which is perhaps among the most liberal, states that settlement of 1 year only is required.

The statute provides that if relief is sought and given within that period of 1 year the person receiving that relief may be sent back to any State or country where he belongs—and "belongs" has been interpretated to mean the point of origin.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the statute say "country"?

Mr. SHAPIRO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that for the purpose of reaching the alien?

Mr. SHAPIRO. No; there is no such distinction made in the statute. It is entitled in this way:

> Removal of nonresident and alien poor to other States and countries.

Now, that is a mere tilting of the section. But in the body of the section it says:

> When any person who is an inmate of any public home or is otherwise cared for at the expense of the State or of any public welfare district, belongs to or has friends willing to support him or to aid in supporting him in any other State or country, the State department of social welfare may cause his removal to such State or country provided, in the judgment of the State department of social welfare, the interests of the State and the welfare of the person sought to be removed would be thereby promoted.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it provide for any concurrence on the part of the State or origin, for instance, like the State of Ohio?

Mr. SHAPIRO. No; not that I know of.

Mr. EPSTEIN. The regulations of the Department do, and in this case Ohio, in writing, has acquiesced.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought your statement was based on that.

Mr. EPSTEIN. Based upon the regulation of the Department in carrying it out and plus the statutes, which are set out very clearly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. May I ask a question?

The record shows, does it not, that this man was receiving relief in Ohio before he left Ohio?

Mr. SHAPIRO. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does that affect this case?

Mr. SHAPIRO. You mean from a legal standpoint?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. SHAPIRO. No; not as I see it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you agree with that, Mr. Epstein?

Mr. EPSTEIN. No; I wouldn't agree with that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you think that is a material point in the case?

Mr. EPSTEIN. It may be a very important factor, but even if he were not a recipient of relief in Ohio and had come to New York, and before a year passed he became a recipient of relief, it would be the same.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are basing your argument upon the ground that the State, under its police powers, has the right to exclude paupers from it, but you must prove a man is a pauper.

Mr. EPSTEIN. Well, the term "pauper" has been eliminated from the New York law. It is purely a question of language. It is a question of whether a person is indigent and becomes a public charge. That is true.

Now, in this particular case the facts concerning the individual family are rather important because they show the situation that may develop.

Those facts are set forth on page 3 of our brief, the last paragraph of the page, where you find that a member of this family is of rather doubtful mentality. (See p. 3967.)

Another member of the family is in a mental institution in the State of Ohio after having been in a mental institution in the State of New York, and then having been sent back there. Here you have the type of situations which may arise and which may become a serious burden upon a State. But I don't want to interrupt, Mr. Shapiro.

Mr. SHAPIRO. I might emphasize this, that since the institution of the court proceedings in the State of New York this family has received no relief, has requested no relief, and is nevertheless subject now to a court order which, if upheld by the courts, would require their removal to Ohio, to which State they don't desire to go.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they apply for relief?

Mr. SHAPIRO. They have notified the relief authorities that they do not desire relief, and did so when these court proceedings were first instituted. They haven't had relief for almost a year now.

It seems to me that there is a strong problem concerning the civil liberties of this unfortunate section of our population involved here.

We see on all sides various suggestions made to take away some of the liberties and rights of indigent persons who have become indigent because of the economic stress of the past decade.

One of the illustrations is in the State of New Jersey, where it was suggested sometime ago that a person on relief for 3 years would be barred from all voting privileges.

Here you have an instance where a person seeks relief and he is barred from the rights and liberties and privileges and immunities generally believed to be accorded to citizens of the United States.

Now, the problem is a very important one and the chairman has suggested the Dust Bowl area, to which I referred in the course of an argument in one of the court proceedings.

Here you have a tremendous area with a large section of the population unsettled because of these natural causes which destroyed the value of the land.

Now, these people have to go somewhere to make a living. If you have these settlement requirements which run from 1 to 5 years in various States, these people cannot acquire a residence in the State to which they move and there is grave danger that not acquiring residence you will find stringent requirements for the exercise of all sorts of privileges and immunities attributable to citizenship of the United States.

Now, it was argued in this specific case that a man doesn't acquire a residence until he has acquired settlement.

Now, in New York State a man can vote after he has been a resident of the State of New York for a period of 1 year. There are similar statutes in other States with a longer period required for the establishment of settlement.

Does that mean that the next step logically to be followed is that a man won't be able to vote unless and until he has established settlement in a State—not residence, but settlement.

If that is the situation, then you have a completely new concept in the law.

SETTLEMENT LAWS SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

The CHAIRMAN. What is the answer to those barriers—those settlement laws of 1 to 5 years? What do you suggest as a remedy?

Mr. SHAPIRO. I say that the laws requiring any period of settlement should be wiped off the statute books.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the Federal Government would not have jurisdiction over that. How would we reach that?

Mr. SHAPIRO. The problem, of course, is economic. The State sets up settlement requirements because it desires to protect its own treasury and if this burden that is cast upon the State by this very problem is removed from the State, then there is no reason why the State will have to set up settlement requirements.

Consequently, it comes to my second recommendation, that here is a problem which is national in character. It is something that we know, as it has existed over a period of 10 years, will continue to exist and this is something the Federal Government must assume. No State can assume that problem adequately.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct, especially some States where migration is so heavy, like New York or like California. But the only way that, of course, could be reached by the Federal Government is——

Mr. EPSTEIN. As a condition precedent to Federal grants-in-aid.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; jurisdiction over the money, and that is all. But it has been suggested here and I would like to have the opinion of you gentlemen on it, that to the different categories in the Social Security Act may be added another one to take care of this migrant problem. What do you think about that, Mr. Shapiro?

Mr. SHAPIRO. I am in favor of any sort of aid that can be given this problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Or do they stand alone and different from any other situation that we have? Of course, we have assistance to the aged and all that. But from the thought you have given us, do you think they could be put in a category by themselves? Do you think for our national welfare they should be put in a separate category under the Social Security Act and taken care of?

Mr. SHAPIRO. I am in favor of any aid, whether through the Social Security Act or otherwise, that could be given. I think that that would correct the whole problem, if these migrants were taken care of through the Social Security Act, as the chairman has just suggested.

You would find immediately eliminated from all consideration these problems of settlement. In New York State there is going to be a strong flow of persons toward industrial development in New York State because of the problems of national defense. This migration may present grave problems, but I would say the greater problem is to stop them from moving into New York State.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, our records will disclose that, and all witnesses agree that migration will continue and probably increase very considerably. Have you in mind either a recommendation or suggestion, either one of you gentlemen, as to the proportion the Federal Government should contribute?

RECOMMENDS GOVERNMENT ASSUME BURDEN OF MIGRANTS

Mr. Shapiro. My suggestion is that the Federal Government should assume the entire burden.

The Chairman. Well, it has been suggested many, many times by many witnesses that it should be on a 50-50 basis. But that is not very persuasive with me for the reason that the States have all they can do now to match the grants of the Federal Government with reference to social-security aids. I think there is only one State in the Union that matches such grants. I think California is first and your State is second.

So if we took the migrants of the country and put them on a 50-50 percent basis with the Government, I think it would be a futile gesture, don't you?

Mr. Shapiro. I heartily agree.

The Chairman. And your State could not do it?

Mr. Epstein. I would not be prepared to state that New York State would not do it, but I would hesitate strongly about classifying or making a category of a portion of the population in the Social Security Act purely on the basis of its migratory character.

I would much prefer to see some assumption of aid, whether it be entire or partial, on the part of the Federal Government. But even then I would certainly wish to condition it without removing from the State the power to return such indigents to their point of origin.

However, if it were shown they would be unable to regain economic substance in the State from whence they came, it should not be, perhaps, possible to permit a removal under those circumstances where you had an interstate agreement.

The Chairman. I think that the majority of the migrants coming into the State of California came from the States of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, and Kansas.

Mr. Epstein. And Texas probably.

The Chairman. Yes.

Congressman Curtis was called down to the Bureau of the Budget, but he tells me that his district in Nebraska lost half of its people. They had 7 years' drought there. I was just thinking, as you gentlemen talked, suppose in the State of Nebraska alone there were 200,000 people who went to California, and taking your idea that the State of California would have the right to send them back to Nebraska, what would they do after they got back to Nebraska?

Mr. Epstein. Well, of course, if Nebraska were unwilling to receive them, a question might arise whether California could actually send them back.

The Chairman. All right, then, they are in California—a half a million of them. Suppose California goes broke, which wouldn't help the Nation any, what is California going to do unless you get some help?

Mr. Epstein. I don't wish to be understood at all as not being in favor of Federal grants-in-aid. I thought I made it perfectly clear that in view of the fact this does become an important national problem some form of Federal aid for that problem is a necessity.

The CHAIRMAN. But you don't agree to an additional category under the Social Security Act?

Mr. EPSTEIN. That, I think, would be a social problem of considerable proportions and I should recommend strongly against a separate category. I would make the condition of the grants that they be for a nonsettled family on the basis of a Federal statute fixing a minimum residence for settlement.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else?

Mr. SHAPIRO. I would like to ask Mr. Epstein, taking the last question that the Chairman put, what would be his recommendation in the event that California refused to permit these people to enter the State under those circumstances?

Mr. EPSTEIN. Well, if California stood at the borderline with a constable with a shotgun and stopped the trains and took them off, I think that might be an interference with the flow of interstate commerce.

Mr. SHAPIRO. I am talking about the chairman's question, whether they should be removed to Nebraska or should they be permitted free movement as citizens of the United States, or should the Federal Government be presented with the problem of maintaining the people?

Mr. EPSTEIN. I certainly wouldn't say that the Federal Government should look after everybody who arrives at a State line and say: "We are going to take care of you from now on." I certainly do not think that it becomes a problem of the States individually until the people have arrived there, and then it becomes the subject of relief or a danger to the community. The question becomes one of importance only after the person has arrived and shows he is incapable of self-support.

Mr. SPARKMAN. May I interrupt to make this suggestion: The recommendation that has been made to us by various witnesses has not been that a separate category be set up in the Social Security Board only for migrants, but that a separate category be set up for general relief, and one branch of that would be the nonsettled relief client. Both, however, can be administered by the States.

The recommendation was made by Mr. Shapiro, I believe, that the Federal Government pay all of that. Of course, the very difficult practical question arises immediately that if the Federal Government pays for all of the nonsettled people, the natural tendency of the State, unless there is some curb put on it, will be to shift as many of them to the nonsettled part as is possible.

Mr. SHAPIRO. A newspaper editorial sometime ago recommended compacts between States for reimbursement of the relief paid to persons who had moved to another State and from their place of origin, and who have not acquired settlement. Now, that is a suggestion that might be feasible. I haven't gone into that thoroughly, but it is something that may stand examination.

Mr. EPSTEIN. May I say that in 1935 it was my privilege to make a study of social conditions in the State of Florida at the invitation of the Governor of the State.

I made that study with the Welfare Commissioner of the State of Florida. They then had a very real problem, as they have to some degree since, but not quite as accentuated as it was then. There were a large number coming down in the winter months and flowing into Florida and taking over whatever vacant properties there were.

Nobody kicked them out. They just squatted and stayed there. In some cases they became a serious social problem.

At that time the Federal Government was engaging in a broader relief program which has since been curtailed, and came in and took a very active part in that, and to a very substantial extent that problem was aided in its liquidation by that assistance.

Also at the time Florida had revamped its entire structure of social welfare.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe you mentioned this, Mr. Epstein, a few minutes ago. How many different States have compacts relating to the interstate transactions?

Mr. EPSTEIN. I don't know how many have compacts. New York has a working agreement with Vermont and with Pennsylvania, the two States that are on its border, and we have had no trouble whatsoever with the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Ohio.

There is mentioned in one of the pages of our brief the 34 individual cases in 1 year in which people were sent out.

There has really been no serious problem on the part of the receiving States when a case study has been made and presented to them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I want to ask one more question, getting back to the lawsuit. I notice you state:

> Is there no way short of national action by Congress, which has not acted, by which States severally or separately may safeguard themselves from the threat to their security and solvency by incoming numbers of indigent families?

Now, do you mean for us to understand from that that Congress could act?

Mr. EPSTEIN. You have put your finger on one of the very important considerations which in the course of the brief is hinted at, and that is if it is a privilege and an immunity of citizenship in the Unted States as a Nation to move freely and establish your home wherever you fixed your intention so to do, that even Congress might not be able to pass any law which would impair that privilege.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But putting it the other way, as I understand it, police powers are inherent in the State and in Congress likewise. If a State has certain police powers and among those powers is the right to do what you are doing, then Congress cannot limit that power, can it?

Mr. EPSTEIN. Except insofar as the limitation may be in aid of and in pursuance of one of the powers that Congress has itself—for example, regulation of interstate commerce or any other power that Congress has expressly granted or that may reasonably flow from that.

State powers have been considerably curtailed by congressional acts. On the other hand, in recent years the State's power to curtail and restrict interstate commerce within reasonable limits has also been sustained.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, I want to thank you very much for coming here. You have given a very valuable contribution to the work of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Miss Lenroot.

TESTIMONY OF KATHARINE F. LENROOT, CHIEF, CHILDREN'S BUREAU, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Lenroot, you are the Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor?

Miss LENROOT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Miss Lenroot, you have prepared a statement that has been filed with us and will become a part of the record.

Miss LENROOT. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I will ask the chairman to instruct the reporter to include that in the record as a part of Miss Lenroot's testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF KATHARINE F. LENROOT, CHIEF, CHILDREN'S BUREAU, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF FAMILY MIGRATION

Exact figures concerning the children in the United States whose families have no fixed place of abode or move frequently are not available, but estimates indicate that their number is large. Many definitions could be given to the term "migrant." In all probability, when the word is mentioned, most people think of the seasonal agricultural workers, habitually following the crops, or the "Joads," parents, grandparents, and children, leaving their homes in the Dust Bowl, where soil erosion and tractors contribute to the reduction of opportunity for agricultural employment, to seek security in a region of greater resources. But there are other migrants—those who move from farm to city, or from town to town in search of industrial employment—construction workers, those attracted by the automobile industry, the aircraft plants, or, like Amos and Andy, seeking to establish themselves in the trade and service industries of a great metropolis.

For the decade 1920–30 a minimum of 4,600,000 persons, according to reliable estimates, moved across State lines.[1] We might guess that at least one-third of them were children.

The report on migratory labor of the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, July 1940, stated that the nomad workers of this country number millions, that probably 2,000,000 of them look to agriculture for a living, and at least as many to industry, and that a third of them are children. Of them, the report of the committee states:

"It is they who suffer most and longest from the hazards of a migrant life. They lack the essentials of normal childhood—a stable home and the sense of security it gives, the chance to go to school regularly, decent food and housing, necessary health and medical care. A youth so blighted offers little preparation or incentive for the future. Yet these, like other children, are citizens of tomorrow."

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[1] Migration of Workers, Preliminary Report of the Secretary of Labor Pursuant to S. Res. 298 (74th Cong.), p. 4085, this volume.

Migrant families include those moving from place to place within a single State, and those moving across State lines. I should like to offer as exhibit A that section of the General Report on Children in a Democracy adopted by the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, January 19, 1940, which deals with children in migrant agricultural families.[2] "There are about one-third of a million such families in interstate migration," the report states, "comprising about a million persons." It is estimated that more than half the area of the United States is included in this migration. The number of children in the migrant agricultural population, in relation to the number of adults, is relatively high. A special study of 6,655 migrant families, comprising 24,485 persons in California, showed that 36 percent of these persons were children under 15 and 45 percent were under the age of 20 years. Moreover, nearly two-thirds of the children were in families of 5 and more persons.

Not only California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Texas, and other States in the Southwest, but Florida, New Jersey, Maryland, and Michigan are among the States that attract large numbers of migrant families. The report to the National Resources Committee on Problems of a Changing Population, May 1938, pointed out that historically three States besides those of the far West have been constant centers of absorption of population, receiving more persons than they have lost—New Jersey, Michigan, and Florida—while New York, Ohio, and Illinois have both received and sent out large numbers of people. The same report points out that during the 1920's there were large population movements away from areas of economic insecurity, high birth rates, and low levels of living, toward more favored areas. In the decade of the 1930's, on the contrary, the so-called depression migration was not so much a search for greater economic opportunity as it was a search for security.[3] People from industrial or mining communities, suffering from unemployment, settled for the most part on part-time or subsistence farms in or near such communities. The report describes these situations as follows:

"Moving to the country enabled many families to support themselves in depression fashion, and thus lessened urban relief expenditures, but the corollary was increased financial burdens in rural areas. Many of these families could not support themselves completely and were forced onto relief rolls. In nine rural counties in Tennessee it was found that 12 percent of the families receiving relief in 1935 and living in the open country had moved into the county since 1930. In a study of nonfarming rural families in the four northwestern counties of Indiana, it was found that 27 percent of these families were receiving relief in 1933. The extra taxes levied on the rural nonfarming families covered only about one-fifth of the total additional expense for schooling and relief. Many of these families were living on land where others failed to make a living even in prosperity."[4]

Had it not been for the relief measures developed to meet unemployment, shifts in population during the depression period would have been much more general, with immeasurably grave consequences. In 1933, for example, migratory travel by railroad trespassers appears to have been 45 percent greater than in 1929, but the trend turned sharply downward in 1934, as a result of the Federal relief program.[5]

With the opening of the fourth decade of the present century, the emphasis in migration has again changed. For many families, the motive is economic betterment, rather than the effort to find mere subsistence. Migration movements are sharply directed to areas of defense construction, manufacturing, or training camp activity. The problems of this new migration have been described briefly by Philip E. Ryan in his statement to this committee. The following examples of the great drawing power of defense activities are taken from a release of the National Defense Advisory Commission, December 3, 1940.

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[2] Report of White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, January 19, 1940.
[3] Ibid., p. 105.
[4] Ibid., p. 108.
[5] Migration of Workers, p. 212.

"*Jacksonville, Fla.—Naval air station.*

"Rapid expansion of the naval program in this locality requires an increase in enlisted personnel and is causing an influx of civilian defense workers and their families.

"*Charleston, S. C.*

"The Navy has reported a need for 1,600 dwelling units in this locality. Of these units, 100 are for families of enlisted personnel * * *. The remaining 1,500 units are for families of civilian defense workers at the Navy Yard * * *. It is expected that a part of the civilian workers will be employed for a considerable period of years due to the permanent expansion of naval activity in this locality.

"*Philadelphia* (*including Camden, N. J.*)

"Defense contracts awarded to both the New York Shipbuilding Co. in Camden and the Philadelphia Navy Yard are causing an influx of workers and their families. In addition, defense contracts for ordnance, ammunition, airplane engines, clothing, and miscellaneous items have been awarded to local manufacturers resulting in a large increase of employment in the locality.

"*Vallejo, Calif.—Mare Island Navy Yard.*

"The Navy has reported a total need for 3,400 dwelling units in the Vallejo locality. Of this number 3,000 are for families of civilian employees and 400 for families of enlisted personnel. It is considered that the personnel expansion at the navy yard will be required for a considerable period of time.

"*San Diego, Calif.*

"The principal factors which have contributed to the need for defense housing in the San Diego locality are the expansion of naval activity, expansion of an Army air base and Army Air Corps training school and expansion and increased production of airplane manufacturing plants.

"In San Diego a minimum need for defense housing of 5,000 dwelling units has been received from several investigating agencies. Some reports of need are as high as 15,000."

A peculiar feature of migration into communities for defense industry employment or to be near the heads of families in training camps (many heads of families are in the regular Army or the National Guard) is that some very small towns experience a tremendous influx of population. Charleston, Ind., is an example that has become classic—a town of 900 suddenly required to be the center of community life for 8 to 10 thousand employees of a powder plant. The first influx into these new communities is represented by men and their families seeking work in the construction of factories or cantonments, or in providing dwelling units for the inflowing population. Frequently many more unskilled laborers come into an area than can be given employment, and the construction work, of course, is temporary.

In a recent visit to one of these communities in Mississippi a physician on the staff of the Children's Bureau observed the following:

"This is a country village of about 200 people, unincorporated. There is no town water and no sewage system. There is no doctor in the town, the nearest one being 8 miles away. The school is the one permanent building in the town. Last year there were 103 in the 8 grades. This year there are 170 registered and more coming all the time, so that they expect to have more than 200 by the first of the year. Children come from everywhere. The camp nearby is said to accommodate 52,000 men. About 10,000 troops are now in camp."

Migration out of as well as into defense areas is caused by defense operations. Hundreds of thousands of acres are being purchased to be cleared for military training activities and other purposes related to the defense program (for example, Hinesville, Ga. and Camp Robinson, Ark.), causing many families to leave land on which they have lived, perhaps for generations. Large numbers of these families have little or no equity in land or homes, and little vocational equipment for seeking new types of employment.

Succeeding periods of expansion in various types of employment will cause shrinkage in employment opportunity when some or many phases of the defense program are tapered off. Construction workers, for example, would experience a decrease in employment opportunity before those engaged in the manufacture of material.

To summarize, in the period in which we have now entered, the people of the United States will be confronted with problems of migration affecting in vitally important ways the rearing and educating of children for democratic citizenship, arising from different patterns of migration, old and new. For example:

1. A marked increase in migration from farm to city as employment rises, corresponding to a similar trend in the 1920's.

It is estimated that industrialization shifted 6,000,000 persons from farms to cities during the 1920's, partly within the various States and partly across State lines. By 1937 this urban trend, interrupted in the early part of the depression, had been resumed at three-fifths of its normal rate.[6]

Urban migration is predominantly a migration of youth. The farm population has a much larger proportion of children to adults than the city population—in fact, it is to the farm population, and not the city population, that cities must look for population growth. Girls tend to migrate to cities from farms at earlier ages than boys. Of the boys and girls from 10 to 20 years of age living on farms in 1920, about two-fifths had left the farm by 1930.[7] The report to the National Resources Committee on Problems of a Changing Population comments as follows upon this situation:

"It is evident that the farm population bears the expense of rearing and educating a large number of children who move to the city just as they begin to be able to repay this cost. A large amount of wealth is transferred from rural to urban areas by this movement. During the past decade the farms have had to feed, clothe, and educate a large proportion of the young people who have joined the urban productive population. If an allowance of $150 per year is made for the cost of rearing a child (including community costs), the average farm youth 15 years of age represents an investment of from $2,000 to $2,500. At this rate the 6,000,000 net migration of youths from farms between 1920 and 1930 would represent a contribution of about $14,000,000,000 from the farming communities of the Nation to its cities * * *. The consequences (of this and other means of transferring farm wealth to cities) are reflected in inadequate health facilities, inferior schools, and the difficulties of maintaining essential community services."

2. Continued migration from rural areas of extremely limited opportunity to other rural areas in search of agricultural employment.

The former areas are associated with a high ratio of children to adults (see chart) and a high reproduction rate. Increasing mechanization in agriculture, soil erosion, high rates of population increase, and other factors are associated with the migration of the agricultural worker and his family.[8]

3. Continued migration of seasonal workers and their families who habitually follow the crops within States or from State to State.

As pointed out in the report of the Secretary of Labor on Migration of Workers (p. vi):

"Increasing numbers of workers are forced to move ceaselessly across State lines to eke out a living by piecing together short and scattered seasons of employment in agriculture and industry. As long as employers demand much more labor in one season than another, workers must migrate or find some alternative means of subsistence within each local area. For hundreds of thousands of American workers even a meager subsistence is dependent upon continual interstate migration."

Last May, in a statement submitted to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, representatives of the Children's Bureau presented facts concerning 82 counties in which migratory families were known to be engaged in agricultural work. These counties were located in 17 States as follows: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Wyoming.[9]

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[6] Migration of Workers, p. iv.

[7] Problems of a Changing Population, pp. 109–111.

[8] In 1937 it was estimated that more than four-fifths of the recent migration of workers to California consisted of persons from States afflicted by drought. In the Report of the Secretary of Labor on Migration of Workers (p. v) it is stated that "More than half of these migrants came from the drought States of the Great Plains where emigration would be desirable even after the present drought comes to an end. Most of the drought migrants in California have been forced to become constant, seasonal migrants without residence in any one community."

4. Migration to established or newly developed urban communities where defense industries are located, or communities adjacent to training camps.

Much of this migration may be temporary in character, and in certain areas may be, for a time at least, far greater (as to unskilled labor or those seeking employment in trade or service occupations) than can be absorbed in the local labor market.

These different types of conditions have in common the uprooting of family life, or the failure, because of constant moves, to establish roots in any community, and result in marked maladjustments in the ability of communities to safeguard health, provide education, and furnish public assistance and social protection when needed. In other respects the problems created, as they affect the strength of family life and the health and well-being of children and youth, have differing effects and require varying types of remedial measures.

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION UPON FAMILY LIFE AND CHILD WELFARE

General effects.—These are of three principal types: (1) Effects of legal barriers to full assimilation of the migrants into the communities to which they go, such, for example, as settlement laws and school laws; (2) effects of social barriers to full assimilation; (3) lag in community provision for public utilities, housing, health services, schools and recreational services, in areas to which migrants go.

Testimony concerning settlement, residence, and the power of the State to exclude or remove nonsettled, needy persons has been presented to this committee by representatives of the Federal Security Agency and by other witnesses. The operation of the Federal-aid program for aid to dependent children under the Social Security Act has resulted in the elimination of local residence as a basis of eligibility and in a reasonably short period required for State residence. (See statement prepared by Jane M. Hoey on Present Situation With Regard to Migrants and Recommendations for Their Care, Vol. 9, pp. 3504–3506.) A chaotic situation exists with reference to settlement for purposes of general poor relief, and the trend is toward greater rather than fewer restrictions. (See statement prepared by Jack Tate, General Counsel, Federal Security Agency, Vol. 9, pp. 3512–3520.)

As pointed out by the Secretary of Labor in her statement before this committee on December 3, the compulsory school-attendance laws, as well as the laws relating to poor relief, are intended primarily for residents. I should like to submit as exhibit B, appendix D—School Attendance of the Migratory Child, pages 226 to 230 of the report Migration of Workers, a preliminary report of the Secretary of Labor pursuant to Senate Resolution 298, Seventy-fourth Congress.[10] This report shows that only a few States have enacted school legislation especially designed to compel the attendance of migratory children, and that the majority of the compulsory-school-attendance laws apply expressly or impliedly to children who are residents or citizens. I should also like to submit as Exhibit C the Analysis of State Compulsory School Attendance Legislation contained on pages 56 to 62 of the Statement on Child Labor in Agriculture, submitted to a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, May 27, 1940, by Beatrice McConnell, director, Industrial Division, Children's Bureau.[11] This statement shows that only a very few States have definitely recognized any responsibility for the migrant child, and that although in a number of other States compulsory school-attendance laws are sufficiently broad to apply to migrants, many apply specifically to residents, causing some doubt as to how these laws would be interpreted with respect to migrant children. The recent New Jersey legislation on child labor and school attendance, specifically relating these provisions to children in agriculture, prohibits the employment of nonresident children under 16 during any time that they would have been required to attend school in their own State or during hours when the schools are in session in the district of New Jersey in which they wish to work.

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[9] Statement of Martha M. Eliot, M. D., p. 20.

[10] See Preliminary Report of the Secretary of Labor Pursuant to Senate Resolution 298, Seventy-fourth Congress, p. 4085, this volume.

[11] See Statement on Child Labor in Agriculture, submitted to a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, May 27, 1940, pp. 56–62.

The California education law is the only example of special financial provision for the education of children of migratory workers. This law establishes a revolving State fund for such schools, and provides that classes may be established on the basis of a maximum of $75 per month from the State and $75 per month from the county funds per teacher employed.[12]

With reference to the effects of social barriers to full assimilation, these effects vary to some extent, at least, according to the type of migration. When migrants belong to minority racial or nationality groups or to those seriously handicapped economically, and with regard to cultural opportunities, they are likely to be regarded in the communities to which they go as set apart from and inferior to the resident population. Even highly intelligent persons are likely to remark with reference to certain migrant groups that it is hopeless to try to do anything for the adults, and that the only portions of the migrant population for which it is worth while to try to do anything is the children. This attitude, of course, seriously handicaps the children themselves, because their development is largely conditioned by the circumstances in their own homes and the regard with which their parents are viewed by those who have attained some measure of security and prestige. It is an attitude which can easily be controverted by actual experience with those who come in contact with migrant people and recognize that they represent a wide range of capacity for intellectual growth and social effectiveness. As pointed out by the Secretary of Labor, "Migrants are normal people."

The report of the Secretary of Labor on Migration of Workers, 1938 (p. vii), points out that the conditions of migratory life as observed in the areas recently surveyed are a threat to the development of good citizens and that the migrant and his family tend to be isolated from the normal acivities of the community both because of their enforced mode of travel and living and because of community prejudices against them.

This Committee has had much evidence presented to it of the lag in community provision for public utilities, housing, health services, schools, and recreational services in areas to which migrants go. Housing shortage and high rents present serious problems, not only to the migrants, but to resident low-income and relief groups.

In his testimony on problems of education caused by migrations of families with children of school age, the commissioner of education pointed out the difficulties in providing school facilities for children of migratory workers. School budgets, he said, are invariably prepared early in the school year, and taxes are levied shortly thereafter. If large numbers of children come into the district unexpectedly the difficulty of providing schooling is obvious. Even in California where special provision from State funds is made for children of migratory workers, Dr. Studebaker points out that the funds provided for this purpose are hardly sufficient for extraordinary demands. I heartily concur with his conclusion that education for children of families who move within States cannot be assured until a foundation education program for all communities of the State is provided, and that similarly, migrations across State lines, particularly in extraordinary cases, in all likelihood result in situations with respect to education which call for some kind of financial assistance from the Federal Government.

Testimony prepared by Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, for this committee, dealing with Health Needs of Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, points out that transients receive less medical care than do other needy citizens, in the main because of their inability to satisfy existing settlement laws, but that lack of adequate funds available to the States and to local communities for medical care services has a considerable influence in determining the amount of services rendered.

I should like to submit as exhibit D, a statement submitted to a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, pursuant to Senate Resolution 266, by Dr. Martha M. Eliot, assistant chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.[13] Provision of health services for children in families of agricultural workers, including those in migratory families, is dependent, Dr. Eliot states, on the types of services provided for all the residents of the areas where agricultural labor is found. A specific program for mothers and children is outlined in this statement as including medical supervision through community child health conferences and prenatal clinics; school health services; public-health nursing service in the home at child-health conferences and in the schools; nutrition and dental services; diagnostic and therapeutic service in out-patient clinics; hospital care as needed for sick children and for care of women at delivery; and the services of social workers especially trained in meeting the needs of children or in handling problems arising out of medical conditions.

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[12] Statement of Beatrice McConnell on Child Labor in Agriculture, p. 61.

[13] See statement to subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, pursuant to Senate Resolution 266, by Dr. Martha M. Eliot.

Reports to the Children's Bureau from the State health departments for the year ending June 30, 1939, showed that some form of maternal and child-health service was provided in only about two-thirds of the rural counties of the United States, and that 40 percent of the counties were without even the services of public-health nurses. For the rural areas as a whole, it is known that one public-health nurse serves on the average 10,000 persons, while in the cities each public-health nurse serves on the average 5,000 persons. Dr. Eliot estimated that to provide adequately for the rural population alone there is need for at least four or five times as many nurses as are now employed. The same picture of incomplete coverage of rural counties exists with reference to preventive medical services, such as are provided through the child-health conferences or prenatal clinics, or dental, or nutrition services. In 82 counties where migratory workers are employed in agriculture, analyzed in Dr. Eliot's statement, maternal and child-health services even for resident families were markedly inadequate. Examples of counties in which there is no maternal and child-health service under the Social Security Act are given in this statement.

In a report of a visit to a town of 5,100 people, adjacent to an area where a large training camp is being developed, made by a member of the staff of the Children's Bureau, the following observations were made:

"The town is old and down at heel. It is in poor country and has not been prosperous. Water and sewage are only fair. There is no nurse, no doctor, no clinics. At the edge of the camp are the eating places, surrounded by tents, trailers, and trucks which are used to live in. In these are said to be families, though we saw few women and children."

Describing another town of 2,000 in the same county, the Children's Bureau representative described information gained from interviews with local child-welfare workers as follows:

"There is no hospital and no county nurse. There is much tuberculosis in the county. Housing is bad. Every available space is taken. Shacks which had been deemed to be unfit for human habitation were being used for living purposes, and high rents were being charged. Tents are going up on vacant lots, and down by the railroad tracks house trucks and trailers are parked. There is much gaiety and backslapping, rather like a county fair. People seem cheerful, though it is cold. * * * I talked to a volunteer charity worker. Her cry was for a hospital. Local doctors take care of the indigent, but there are no hospital facilities."

I should like to submit as exhibit E a "Statement of Experience of the Children's Bureau and the State Welfare Agencies, under title V, part 3, of the Social Security Act, Providing for Child Welfare Services in Rural Areas," submitted by me as part of my statement to a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, May 27, 1940.[14] This statement shows that of the 82 counties where there are migratory workers, previously referred to, only 22 have local child-welfare workers under the cooperative Federal and State child-welfare program made possible by the Social Security Act. In addition to these counties, 11 counties have the benefit of limited services from child-welfare workers paid in whole or in part from Federal funds serving larger areas. Descriptions of situations in several counties with large migrant populations as submitted in annual plans for the child-welfare-services program for the fiscal year 1940 are included in the statement.

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[14] See Statement of Experience of the Children's Bureau and the State Welfare Agencies, under title V, part 3, of the Social Security Act, Providing for Child Welfare Services in Rural Areas, submitted by Miss Lenroot as part of her statement to a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, May 27, 1940.

I should also like to submit as exhibit F a statement entitled "Recapitulation of Major Points in Summary of Developments in Child Welfare Services under the Social Security Act," part of a statement of the Children's Bureau submitted for discussion to the Advisory Committee on Community Child Welfare Services at its meeting December 2, 1940.[15] The conclusion of this statement is to the effect that the experience the States have gained during the last 5 years has conclusively demonstrated the need for the establishment and improvement of local services for children in rural areas. The present amount of Federal funds and the additional State and local funds made available are not at this time adequate to provide complete coverage of all rural counties.

Lack of economic security within the family.—This characterizes particularly "depression" migration and migration of agricultural workers. The report on migratory labor submitted to the President by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities points out that studies of migratory labor made by the Works Progress Administration in 1933 and 1934 showed an average of two and a half jobs per year, each job lasting about 8 weeks, with median net earnings of $110 in 1933 and $124 in 1934. In 1936 and 1937 median annual gross earnings of such workers ranged from $154 to $574, according to various studies. These levels with their irregular work and low earnings, the Committee points out, represent those who are successful in finding the average amount of employment. Accumulating any reserve against the gaps between jobs or the risk of accident and illness is completely beyond their reach. Yet migratory workers and their families are for the most part outside the insurance programs provided under the Social Security Act and their access to public assistance, medical care, and general relief is limited by settlement provisions earlier discussed.

In her statement to this committee December 3, 1940, the Secretary of Labor pointed out that distress occurs when migrants come too rapidly or in too great numbers to permit ready absorption into our economic or social community life, and that they usually pay the price of the economic adjustment they enable the community to make by supplying labor when it is needed for seasonal industries or economic expansion. She points out also that even in national-defense jobs, leading to a type of migration which ordinarily would not be associated with lack of economic security, problems arise because the emergency may bring a sudden influx of workers to areas unprepared to receive them. Economic insecurity in migratory families is accentuated by the fact that much of the migratory labor is not covered by Federal or State labor legislation.

Because of the low income of agricultural laborers, both mothers and children are likely to be employed whenever opportunity offers. In many cases the family is hired as a unit, and all members of the family who can possibly work in the fields have a part in earning the family income. In a study of 946 families who worked in the beet fields in 1935, made by the Children's Bureau, it was found that in only 24 percent of the families was there only one member employed, and more than half the families contained three or more workers.[16] Nearly one-fourth of the beet workers in the families studied were children under 16 years of age.

RESULTS OF CONDITIONS ACCOMPANYING FAMILY MIGRATION IN TERMS OF CHILD HEALTH AND CHILD WELFARE

The report on migratory labor by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities states that the children of migrants are a lost tribe:

"Because they lack so much that goes to make up a normal childhood—economic security, a stable home, health protection, and a chance for school and play experience—they are a group apart from any community."

The basic needs of childhood have been described in part as follows in the General Report of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy (p. 10):

"* * * Home and family are the first condition of life for the child. They are first in importance for his growth, development, and education.

"The child has food and shelter if his family has a home and provides food.

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[15] See p. 4016 of this volume.

[16] Welfare of Families of Sugar-Beet Laborers, Bureau Publication No. 247, p. 18.

"He is content and happy if he is well, if he has parents and others to love and be loved by."

The White House conference report states further that "giving the child food, shelter, and material security in general is a primary task of the family."

The conditions surrounding a large proportion of the children in migrant families have been brought to the attention of the committee by many witnesses and are indicated briefly by the illustrations cited below:

Housing.—In the words of the report on Migratory Labor of the Interdepartmental Committee:

"The ditch-side camp and the makeshift squatter towns offer the only homes that most migrant families know. They are deprived of decent housing not only by their short stay in any one place but also by their lack of money. Their temporary jerry-built houses and dilapidated tents often violate all the laws of self-respect and privacy and all standards of hygiene and sanitation."

Some employers, as pointed out by the Interdepartmental Committee's report, have made commendable efforts to provide decent sanitary accommodations for at least part of their seasonal workers. For several years the Farm Security Administration has been developing sanitary camps where migrant workers may live for a limited period at a minimum cost.

Health.—In the statement by Dr. Martha M. Eliot, submitted to a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, and previously referred to as exhibit D, it is pointed out that the health problems of migrant families are those of all low-income families, to which are added the special problems which are the result of transiency. The children in these families go without proper or adequate food, with too little and often disturbed sleep. They are often subjected to exposure and communicable diseases flourish among them. Expectant mothers get little or no nursing care. Delivery care is often given by another migrant woman with help from a physician if things do not go well, or hospital care in an emergency. Health agencies in rural areas are often inadequately staffed or equipped to provide for residents and because of the burden of work make no special effort to provide for migratory families. Obviously, the health supervision of these children and a program of maternity care for the mothers require special planning, such as has been developed in an experimental way in California in the past 4 years, with grants made under title V, part 1, of the Social Security Act.

In connection with child-health work in migratory families in California it was found that in 1937 there were conspicuous increases in the infant mortality rates in the counties where the migratory agricultural population is concentrated. For five of these counties the infant mortality rate for rural areas averaged 113 in 1937 as compared with 100 in 1936. (The rural infant mortality rate for the United States as a whole in 1937 was 57 per 1,000 live births.) Dietary deficiencies were found to be common. Children with physical defects and defects due to faulty hygiene comprised 83 percent of the migratory children as compared with 61 percent of the resident children examined in the rural areas of California during the same year. Thirty-eight percent of the children had nutritional defects, many of which could not be corrected because of insufficient family income. The diets of adults and children alike were found to consist of hot biscuits, gravy, beans, and potatoes. In the school-age group only 10½ percent of the children were getting 1½ pints of milk daily—the amount considered optimum for growth and development—while 16 percent were getting no milk.

In narrative reports to the Farm Security Administration from migratory labor camps for September and October 1940, comments concerning the health and the diets of children include items such as the following:

Surveys have also been made of the food on hand. You don't know what a starvation diet is until you make a complete survey of one of the camps.

There is only one family in the entire camp who has been able to buy any milk so they will discontinue the delivery of milk here and that one family will buy milk elsewhere.

Human interest achievement: All of our school children are being supplied with an adequate lunch. The mothers are coming to the community kitchen and preparing these lunches.

The people in general suffer from bad teeth in an alarming way. Poor vision is also quite common. This dental condition can readily be traced to faulty diet.

Schooling.—Reference has already been made to the inadequate educational opportunities provided for children in migrant families. School attendance is closely related to child labor and poor educational opportunity goes hand in hand with economic insecurity and early work.

I wish to submit as exhibit G, pages 34 to 45 of a statement on Child Labor in Agriculture presented by Beatrice McConnell, director, Industrial Division, Children's Bureau, to the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor May 27, 1940.[17]

Child Labor.—As pointed out by the Secretary of Labor in her statement of December 3 before this committee, child labor is common among those migrant families that are employed in agriculture and in processing of food products, these industries being the largest users of child labor. The work of children, she states further, has become increasingly industrialized with repetitive tasks, long hours, and small earnings. There is very general recognition that the casual work of the farm is in a different category from industrialized farm labor, so long as work on the home farm is not hazardous and does not interfere with school attendance.

I wish to include as exhibit H portions of the statement by Beatrice McConnell on Child Labor in Agriculture submitted to the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, May 27, 1940.[18] The material in these exhibits has been brought up to date since the testimony was given.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although a considerable degree of mobility of population is needed, to permit economic adjustments which are necessary to national safety and well-being, and to provide individual families with opportunity for economic advancement, migration which does not contribute to these ends is costly to the Nation and the individual, and takes heavy toll of childhood.

Removal of legal, and so far as possible, of social barriers to the assimilation of migrants into the normal activities and relationships of the communities to which they go should be accompanied by measures for strengthening the economic foundations of family life and for providing the community services and educational opportunities essential to the welfare of families and children in all parts of the country, and in both cities and rural areas. Moreover, means for the guidance of migration into economically productive and socially desirable channels should be strengthened.

These measures are of particular importance when viewed from the point of view of the welfare of the child. Between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 children are involved in family migration, and this number may be increased with shifts of population due to the needs of defense industries. Children of migratory agricultural workers come for the most part from areas of extremely limited economic opportunity, educational advantage, and community health and social services. They go to communities not, as a rule, prepared to receive them, and encounter legal and social barriers which intensify the problems inevitably associated with migration. These children constitute an important part of the human capital of the Nation, and their neglect impairs not only individual well-being but national strength.

All who are familiar with the problems of the migrant and his family agree that they are national in scope and require Nation-wide measures for their solution. But, as the Report of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy points out, shelter, education for children, health supervision, and medical care must be made available locally wherever and whenever needed. A plan that will assure migrant families and their children essential minimum provisions for their well-being must place administrative and financial responsibilities where they belong, and must assure the availability of services and facilities wherever such families may need them. The Conference recommended that the Federal Government accept responsibility for the development of an inclusive plan for care of migrant families.[19] These recommendations are in harmony with those of other organizations, which have been placed before this committee.

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[17] Statement on Child Labor in Agriculture to subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, May 27, 1940, pp. 34–45.

[18] Ibid.

Specifically, the following recommendations are urged as being of special importance to children:

1. Extension of measures needed to strengthen the economic foundations of family life, such as fair labor standards and social-security legislation, so that family migration may not grow out of despair and destitution, but out of hope and initiative in seeking economic betterment.
2. Strengthening of Federal and State Employment Services, working in cooperation with agencies concerned with the development of natural resources and the improvement of the conditions of farm life, in order that migration may be guided into economically and socially desirable channels.
3. More equitable and adequate distribution of good housing, educational opportunity, vocational preparation, and health and social services throughout the country, especially in the rural areas, which now contribute far more than their share to the support and education of the children of the Nation. Such a goal can be achieved only through the extension and strengthening of cooperative Federal and State measures for improving the educational, health, public assistance, and social-service resources of the country. Federal aid for improvement of the conditions surrounding rural children will not only strengthen and enrich rural life, but will improve the physical vigor and the economic and social efficiency of our urban population, which is recruited largely from the country.
4. Removal, so far as possible, of legislative barriers against the assimilation of migrants into normal community activities, as found in settlement laws and school laws. The period of residence required for access to relief should be uniform throughout the Nation, and should not exceed 1 year. Health services, medical care, educational facilities, and social services should be available to all who need them, regardless of residence.
5. Special assistance by Federal and State Governments in enabling communities with excessive migration, including those affected by the defense program, to provide adequate community health and welfare services and educational opportunities for the children of migrants.
6. Effective application of child labor standards to employment in industrialized agriculture, through strengthening of State and Federal child labor and school attendance laws and their administration.
7. Continued study of the problems of migration through a central coordinating agency, which can promote both study and action, as recommended by the Secretary of Labor in the statement presented by her to this committee. It is apparent from all the testimony presented to this committee that there are great gaps in the information concerning migration urgently needed as a basis for effective planning. It is particularly unfortunate that the 1940 census secured information concerning the employment of children only for those 14 years of age and over.

In making these recommendations effective, some of the special programs which require immediate consideration and action are the following:

(*a*) Extension of Federal aid for general elementary and secondary education, as well as for vocational training, as recommended by the Advisory Committee on Education,[20] the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy,[21] and other organizations. Training of young people for defense industries and for vocational effectiveness after the emergency is over is impaired to the extent that basic educational preparation is defective in certain sections of the country and among certain population groups.

(*b*) Extension of Federal aid for health services and medical care as recommended by the Interdepartmental Committee To Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities,[22] with adequate provision for such services throughout maternity and childhood, and assistance through State and local agencies in providing health and medical services to migrants. Appropriation of additional funds under title V of the Social Security Act, to enable the Children's Bureau to assist State and local health needs of mothers and children, has been recommended by the Interdepartmental Committee in its reports on the Need for a National Health Program and on Migratory Labor. The Maternal and Child Health Advisory Committee, appointed by the Secretary of Labor to assist the Children's Bureau in the development of the maternal and child health program, in session December 2 and 3, 1940, urged that substantial increase be made in grants-in-aid to the States for maternal and child-health services under the Social Security Act, in view especially of the intensified needs associated with defense measures. I should like to submit the report of this committee as exhibit I.[23]

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[19] Children in a Democracy, p. 73.

[20] The Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee, February 1938, p. 197.

[21] General Report, p. 35.

[22] The Need for a National Health Program, Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, 1938.

(*c*) Provision of Federal grants-in-aid to States, under the Social Security Act, for general relief for needy residents and migrants for whom Federal work programs are not suitable or available, as recommended by Jane M. Hoey in her statement submitted to this committee, and the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy.[24] .

(*d*) Extension of Federal aid for child-welfare services under title V, part 3 of the Social Security Act, as recommended by the Advisory Committee (to the Children's Bureau) on Community Child Welfare Services, in its report adopted December 2, 1940, which I should like to submit as exhibit J.[25]

(*e*) Apportionment of grants-in-aid funds to States for all these services under a system of variable grants related to need, with special adjustments for areas with excessive numbers of migrants, all aid being conditioned upon the development of policies within a reasonable period which will assure aid to migrants and residents alike.

(*f*) Strengthening of the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act as they relate to children in agriculture, extension, and improvement in the type of protection afforded by the Sugar Act, and completion of ratification of the child-labor amendment.

(*g*) Coordinated Federal and State planning to meet the special needs of mothers and children associated with the defense program, with resources for studies of conditions and assistance to State and local agencies in developing adequate health and social services to meet these needs. (See exhibits I and J below.)

EXHIBIT F

RECAPITULATION OF MAJOR POINTS IN SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN CHILD WELFARE SERVICES UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

INTRODUCTION

In the report of the President's Committee on Economic Security the recommendation was made that in drafting legislation consideration should be given to a provision which would provide local services in the less populous areas of the United States. The following paragraph is taken from the Committee report:

"Local services for the protection and care of dependent and physically and mentally handicapped children are generally available in large urban centers, but in less populous areas they are extremely limited or even nonexistent. One-fourth of the States, only, have made provisions on a State-wide basis for county child-welfare boards or similar agencies, and in many of these States the services are still inadequate. With the further depletion of resources during the depression there has been much suffering among many children because the services they need have been curtailed or even stopped. To counteract this tendency and to stimulate action toward the establishment of adequate State or local child-welfare services, a small Federal grant-in-aid, we believe, would be very effective."

Part 3, Title V of the Social Security Act embodies the objectives of this recommendation and makes $1,510,000 available to the States for extending and strengthening State services for children; and for paying part of the cost of local services in areas predominantly rural.

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[23] See p. 4020 of this report.
[24] General Report, pp. 23, 73.
[25] See p. 3526 of this report.

In 1935, 26 States and the District of Columbia had child-welfare bureaus or divisions within State welfare departments. Fourteen States had necessary legislation for State-wide development of county child-welfare boards or other local public units authorized to provide services for children.

By June 30, 1940, there were 40 States in which there are either child-welfare bureaus or child-welfare divisions within the departments of public welfare.

In the remaining States and Territories departments of public welfare or bureaus of social welfare[1] have a designated division or unit responsible for administering the child-welfare program.

On the basis of plans developed jointly by the Children's Bureau and the States, Federal funds for child-welfare services have been allotted to the 48 States, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico.

Apportionment of Federal funds to the States is made on the basis of the ratio of the rural population of the State to the total rural population of the United States, plus a flat grant of $10,000 to each State without regard to population. Dollar for dollar matching is not required. The determination as to what constitutes "part of the cost of local services" is left to the Chief of the Children's Bureau. Thus the status of public-welfare developments within a State at any particular time and its financial resources can be taken into consideration. The provisions of part 3, title V, and the administrative policies of the Children's Bureau have made it possible to relate the child-welfare services program to the varying stages of development of public-welfare services within the States.

EXTENT OF CHILD-WELFARE SERVICES

The child-welfare services program by the language of the Social Security Act, is limited to "areas predominantly rural" and "other areas of special need." The amount of the present appropriation again automatically limits the extent of coverage of rural areas through the use of Federal funds. Thus development of services has been on a "demonstration" rather than a "coverage" basis.

As of June 30, 1940, Federal funds provided part of the cost of child-welfare services in 512 counties having local children's workers, and in 10 additional local areas composed of 69 towns[2] where 1 local worker served a group of small towns.

In addition, 39 field workers whose combined areas comprised 652 counties in 6 States, gave some case-work service on a demonstration basis in local communities in addition to their activities in organizing community resources and providing consultation or supervisory service to local workers. This latter method of administration represents the pioneer stage of "interpreting through doing" in the 6 States where it is still utilized. The trend, however, is all in the direction of providing local services on a county-unit basis except in those States where population is so sparse that the full time of a special children's worker is not needed and a combination of counties or towns is thus administratively desirable.

Of the 735 professional workers whose salaries were paid in whole or in part on June 30, 1940, 495 were working in local communities (and as part of local public-welfare units where such units exist), and 240 were members of State public-welfare staffs.

As of May 31, 1940, approximately 45,000 children were receiving services from workers financed in whole or in part from Federal funds.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILD-WELFARE SERVICES PLAN

Every State plan developed jointly by the State agency and the Children's Bureau provides for extension and strengthening of State services, for the encouragement and assistance of community child-welfare organization, and for the development of local services for children in rural areas. Some plans also include provision for the development of local services in "areas of special need" which are usually areas in urban communities.

Provision is also made in some plans for supplementary services on the State level such as educational leave for workers, items covering the cost of institutes and conferences, special projects either for study of child-welfare needs or as a demonstration of service that may be taken over by the State at some future time, psychiatric and psychological services, special training projects, etc.

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[1] Puerto Rico has a bureau of social welfare within the insular department of health.
[2] These areas are in the New England States.

NATURE OF CHILD-WELFARE SERVICES

The content of a public child-welfare service program in a rural community cannot be poured into any one mold. It is, however, predicated upon one basic factor—namely, a personnel plan which insures selection of staff qualified by training and experience for the wide variety of tasks to be performed. The main categories into which these tasks fall are: Demonstration of case-work service to children; leadership and participation in various types of community organization; and continuing interpretation of the purposes and objectives of public-welfare programs. Extending and strengthening State services similarly include diverse activities involving leadership and participation in planning for the best utlization of available child-welfare resources within the State, and in promoting community organization, in developing acceptable child-welfare standards in reviewing and, if necessary, revising existing legislation, and in giving technical supervision to local children's workers.

None of the administrative mechanism, including qualified personnel, has value, however, except as it makes something constructive happen in the lives of children and in the development of community understanding and resources.

FINANCIAL DATA

The total State expenditures for child-welfare services programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, was $85,676.20. The Federal funds were not available until February 1, 1936, so that none of the 33 States which were participating in the program by June 30, 1936, expended the entire amount of available funds.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, a total of $1,492,171.01 of Federal funds was expended for child-welfare services.

Funds budgeted in child-welfare services plans for the current fiscal year exceed the present annual allotment in every State except Nevada and Wisconsin. This means that if the present programs are to be maintained there will have to be additional appropriations from State and local funds and/or from Federal funds; and that further extension of services will be dependent upon additional funds.

UNMET NEEDS

Experience of the past 5 years in administering child-welfare services under the Social Security Act has demonstrated that all unmet needs are not in areas predominantly rural. Nonrural areas also in large measure need resources and leadership which cannot yet be entirely provided for from State and local funds. The expansion of other programs, such as amendments to the Social Security Act providing for survivor's benefits for widows and orphans, the problems of defense programs, etc., are disclosing new social problems calling for specialized case work with children. There is also need for a greater inclusion of case-work services to children of minority groups.

It is apparent that there should be in every State specialized social service to children available to every local community, that the number of child-welfare workers should be increased in many areas, and that the quality of service should be improved throughout the country. The States report requests for services to courts, to schools, and to institutions. Moreover, psychiatric and psychological services are required to supplement the case workers' treatment of special problems. At all points, with the increase of territory covered and of personnel employed, there is need to expand and improve supervisory and consultation service at the State level. Supplementation of all these services is important and should be given through demonstrations and studies in special areas and fields, such as statistics, legislation, and public-welfare organization. It is especially evident that to meet these demands there must be increased expenditures for staff development through educational leaves, in-service training projects, training supervisors, and orientation units. The stimulation of community resources and of citizens' interest in developing a protective and preventive program of child-welfare services is most important, and additional State leadership is required in this field.

STATE AND LOCAL FUNDS FOR CHILD-WELFARE SERVICES

With the initiation of the child-welfare services program some question was raised as to whether the availability of Federal funds might not, to some extent, "dry up" State and local resources in those areas which previously had appropriated funds for various types of child-welfare activities. Experience has shown that in practically every State-Federal financial participation has resulted in an increase in expenditures of State and local funds.

In the 1941 State plans for child-welfare services in which a total of $2,159,174 is budgeted from Federal funds, a total of $389,904 is budgeted from State and local funds to implement the provisions of the child-welfare services plans. In addition, considerable amounts are being spent by States and by local communities for a variety of other child-welfare activities including both services and maintenance of children which are not included in the budget for child-welfare services.

CONCLUSION

The experience the States have gained during the past 5 years in the administration of child-welfare services has conclusively demonstrated the need for the establishment and improvement of local services for children in rural areas. The present amount of Federal funds and the additional State and local funds made available are not at this time adequate to provide complete coverage of all rural counties.

As the child-welfare services program has developed in rural areas there have been increasing evidences of gaps in the total child-welfare program of the State, particularly in certain urban communities in which there has not been a quality of public-case-work service for children comparable to that provided in the local rural units having child-welfare workers. The expansion of defense activities will undoubtedly point up these lacks as well as others.

There appears to be no question about continuing Federal participation in services for children in rural areas. But other questions have been raised as to the desirability of additional Federal funds for the expansion of child-welfare services so that progressively there will be more complete local coverage and continuing participation on other phases of State child-welfare activities. It seems desirable, therefore, to give consideration at this time to the following questions:

1. Should Federal funds be available for paying part of the cost of local child-welfare services so that such services will be on a continuing rather than on a demonstration basis for the purpose of progressively providing complete child-welfare coverage to all rural political subdivisions?
2. Should the Federal Government participate financially in the administration of the States' over-all responsibilities for stimulation and leadership in the development of State child-welfare programs?
3. Should Federal financial participation be extended to pay part of the cost of local child-welfare services in urban areas; and should Federal participation in the cost of such services be on a continuing rather than on a demonstration basis?
4. Should there be Federal financial participation on a support rather than a demonstration basis in providing certain types of services such as case work or child guidance which are essential to an adequate program of State care of children. as for example, institutional care for delinquent children?
5. Should there be increased Federal financial participation in the training of child-welfare personnel through educational leaves and the operation of orientation units within the States?
6. Should there be Federal financial participation in special projects undertaken by State agencies which involve special demonstrations or studies in the fields of community planning, of child guidance, of services to children of minority and other disadvantaged groups, of the development of community resources for the prevention of juvenile delinquency and for dealing with problems arising out of defense measures?

Exhibit I

Report and Recommendations of Subcommittees on Child Health and Maternal Case Submitted to Material and Child Health Advisory Committee Meeting at the Children's Bureau, December 2 and 3, 1940

(Adopted by the full committee)

The following reports were submitted to the Children's Bureau Maternal and Child Health Advisory Committee by the subcommittees on child health and maternal care and, after discussion, were adopted unanimously on December 3 by the full committee:

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILD HEALTH

The national-defense program has caused a rapid increase in population in villages, towns, and cities adjacent to military cantonments and in those with rapidly expanding defense industries. Such expansion of population brings with it urgent problems of health protection for the whole populace, but especially for children and pregnant women in the families of workers and enlisted men.

The committee recognizes that these concentrations of population have come about for purposes related to the whole of the population of the United States, not merely the areas in which they occur. The problems arising from them are the concern of the whole of the United States, and the failure to meet them is a potential adverse influence upon the whole country.

In view of this emergency, the advisory subcommittee on child health of the Children's Bureau, has given careful consideration to the urgency of providing facilities to meet existing conditions—bad housing, crowding of households, inadequate provision for recreation, bad sanitary facilities, inadequate control of communicable diseases, and lack of health supervision and medical care for mothers and children.

The committee recognizes the progress that has been made under the maternal and child-health program in establishing State and local services for mothers and children. There must be no interruption in the development of this long-range program. The committee is also cognizant of the fact that large gaps in this program still exist which must be closed if anything approaching an adequate program is to be put into effect.

Because of the greatly intensified and additional problems created by national defense, however, the need for immediate expansion of these services is even more urgent than was previously apparent. The experience gained in the last few years has made it possible to outline clearly the ways in which this emergency may be met. Two obstacles present themselves, however: Lack of funds and deficiency of trained personnel.

The advisory subcommittee on child health therefore recommends:

(1) That increased resources be made available to the Children's Bureau to enable it—

(*a*) To hasten the development of an adequate maternal and child-health program commensurate with existing needs for health services and medical care through substantially increased grants-in-aid to States under title V of the Social Security Act;

(*b*) To make careful investigations of the health, medical, housing, and recreation facilities available to wives and children of workers living in or near the defense military cantonments, and to provide facilities and services to meet the health and medical needs as they are found to exist; and

(*c*) To plan for the protection of mothers and children in any other emergency situation arising from national defense. We refer here to the immediate making of appropriate plans for the protection of mothers and children in areas of military danger and for their evacuation and placement in selected reception areas.

(2) That, in view of the known insufficiency of personnel for the care of mothers and children, the Selective Service Board, the local draft boards, and the military services be urgently requested, in calling physicians for military duty, to give as much consideration as possible to retaining in the local com-

munities those physicians who are responsible, in the fields of public health and medical practice, for maternal and child care.

The advisory subcommittee on child health further recommends:

(1) That, in view of the necessity for recognition by the National Defense Council of the needs of mothers and children in the civilian population, the Children's Bureau be given representation in the health and medical committee of the National Defense Council;

(2) That the resolution of the Academy of Pediatrics calling for the appointment of a pediatrician to the health and medical committee be endorsed; and

(3) That the chairman of the maternal and child health advisory committee transmit these recommendations to the Secretary of Labor and seek an appointment with the President of the United States to lay before him the recommendations of the committee and to discuss the urgent need to safeguard the health and welfare of mothers and children as part of the national-defense program.

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MATERNAL CARE

The committee recognizes that the great improvement in maternal and infant care which has resulted from the leadership and efforts of the medical profession are not uniform throughout the country. It is our belief that in many areas of the United States, especially where maternal and infant death rates are highest, there is urgent need for providing medical and hospital care for maternity patients and newborn infants who cannot now obtain this care. New and urgent situations have been and are being created by the concentration of families in areas where defense programs are being developed. Plans must be made immediately to provide the mothers and children in these areas with needed health services.

It is recognized that the need for better maternal and child care is intimately connected with other economic and medical deficiencies and that a truly effective program must have broad objectives and must be developed in cooperation with other governmental agencies.

In the opinion of the committee the problem of medical and hospital care for mothers and infants in many of the areas of greatest need would be solved by extending the use of existing facilities and by constructing and maintaining new hospitals where needed for the care of maternity patients and newborn infants with adequate safeguards to protect the quality of service in these institutions.

The committee recommends that additional funds be appropriated under title V of the Social Security Act to assist the State and local health agencies in meeting the health needs of mothers and children, both by extending the use of existing facilities and by establishing and maintaining hospitals for the care of mothers and newborn infants where needed.

Since the evacuation of mothers and infants from densely populated areas is an ultimate possibility, it is further recommended that plans be considered for transporting such persons to safe areas and for providing the medical and hospital services which may be needed.

Exhibit J

Report of the Advisory Committee on Community Child Welfare Services

In making the following recommendations the committee desires to emphasize the fact that the Federal Children's Bureau came into existence as a Federal Government response to requests from localities in all parts of the Nation, based on the concern of people in such localities for the well-being of their children.

The committee highly commends the Bureau for its consistent policy of a fine regard for local initiative, enterprise, judgment, and responsibility, and the members of the committee are unanimous in strongly urging continuing adherence to that policy in the further and extended work of the Bureau in research, community education, and particularly in the sharing in direction and operation of direct services to children in places and times of special need.

In brief, in making specific recommendations the committee assumes that in the further development of child-welfare services under the provisions of the National Social Security Act the underlying policy will be that of joint participation of local, State, and Federal enterprise.

After consideration of the report of the Child Welfare Division of the Children's Bureau on developments in child-welfare services under the Social Security Act, and evidences of urgent needs growing out of the defense program, the committee was unanimous in making the following recommendations:

1. That increased Federal funds should be made available under title V, part 3, of the Social Security Act for the following purposes:

(*a*) To provide Federal funds, on the basis of joint Federal and State planning, for paying part of the cost of local child-welfare services in rural political subdivisions and in other areas of special need, in order that the continuation and progressive development of such services will be assured;

(*b*) To provide child-welfare services which are sorely needed in many communities affected by the defense program;

(*c*) To enable the Federal Government more fully to participate financially, on the basis of joint planning, in the development of the States' responsibilities for stimulation and leadership in child-welfare programs;

(*d*) To enable the Federal Government more fully to participate financially, through both demonstrations and continuing support when needed, in providing certain types of services, such as case work or child guidance, which are essential in an adequate program of care of children, as for example, public institutional care for delinquent children.

(*e*) To make available increased Federal funds on the basis of joint planning for improving the quality of personnel for child-welfare services through provision for study in educational institution and other measures.

(*f*) To provide further Federal financial participation in special projects undertaken by State agencies which involve demonstrations or studies in the fields of community planning, child guidance, services to children of minority and other disadvantaged groups, and the development of community resources for the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

2. That the Children's Bureau should be provided with resources to plan with the State agencies to meet special needs of children and youth for protection and guidance growing out of the defense program.

3. Many problems of social welfare are arising in communities adjacent to defense industries and training camps. These include dangerously inadequate accommodations for housing, schools, health, recreation, and religious services. Total defense requires that these social problems be carefully planned for. This committee recommends that definite coordinated plannnig for social needs be undertaken as part of the defense program and, further, that the interests of children and youth should be represented through the Children's Bureau in such coordinated national planning for civilian defense and through appropriate agencies in regional, State, and local planning for civilian defense.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

Mildred Arnold, chairman, Indiantpolis, Ind.
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chicago, Ill.
Norris E. Class,[1] Portland, Oreg.
Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.
James E. Ewers, Cleveland, Ohio.
Persis Holden, Burlington, Vt.
Sidney Hollander, Baltimore, Md.
Charles S. Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.
Joseph P. Johnston, Barium Springs, N. C.
Cheney C. Jones, Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Lillian McDermott, Little Rock, Ark.
Lowry Nelson, St. Paul, Minn.
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. O'Dwyer,[1] Los Angeles, Calif.
George H. Preston, M. D., Baltimore, Md.
Mrs. Sallie R. Springmeyer, Reno, Nev.
Eileen Ward, St. Louis, Mo.

Members of general advisory committee on Maternal and Child Welfare Services also present December 2 and 3: Clinton W. Areson, Industry, N. Y.; Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York, N. Y.; Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago, Ill.; and David C. Adie, Albany, N. Y.

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[1] Not present at committee meeting December 2 and 3, 1940.

TESTIMONY OF KATHERINE F. LENROOT—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if you would care to summarize your statement or would you rather I would ask questions?

Miss LENROOT. Well, just as you wish. I can summarize it briefly if you wish me to do so.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If you will, probably that would be better.

Miss LENROOT. Thank you, Mr. Congressman.

In this statement which is submitted for the record with accompanying exhibits and photographs, I have reviewed briefly the evidence that we have concerning the number of children involved in family migration and some aspects of family migration of great importance to their health and welfare.

Of course one of the first things that comes out in such a review is the gaps in our basic information. We certainly need more definite information about migration and its economic and social effects than is now available.

1,000,000 TO 2,000,000 CHILDREN IN FAMILY MIGRATION

On the basis of the figures about all we can say is that between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 children are involved in family migration and that this number may be increased with shifts of population due to the needs of defense industries.

Children of migratory agricultural workers come for the most part from areas of extremely limited opportunities—limited as to economic foundations for family life, educational advantages, community help and social services. Having come from these areas of limited opportunity they go to communities which, as a rule, are not prepared to receive them, and there they encounter legal and social barriers to full assimilation.

Now the point I want to make first, Mr. Chairman, is that the problems of these children are immediate and present problems. We have, of course, many situations involved in the migrant problem which can be solved only on the basis of long-time planning which involves a whole network of economic and social considerations.

But here are these children and, as Grace Abbott, former Chief of the Children's Bureau, used to say, "you can't feed children skimmed milk 1 year and cream the next and have them develop normally and healthily." They have to have whole milk all the time.

So I think whatever recommendations the committee would make with reference to a long-time program, the committee should bear in mind the urgency of the problems as to the children who this year are involved in these migrations.

TYPES OF MIGRATION ANTICIPATED

Testimony has been presented to the committee by many witnesses who have pointed out the various types of migration and the shifts in migration during the past year. During the depression the emphasis was not so much on securing a better chance, a better economic opportunity, as an attempt to secure a minimum of subsistence living.

An example of that type of migration is found in the migration from industrial or mining communities suffering from unemployment, to part-time or subsistence farms near such communities. I have given in the statement which has been submitted, some illustrations of that type of migration, as well as illustrations of the migration which is developing on account of the defense emergency.

Not only are cities faced with large influxes of population, but small towns, sometimes of only a few hundred people, are involved when near training camps or areas of large defense employment where the problems with reference to community resources and living conditions are extremely severe.

I believe that we have to face four different types of migration in the next decade:

First, a marked increase in migration from farms to cities as employment rises, corresponding to similar trends in the 1920's. That means that the children who have been reared in rural areas, many of them of limited opportunities, are going to cities to help swell the city population, and that the rural areas are bearing an undue proportion of the cost of supporting and educating the children, taking care of their health and welfare. To the extent to which they fail to do that job the city populations as well as the rural populations suffer.

I should like to include in my statement, Mr. Congressman, a chart showing the difference in the ratio of children to adults in rural communities and cities, showing that the rural farm areas have almost double the number of children per adult population as the large city areas.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to have the chart appear in the record.

(The chart referred to appears on opposite page.)

Miss LENROOT. Then we have the migration of seasonal workers, a continual problem of migration for agricultural employment. And then we have the defense migration.

Now, these different types of migration involve to some extent common problems and to some extent special problems, and likewise in some degree the remedies would differ with the type of migration.

SETTLEMENT LAWS AND COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LAWS

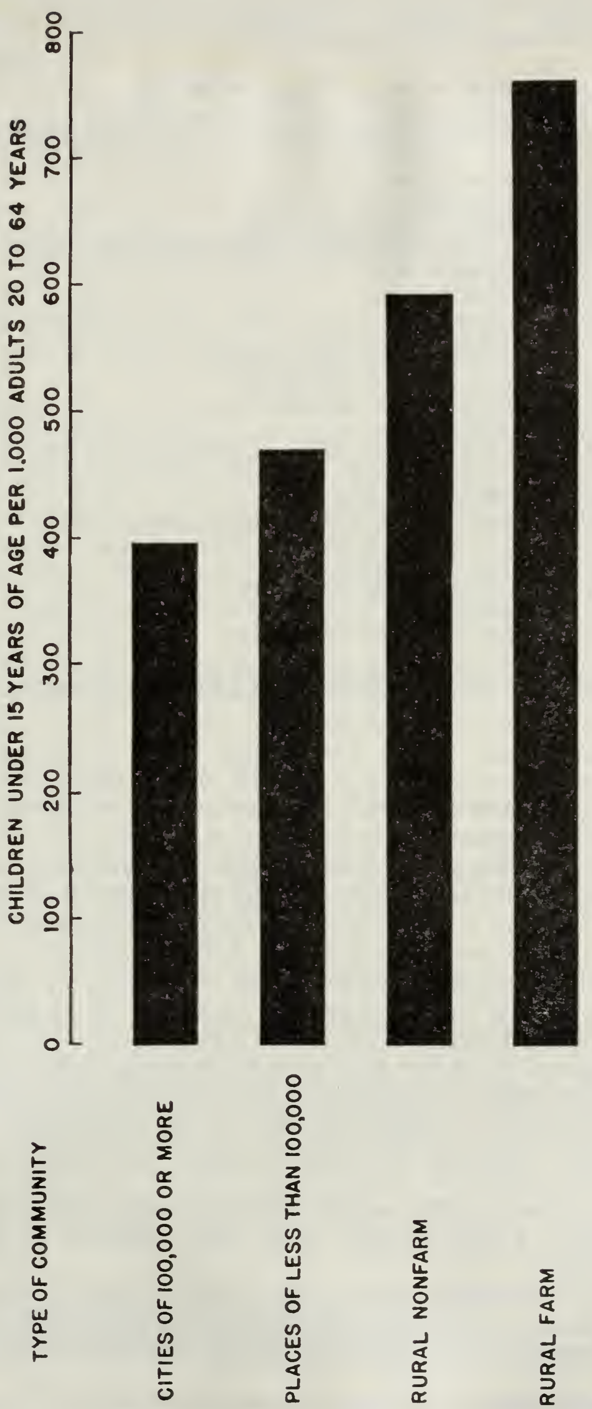
The general effects are the effects of legal barriers to full assimilation, such as settlement laws and compulsory school attendance laws.

I was interested in the discussion of the previous witnesses, Mr. Chairman, and I happen to have with me a list which was prepared for me just today and which perhaps may need to be completed, showing the number of States that have enacted the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act, or similar legislation authorizing reciprocal agreements.

Would you like to have that list submitted for the record?

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to and the record will be open for several days.

RATIO OF CHILDREN TO ADULTS, BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY, 1930



SOURCE: UNITED STATES BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

CHILDREN'S BUREAU
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

(The list of States referred to is as follows:)

States Which Have Adopted the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act or Similar Legislation Authorizing Reciprocal Agreements With Other States Relating to Relief to Nonresidents [1]

Arkansas: Polk's Digest of Statutes of 1937, section 10682.
Colorado: Laws of 1937, chapter 262.
Connecticut: General Statutes, Revision of 1930, Cumulative Supplement of 1935, section 667-C.
Delaware: Laws of 1937, chapter 96.
Idaho: Laws og 1937, chapter 216.
Indiana: Annotated Statutes of 1926, section 4157.
Kansas: 1939 Supplement to the General Statutes of 1935, section 39708.
Louisiana: Laws of 1940, chapter 68.
Maine: Laws of 1933, chapter 188.
Massachusetts: 1934, chapter 167.
Michigan: Laws of 1939, No. 280, section 13.
New Hampshire: Laws of 1937, chapter 202, section 6.
New Jersey: Laws of 1940, chapter 130, section 22.
New Mexico: Laws of 1937, chapter 18, section 3.
New York: Laws of 1937, chapter 603.
North Carolina: Laws of 1939, chapter 395, amending Laws of 1937, chapter 288, sections 13 and 43.
North Dakota: Laws of 1939, chapter 196.
Rhode Island: Laws of 1940, chapter 852, amending General Laws of 1938, chapter 68.
South Dakota: Laws of 1939, chapter 201.
Vermont: Public Laws of 1933, sections 3954-3957.
Virginia: Laws of 1940, chapter 114.
Wisconsin: Statutes of 1939, section 49.026.

TESTIMONY OF KATHERINE LENROOT—Resumed

Miss Lenroot. There are 2 States that have enacted Uniform Transfer of Dependents Acts or similar legislation. We do not know how many of these 22 States have entered into reciprocal agreements with other States.

The compulsory school laws and the general education laws offer a serious example of discrimination against children of migrants. I have included in my statement some analysis of that situation.

Then we have the social barriers to full assimilation, attitudes toward migrants varying, of course, with the extent to which they do constitute a group in a community that can be identified, and seems to be different from the rest of the community.

Mr. Sparkman. I wonder if I might intervene right there. A witness from the Office of Education one day this week, made the suggestion to us that it might be well to have transient teachers accompany these migrants in order to give the children proper schooling.

Of course, as I see it, that would segregate them even more from the communities. I just wonder what your reaction to that suggestion would be?

Miss Lenroot. In California they have worked out a special program for the education of migrant children. I happened to see one of the schools while I was there last spring, and talked to the education people. Their plan does not involve the actual migration of teachers, but it does involve special State aid to schools where there are large numbers of migrants, and in some cases special schools.

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[1] This list was substituted by the witness for exhibit B, which is held in committee files.

I would think that ordinarily the problem could best be met by some special aid to the schools in the locality. I can see, however, that a type of migrant visiting teacher might be very helpful, just as they have nurses in the California public health service, nurses who in some cases travel with the migrants.

If you had a well-trained person with a background of teaching and social work, such as visiting teachers have, who are accustomed to dealing with the problems of individual children and relating them to the resources available in the community, and who could travel with groups of migrant families and see that the children were assimilated in the schools and that any special problems were ironed out, I should think that would be a very useful type of service.

I think there are some problems in migrant schools. The one I saw, which is the only one I happened to have a chance to observe, was certainly of a very inferior type, with a very inferior teacher.

Then there are the problems of the lack of economic security within the family, as to which this committee has had a great deal of testimony, and I shall not dwell upon that. But I have summarized in my statement the results of conditions accompanying family migration in terms of child health and welfare, under the heading of "Housing, health, schools, and child labor." To illustrate some of these points, I have photographs which I should like to ask to have filed for the record in connection with my statement, that are on file here in this room, numbered from C–1 to C–20 inclusive.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be made a part of the record.

Miss LENROOT. Then I should like to file exhibits which I have listed here, which give more detailed information compiled by members of the staff of the Children's Bureau on various occasions, including some testimony given to the La Follette committee.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be admitted.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Miss LENROOT. Now, when we come to the question of recommendations it seems to me that we must recognize the fact that a considerable degree of mobility of the population is needed and that we should try to remove legal and, so far as possible, social barriers to the assimilation of migrants and their children; and also that basic measures for strengthening the economic foundation of family life and providing community services and educational opportunities essential to the welfare of families and children in all parts of the country are necessary.

We need also to guide migrants into economically productive and socially desirable channels whenever possible.

Specifically, it seems to me that the following measures are necessary:

First, the extension of measures needed to strengthen the economic foundation of family life everywhere, so that there will not be this hopeless type of migrant fleeing from actual starvation and destitution, but that people will move seeking improved economic opportunities in accordance with definite and directed guidance. This would involve, among other measures, strengthening and extending the Fair Labor Standards Act and social-security legislation.

Second, we need to strengthen the Federally aided State employment services, working in cooperation with agencies concerned with the development of natural resources and the improvement of the conditions of farm life, so that migrants may be guided into economically and socially desirable channels.

And, third, would be more equitable and adequate distribution of good housing, educational opportunities, vocational preparation, and health and social services throughout the country, and especially in the rural areas which now contribute far more than their share to the support and education of the children of the Nation. Fifty-one percent of our children live in rural areas, as pointed out in the testimony which I have submitted in my statement. The rural areas are bearing far more than their share of the cost of supporting and educating children, and at the same time the children in rural areas are not getting nearly the benefits or the advantages that children in the cities have. Forty percent of all the children and young people from 10 to 20 years of age, who lived on farms in 1920, by 1930 were living in cities.

Then, fourth would be the removal, so far as possible, of legislative barriers to the assimilation of migrants in the normal community activities, as found, for example, in settlement laws and school laws.

The period of residence required for access to relief should be uniform throughout the Nation and should not exceed 1 year.

Health services, medical care, educational facilities, and social services should be available to all who need them, regardless of residence.

I do not think that limitation of medical care to residents is sound because it is to the public interest that sick people receive care whether or not they have acquired a given period of residence.

The way in which these recommendations as to residence can be implemented, in my judgment, would be to condition grants-in-aid for various purposes, on enactment within a reasonable period of State laws which would require not more than a year of residence for purposes of relief and assistance.

Fifth, special assistance by Federal and State Governments is needed to enable communities with excessive migration, including those affected by the defense program, to provide adequate community health and welfare services and educational opportunities for the children of migrants.

Here it seems to me that we have a double problem. First, there should be an extension of Federal aid for health service, medical care, child welfare, and elementary and secondary education, with provision for Federal grants-in-aid to the States under an amendment to the Social Security Act, for general relief.

In addition to this extension of grants-in-aid, we do need, especially in the defense emergency, some funds available to the Federal agencies that could be applied to services that need to be mobilized very quickly in the defense areas.

For example, areas where the population is increasing very quickly and where you can't wait for the general grants-in-aid program to become effective. Some of the Federal agencies, in my opinion, should be given increased resources to perform this emergency service.

I believe that in developing the grants-in-aid principle, the principle of variable grants instead of the 50–50 principle should be applied as soon as possible, so that Federal aid could be apportioned in accordance with need. In apportioning Federal grants to the States you could take into consideration an excess number of migrants. Personally, I would rather do that than have a formula that would say the Federal Government would bear 100 percent of the cost of a certain segment of the population and then the rest of it would be shared on the basis of some other formula.

I think we could say that the Federal Government should assume substantially full financial responsibility for taking care of migrants in areas where there was an excess migrant population, but I wouldn't like to see those migrants set aside as one class of people receiving 100 percent Federal support and the others as another class of people. I would simply like to see the grants apportioned, taking into consideration this excess-migrant load.

Mr. Sparkman. Miss Lenroot, with reference to those variable grants. You might be interested to know that in all of our hearings, and we have conducted them all over the country, practically every person that has had experience in social security work or social work has made a similar recommendation.

I believe the only exception was the Director of Public Welfare of the State of New York, who was in here the other day. Then there have been a few others who perhaps were not experienced or professional social workers, who have brought up the objection that it would be very difficult to administer or perhaps to arrive at a workable formula.

I just wondered if you have any formula in mind?

Miss Lenroot. Well, I have been associated with various types of enterprises which have been struggling with this problem.

For instance, I was a member of the Advisory Committee on Education which reported 2 years ago and which dealt with the problem of variable grants from the point of view of education.

And, then, of course, in our administration of the maternal child health and child welfare and the crippled children's services, under the Social Security Act, we do run into that question. We have funds which we call the "B" funds, which are over and above the matching funds which we call "A" funds, and which can be apportioned to the States, taking into consideration various items of need.

I believe that some method of organization which would give responsibility to an agency or coordinating committee or board or something of that sort, on which the Treasury Department could be represented, or that had access to the Treasury Department, could develop objective formulas that could be used by all the agencies responsible for administering grants.

I would also like to see, especially in view of the unknown conditions that we face, some leeway left in some of these grants so that when a special emergency arises extra money could flow without necessarily being limited to a rigid, variable grant formula.

For example, I have in mind the crippled children's program where we have to deal with epidemic conditions of infantile paralysis, and an inflexible variable grant program would not entirely meet that situation.

Then there are two other recommendations I have, one for the effective application of child labor standards to employment in industrialized agriculture, through strengthening Federal and State child labor and school attendance laws and their administration; and the other for a continued study of the problem through a central coordinating agency which can promote both study and action.

In my statement, which I am submitting to the committee, there are some refinements of these recommendations, which I will not take the time of the committee to discuss.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We will be very glad to have your full statement together with any exhibits you care to present.

We do appreciate the statement you have given and the very fine presentation you have made of it.

Miss LENROOT. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Lenroot, this problem as it unfolds is so vast that it is connected with all our economic problems. We could spend a day on questioning you and the study you have made, but it is almost impossible in our limited time to do it.

The chairman of this committee thinks you have given us a very excellent statement and we appreciate it.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is Dr. Tucker.

TESTIMONY OF THE REVEREND DR. F. BLAND TUCKER, RECTOR OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, GEORGETOWN, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please state your name and the capacity in which you are appearing before the committee?

Mr. TUCKER. Yes. My name is F. Bland Tucker; I am rector of St. John's Church, Georgetown, and I am here representing the Reverend Almond R. Pepper, executive secretary, department of social relations, National Council Protestant Episcopal Church.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you desire, Doctor, to make a brief statement?

Mr. TUCKER. I am here simply to ask permission that a statement by Dr. Pepper and Dr. George Wieland, of the department of domestic missions, be entered in the record.

It has been mailed to me but I have not yet received it and am therefore very anxious to express the concern of the Episcopal Church in regard to this problem and their interest in it.

The CHAIRMAN. You will be permitted to insert the statement in the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT FROM THE DEPARTMENTS OF DOMESTIC MISSIONS AND SOCIAL SERVICE OF THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

1. The people of the Episcopal Church, clergy and laity alike, are greatly moved by the plight of several millions of migrant people in continental United States.

(*a*) Usually considered an essentially urban organization, this church has many extensive and effective rural fields.

(*b*) While the Episcopal jurisdictions of the church tend to minimize national church action

(*c*) The interest and concern, both of the various dioceses, and of the national church as a whole, cannot be doubted.

2. Our national economy has created a type of agriculture in which migrant labor is at least temporarily essential.

. (*a*) Economic conditions during the past decade have augmented the ranks of the migrants,

(*b*) And created an unwilling and unnecessary surplus of migrant people for many of whom jobs are not available.

(*c*) Along with which has come a social, economic, moral, and religious problem of tremendous magnitude—

(*d*) A problem which both church and state are mutually obliged to face.

3. National-defense measures are inadequate and incomplete until there is a larger measure of economic security for these unhappy people.

(*a*) Religion does its best work in those areas where people have abiding roots.

(*b*) People will cherish and defend land and home and church.

(*c*) But lacking all of these, the incentive for loyal action is ultimately destroyed.

(*d*) To provide these roots—to insure at least a minimum of economic stability—is the function of government, both local and national.

4. In the case before us no unit smaller than the National Government is competent to do the work.

(*a*) Its roots are not in the local but in the national economy.

(*b*) The areas which bear the brunt of the problem are seldom the areas which created it.

(*c*) Local prejudice often makes an impassionate approach difficult if not impossible.

5. Since the future of America is clearly dependent upon the preservation of spiritual values—

(*a*) And since the preservation of these values is inherent in the program of organized religion—

(*b*) It is obvious that the solution of this problem is of mutual concern to church and state.

6. Elemental justice as well as mutual self-interest would indicate that the first approach to this problem should be that of human security and of population stability.

(*a*) There are doubtless many possible methods of attaining these objectives, among which we list the following:

(1) Stop the trouble at its source by helping people to remain on the land they now own or lease.

(2) Step up the program of returning people to the land by further migration projects or by the purchase of available acreage for resale on long-term contracts to migrants with farm experience.

(3) The establishment of projects in areas where seasonable employment for cash wages is available and where small residence tracts or truck farms would bridge the gap between permanence and wandering.

(4) Establishment of Government camps at strategic locations, with at least minimum provisions for comfort, decency, sanitation, and education, for whatever part of the migrant group remains after the above measures have become operative.

(*b*) For some such program as this we believe the National Government to be morally responsible.

December 10, 1940.

ALMON R. PEPPER,
Executive Secretary,
Department of Social Service.
GEORGE A. WIELAND,
Executive Secretary,
Domestic Missions.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Carruthers.

TESTIMONY OF THE REVEREND DR. JOHN C. CARRUTHERS, COVENANT FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. You are Rev. Dr. John C. Carruthers, visiting minister for National Service, Covenant First Presbyterian Church?

Mr. CARRUTHERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You appeared here the other day, Doctor, and do you now have a supplemental statement that you want to make?

Mr. CARRUTHERS. I would like the privilege of not putting my statement in now and perhaps extending those remarks afterward, because I think the committee's hour is drawing to a close and I feel a little less dogmatic about this subject the more I listen to the proceedings of the committee.

I have a few suggestions and I wonder if it would be too long for me to use 5 minutes in discussing this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will make it as brief as you can because you are going to reduce what you have to say to writing, are you not?

Mr. CARRUTHERS. Yes, sir; I am.

The CHAIRMAN. But if you have any other high lights, you may state them.

Mr. CARRUTHERS. Yes; that is what I would like to do.

The CHAIRMAN. Your full statement will be inserted in the record, but we will leave what you have to say to your own good judgment at this time.

Mr. CARRUTHERS. Then I would like to put my mind, if I can, on the highlights that come to me as I am before this microphone and before this committee.

I want to revive what I said, reaffirm what I said the first time I appeared here.

I want to speak with the utmost commendation of this committee's work. If I were not a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian minister, than which there is nobody harder to convert to somebody else's view, I would be discounting my ancestry. But since I am a Scotch-Irish minister I want to say most firmly that the Congress of the United States would be derelict in its duty if it did not continue this committee under the chairmanship of the Representative from the Seventh District of California, and the other members of the committee who have done such a wonderful work.

I feel that so intensely that I wish it could go into the record so that if it could be of any possible use in securing additional appropriations for this work, it shall be so used.

I would like to promise that if there is any movement that the community of churches in the United States can further to get this appropriation to work to continue to solve this question, let my services be at your disposal. And inasmuch as you and I have not had any conferences together, Mr. Chairman, with respect to what I am saying, this is entirely unsolicited, gratuitous, and voluntary.

There are no political connections with it, except the general view that Aristotle puts forth, that "man being a political animal has certain rights," and one of those is free citizenship, for which your congressional committee is pleading.

Secondly, I wish to lay down my conviction alongside of many others that all the technicalities that seem to be standing in the way of the rights of these citizens to be citizens of the United States, are purely artificial technicalities.

The great right of an American citizen to be free to move through this Republic from State to State without impairment of those rights by what might seem to be the reasonable restraints of State legal procedures, that great right is so solemnly before us in these days, that I plead again for a militant conviction about that right.

And I refer you to the suggestion that Mr. Roosevelt's communication contains, which you will find in the press of today, given to the Economic Club of New York, in which he states that there shall be nothing paramount except the individual rights of the free citizen.

And I notice in these hearings and in the attitude of the press and of the bureaucrat personnel and the legalistic figures that come before this body, a kind of feeling that we have to apologize in some way for advocating the free right of these citizens across all State borders to a greater extent than they now have.

I wonder if this congressional committee and this building in which we are, representing the Government of the United States in principle, has any idea that there shall be any question about the militant right of a citizen to be and move where he wishes in the Commonwealth of the United States.

If we recognize this as the right of a citizen, then we will cure the evil, but if we are going to dilly-dally with all kinds of suggestions that the citizen of New York cannot move to Oklahoma, and vice versa, then we are deserving the condemnation that will come from various quarters, not only in this country but from across the sea to the effect that our democracy is impotent and is not working.

Thirdly, I speak from the somewhat sympathetic heart of a third-termer—New Dealer, which I am, and from one who attended the Chicago convention and did everything in his power to elect Mr. Roosevelt for a third term, because I believe it was in the direction of social progress.

But I do want to say that it would almost have been worth having another President in the White House to get rid of the second, third, and fourth ranks of bureaucrats that seem to be standing between some of the great needs of citizens and the recommendations that are being made by an intelligent congressional committee on this question.

I feel like I am among Pharisees to a certain extent when I hear all the reasons why nothing can be done.

It seems to me like a refer, confer, and defer game. There is enough power in the Government, there is enough power in the New Deal, there is enough power in the resources of technical social work to solve this question, and I would like to call attention to the fact that one recommendation that should be made is the reinvestigation of what happened to the laws that were put forward in 1935, I believe, and 1934, and then sabotaged, I think, by politics.

RECOMMENDS TRANSIENT HOUSES

There was a proposal that transient houses should be placed in this country and that these helpless people, not helpless—these individuals who have had difficulties should be given some place where they could move from State to State and not be met at the border with shotguns as they have done in California.

That was sabotage because they were so inarticulate, those victims of our economic depression, that they could not protest.

And I think if in 1933, 1934, and 1935, or whatever the years were, some kind of a set of service houses existed across this country to solve this problem, we could do the same thing again.

I make now my last suggestion and I make it from a practical standpoint. The Government has every facility that is needed to solve this question. There is all the money in the world to solve it with.

An efficient liaison committee under a strong chairman could lay down a blueprint within 3 months that would virtually wipe out this question.

INTERSTATE GOOD-NEIGHBOR COMMUNITY HOUSES

Included in the suggestions that I hope to elaborate upon later, would be the idea of a series of interstate good neighbor community houses, and my suggestion contains the idea which I have not thought through fully, that the Government should put these houses up, costing anywhere from $20,000 to $40,000, and that the Government should supply at least one liaison officer, responsible to the Federal division over which Mr. McNutt seems to be presiding, and that a budget for the maintenance of the personnel of this interstate community house, good-neighbor house, be provided by all the churches of that particular district where it is located; that the words Catholic, Protestant, and Jew and any other denomination that has ever been used be eliminated.

Of what particular use are those designations in a Christian democracy anyway? They are only words that cumber up the scenery. What we have in this country, according to the Supreme Court, is a Christian Nation, so let us believe that way and let us ask the people who have money to support such a budget which would result in giving this project civic and governmental and scientific cooperation.

Let us stop talking about people as "cases." They are persons and let us banish the words "social science." There is no such thing. And let us introduce the words "humanity—human relations, spiritual relations" into the lives of these people.

I have many other feelings on this thing. You can easily see that I feel somewhat intensely about it. But I do crave the liberty of the committee's proviso to submit later more suggestions.

I want to summarize by saying that one man in this country like Farley, who would give up 2 months of his time to mobilizing the lay power in religion in this country, could raise the necessary response, plus the Government's cooperation, to achieve this chain of rural and urban good neighbor houses.

After we are through with solving the question of migrants, then we can take up the question of the 4,000,000 citizens who are being brought in by the alien registration law to a country that may do this to them and after they come in.

Now, the churches are exceedingly willing to help with this matter. They are as ignorant about the subject as I myself have been, although I live in the State of California.

But this congressional committee has converted me to its importance and I have tried to do one thing which I think ought to be recorded here.

In the Western Presbyterian Church at Nineteenth and H, where I am the supply minister for the time being, we are conducting every Sunday night at 8 o'clock what we call the open parish hour—forum open parish—parish forum on this subject.

Congressman Tolan spoke last Sunday evening to 60 people who came out to hear him. This Sunday evening we will have Congressman Curtis. And we will be continuing this forum of inquiry as long as we can possibly do so, and until all the other churches in this city try to do likewise.

And I would like to make this suggestion, that this congressional committee address itself to the churches of the United States in some manner, and particularly the clergy, and have the clergy select a committee of five people from every church that is interested, and send those names to Congressman Tolan on the ground that this network of individuals can be counted on as a sort of new spiritual relations army to take over this and other problems that are confronting democracy.

I feel that a great many people, some of whom may be sitting in this room, have no idea what is ahead of this world by the coming of spring. We sit here in sort of Chamberlain-like comfort. I have just been through Canada. I have seen what happens to one nation which has to face war. I cannot understand the indifference, ignorance, and unimagination of the Christian people of the United States. It baffles me.

The only equally baffling thing is the technical behavior of a great many Congressmen, lawyers, and bureaucrats on such human problems as we face.

And I say in solemn warning that by spring these individuals, if they are not taken care of, may be candidates for the kind of break-down in our civic ideals that we cannot afford to have.

And I think there is an imperative demand that should be presented to a Congress that I really respect, because I think that the Congress of the United States is honestly concerned about these matters.

And I believe that the Congress should have the response of the well-meaning religious personnel of this country and should count them their partners in one of the most difficult of all problems.

Lastly, if I sound dogmatic, it is because I am intense and not because I am bigoted; if I sound concerned, it is because I have just come from a grave where I have had a bury somebody as ministers do, and it seems that life is a little more serious when you do that.

And I also come from a State that hasn't done its part, for which I am much ashamed, a property holder and taxpayer that I am in that State of California.

But, lastly, I want it understood that nothing I have said here is the voice of God speaking. I also want it understood that I don't know much about this subject. But I do feel that if the congressional committee will educate us a great many of us men who have children and who have met this problem face to face would be only too glad to join and pull as strong an oar as we possibly could.

I hope this has not been too long, Mr. Congressman, but when you ask a minister to say a few words it is sometimes very serious and has very bad consequences.

I am afraid I have taken up too much of your time already.

But before I close I want to speak a word of commendation of the young men with whom you have been associated in this inquiry.

I have been around this town off and on for 25 years; I have to get out once in a while. But the young men that seem to be tied up with your inquiry seem to have their hearts in what is going on, and they have been very cooperative in helping me get deeper into this matter.

The last thing I would like to say is that in my suggestion for centers, for these good-neighborhood houses or open parish interstate houses, I think that there are a good many churches that could be used for this in almost any community. Also I have a feeling that unless the churches use their space more efficiently and don't waste it so much they ought to be taxed.

The CHAIRMAN. And I want to confirm what you say about our staff. I am pretty proud of them myself.

I want to say, Doctor, we thank you very much for your inspiring statement. If we had more like you in this country I think we could hurry the solution of this great problem. You will be permitted to present to us and to the committee any statement you see fit and we will have it incorporated in the record.

Mr. CARRUTHERS. Incidentally, I would like to add that the Presbyterian Church has given $25,000 to the solution of this question.

The CHAIRMAN. That is fine.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, at this point in the record I want to say that Dr. John W. Rustin, pastor of the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, was to have appeared before us this afternoon. Dr. Rustin was called away unexpectedly to attend a funeral.

Mr. SPARKMAN. At the request of Mr. Lacy Reynolds, correspondent for the Nashville Tennesseean, who likewise was speaking for the Honorable Percy Priest, member-elect to Congress, I want to ask permission to place in the record a statement relative to migration as affecting the tobacco region of Tennessee and North Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted.

(The matter submitted by Lacey Reynolds is found on pp. 3319–3327.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. And one more request. There has been placed in my hands a suggestion for a formula governing the variable grants. I haven't yet had time to study it and digest it fully, but I would like to have the privilege, if I come to the conclusion that it is a workable plan, of placing that in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You may have that right.

Dr. Lamb, I will recognize you now.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT K. LAMB, CHIEF INVESTIGATOR, SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS

Dr. LAMB. My name is Robert K. Lamb. I am chief investigator for this committee.

I have several exhibits to be entered for the record.

Mr. LAMB. The first exhibit is a resolution sent to the committee by the United States Conference of Mayors, in which they set forth recommendations for Federal responsibility for relief for destitute migrants. The statement is submitted by Mayor LaGuardia as president of the United States Conference of Mayors, an organization which comprises the mayors of practically every city in the country over 50,000 in population.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be admitted.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

THE UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF MAYORS,
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
730 Jackson Place NW., Washington, D. C., November 25, 1940.

Hon. JOHN H. TOLAN,
Chairman, House Committee on Interstate Migration,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In accordance with my previous testimony before your committee, I am at this time submitting a formal statement recommending Federal responsibility for relief for destitute migrants. Such responsibility should be carried out, as I stated before your committee, under a Federally administered program.

The attached statement is submitted in my capacity as president of the United States Conference of Mayors, which organization comprises practically every city in the country over 50,000 in population.

Since there is no need to take up the time of the committee by presenting the statement personally, I would appreciate it if you would incorporate the recommendations in the official records and report of the committee.

Very truly yours,

F. H. LAGUARDIA, *President.*

The effect of interstate migration by its very definition is not limited to one State or region although it is noticed more prominently in some States than in others. The unevenness of the problem throughout the various States and its interstate character justifies Federal action. A territorial uneven attack on the problem, based on Federal grants-in-aid to the States, could only result in an unbalancing of the movement with increased strains being placed on the States which attempt to best care for migratory workers. In turn, this would result in many States, in self-protection, adopting methods designed to discourage the migratory worker rather than aid in the solution of the problem.

Federal legislation and administration must be designed to attack the problem as a whole and clearly place responsibility for planning and administration in the hands of the Federal Government. There are a number of ways in which the Federal Government may assume responsibility:

(*a*) As to housing, the Farm Security Administration and the United States Housing Authority may be empowered to aid the migratory worker in either establishing himself or in caring for him until he is able to care for himself;

(*b*) As to health, the Public Health Service may expand its program in the control of disease and the treatment of the farm migrant;

(*c*) As to public assistance, the Work Projects Administration shall be given the definite responsibility for providing a federally administered work program for needy migrants—similar in general respects to the transient work relief program previously carried on by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration;

(*d*) As to subsistence, in connection with the work program, the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation in cooperation with the Farm Security Administration may achieve a wider distribution of available surpluses for the purpose of providing more assistance to needy migrants stranded in various communities;

(*e*) As to employment opportunities, the United States Employment Service may undertake a complete and systematic dissemination of information on employment so as to prevent the flooding of various labor markets. This agency also may study the particular qualifications of the migratory workers in respect to national-defense needs so as to advise and direct such workers to locations where employment in those skills may be had.

To summarize, the objects of such a Federal program should be:

(*a*) Resettlement of the migrants who are now located in what is known as "destination" States and who can, with such aid, become self-supporting;

(*b*) The return of those migrants who are willing to resume residence in the State of origin, and especially the return of those who, by training or occupation, or for health reasons, cannot find gainful employment;

(*c*) The resettlement of other migrants in those areas where employment suited to their abilities is most likely to be found.

Mr. Lamb. The second exhibit is a statement presented by the C. I. O. maritime committee to this committee on employment problems of maritime workers.

The Chairman. That will be admitted.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF MARITIME WORKERS—A STATEMENT PRESENTED BY THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS MARITIME COMMITTEE TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS, DECEMBER 11, 1940

(Prepared by Elinor Kahn, Research Director, Congress of Industrial Organizations Maritime Committee)

The Congress of Industrial Organizations Maritime Committee in this statement represents approximately 150,000 members of the following affiliated maritime unions:

	Membership November 1940
American Communications Association	[1] 18,886
Inland Boatmen's Union of the Pacific	3,250
International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America	17,000
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union	35,000
National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association	7,500
Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Association of the Pacific	7,800
National Maritime Union of America	62,000

[1] Of whom 1,500 are marine radio operators.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations Maritime Committee wishes to thank the House Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens for this opportunity to present a statement on the employment problems of maritime workers.

It is the contention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations Maritime Committee and its constituent unions that maritime workers have been continuously frustrated by the Government's interference with their organization into unions and obstructed in their efforts to improve their conditions. The Federal Government has been negligent in the extreme in its attitude toward seamen whom it has long called wards of the Government by denying to seamen rights accorded other workers and by maintaining on the statute books obsolete and antiquated maritime laws inconsistent with the expressed policy of present-day legislation, such as the National Labor Relations Act which guarantees the right of collective bargaining. The arbitrary exemption of seamen from the benefits of unemployment insurance under the Social Security Act is unjustified and should be remedied immediately.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations Maritime Committee sincerely hopes that the House committee will realize the significance in the national economy of these problems still facing the maritime workers, and will support these workers in their efforts to improve conditions, eliminate archaic maritime legislation, and attain a measure of social security through the passage of a law establishing an adequate unemployment-compensation system for seamen.

Hundreds of millions of dollars have been given to the maritime industry in ship subsidies on the theory that the American shipping industry needed Government assistance to meet foreign competition because of the lower wages paid foreign seamen. None of the money expended for subsidies has been used to improve the conditions of the seamen.

The improved conditions that exist today in the merchant marine are the direct result of the organization of the seamen, licensed and unlicensed, longshoremen and fishermen into the maritime unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Two distinct classifications of workers are found in the maritime industry—those who work aboard ship and those who work ashore. In the first classification are found both licensed and unlicensed personnel, including engineers, pilots and mates, radio operators, deckhands, firemen, oilers, cooks and stewards, and other seafaring workers, including fishermen. In the second category are found longshoremen and other dock workers, as well as fishery workers engaged in the transportation, wholesaling, and manufacturing of fish and fishery products.

Notwithstanding the difference in kind of work performed by these various workers, the unemployment problems that exist are common to the entire maritime industry. Seamen in search of jobs know that ship schedules are notoriously erratic, that in some weeks the port in which they may be has considerable shipping and that in other weeks the port is dead and work is unavailable. Longshoremen similarly realize that their work depends on the schedules of the ships, on the weather, and on the amount of cargo to be loaded or unloaded.

Fishermen face the problems of casual employment and seasons which are of limited duration. The volume of fishing operations is limited by the run of fish and by Federal restrictions on fishing.

Seamen on inland waters, especially the Great Lakes, find their working period limited to 7 or 8 months a year, or even less, depending on the length of winter, while bargemen, dredge employees, and other river workers have similar seasonal problems to face.

Seamen from the Great Lakes, inland boatmen, and fishermen, as a result, are often migrants as well, deriving only a part of their livelihood from their chosen occupation and being forced to set out in search of odd jobs to supplement their seasonal income. This is recognized in a recent survey of the Social Security Board which states:

"Shifting from employment on vessels to shore employment in a different occupation, occurs in the seasonal branches of these industries and in some unskilled occupations. On the Great Lakes weather conditions are primarily responsible for the discontinuance of shipping during 4½ to 5 months of each year, between December and April. It is estimated that only about 20 percent of the Great Lakes seamen who obtain work during the off-season are employed on vessels, usually on the Atlantic and Gulf seaboard, and more rarely on the Mississippi River or the Pacific coast. The rest find employment in the industries located in lake cities, in automobile plants in Detroit, in steel mills in Chicago, or in trucking firms in Cleveland, Buffalo, and Chicago."[1]

The report of the Social Security Board continues:

"In the fishing industry the season for most species occurs during the 6 months from May through October. According to the United States Bureau of Fisheries, a third of the persons who regularly engage in fishing during some time of the year receive less than 50 percent of their earnings from such employment. These individuals, depending upon geographic location, combine fishing with agriculture, oyster and fish canning, and to some extent with employment in resort hotels."[2]

American seamen are faced today with an unprecedented problem of unemployment which affects all seamen and which results primarily from two causes:

1. *The European War and the Neutrality Act.*—Since the signing of the Neutrality Act on November 4, 1939, American ships have been prohibited from entering war zones and American seamen have been prohibited from sailing on vessels of belligerent nations. The resultant unemployment has been very great and is constantly increasing.

2. *The sale of ships.*—A second major cause of unemployment has been the sale since the outbreak of the war of 381 vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 1,300,000 to foreign operators, and the sale of 47 vessels of approximately 450,000 tons to the United States Army and Navy. Most of these ships have come out of active service, a greater number have not been replaced, and the crews formerly on these ships are, therefore, for the most part unemployed.

In addition, the Maritime Commission shipbuilding replacement program has increased unemployment. As speedier and larger vessels are being constructed and placed in operation, many seamen are being displaced.

The situation has become so acute that the current issue of the magazine Building America, which is devoted to the study of ships and men in the American Merchant Marine, states:

"Another problem they face is that of unemployment. In October 1940 they (the maritime unions) stated that there were about eight or nine thousand seamen out of work. They fear the number may be larger. The Navy is taking over merchant ships as auxiliary vessels, and this automatically breaks the contracts made between the unions and the shipping companies."[3]

The Social Security Board estimates that at the present time there are 15,900 seamen in the United States unemployed and seeking work.

At the present time no agency of the United States Government collects adequate regular information on employment, unemployment, earnings and allied problems of seamen, fishermen, and longshoremen. One of the few available indexes is prepared by the Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, on the basis of employment estimates prepared by the United States Maritime Commission, Division of Research.

The resultant index of "estimated employment in water transportation" is based on the year 1929 as 100 and data are not available back beyond that date. The index includes the personnel, including masters and concessionaires, of American steam and motor merchant combination, passenger and freight, freighter, and tanker vessels of 1,000 gross tons and over, engaged in overseas foreign, nearby foreign, intercoastal, and coastwise trades. The index, therefore, includes virtually all maritime employment aboard ship exclusive of operations on the Great Lakes and inland waterways.

The index of employment on October 15, 1940, stood at 80, a decline of 20 percent from the year 1929. In actual figures, average employment for the year 1929 equalled 63,825, and therefore on October 15 employment stood at approximately 52,464. The average level of employment for the first 10 months of 1940 is lower than at any time since 1929, with the exception of the year 1938.

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[1] Social Security Board, Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, The Maritime Industry and Unemployment Compensation, by Constance A. Kiehel (Washington, April 1939), mimeo. p. 7.

[2] Kiehel, op. cit., p. 8. Source of data. Arnold, John R., Earnings of Fishermen and of Fishing Craft, Appendix to The Fishing Industry and the Fishery Codes, Office of the National Recovery Administration, Division of Review, Industry Studies Section, 1936 (Work Materials No. 31, p. 40).

[3] Building America. A Photographic Magazine of Modern Problems, vol. VI, No. 2, p. 57, November 1940.

The following tabulation shows the average annual index of estimated employment in water transportation as prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, on the basis of preliminary estimates of employment prepared by the United States Maritime Commission, Division of Research.

Year:	*Index numbers 1929=100*	Year:	*Index numbers 1929=100*
1929	100.0	1935	88.6
1930	97.7	1936	83.1
1931	89.6	1937	89.6
1932	82.4	1938	79.7
1933	85.6	1939	82.2
1934	88.2	1940 (first 10 months)	80.6

It is apparent that the general trend of maritime employment has been downward since 1929, the first year for which these data were collected.

The trend of employment in water transportation as compared with the trend of employment in all manufacturing industries from 1935 to the present time is shown in exhibit A.

EXHIBIT A.—*Comparison of estimated employment in water transportation with employment in all manufacturing industries, 1935–40*

[Index numbers, 1929=100]

Year	Water transportation	All manufacturing industries	Year	Water transportation	All manufacturing industries
	(1)	(2)		(1)	(2)
1935	88.6	86.1	1938	79.7	84.6
1936	83.1	93.4	1939	82.2	91.3
1937	89.6	102.5	1940 (9 months)	80.7	95.8

[1] Index includes personnel (including masters and concessionnaires) of American steam and motor merchant combination passenger and freight, freighter, and tanker vessels of 1,000 gross tons and over, engaged in overseas foreign, nearby foreign, intercoastal, and coastwise trades.

[2] Index on 1923–25 base converted to 1929 base to conform to index of employment in water transportation. This is the revised index adjusted to conform in general with levels indicated by data for wage earners of the 1937 Census of Manufactures.

Sources: Water Transportation: United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, based on preliminary estimates of employment prepared by the United States Maritime Commission, Division of Research.

All Manufacturing: United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics Employment and Pay Rolls, and mimeographed material.

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF VARIOUS MARITIME UNIONS

AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

The American Communications Association, the Congress of Industrial Organizations union in the communications field, reported that in April 1940, 81 percent of all American marine radio operators were covered by collective-bargaining agreements between maritime employers and the American Communications Association.

The American Communications Association at that time held 130 marine agreements, all of which, except for one in the tanker industry, provided the following:

(*a*) Preferential or closed shop and hiring through the union hall plus a rotary system of hiring.

(*b*) Wage increases ranging from $10 to $55 per month, depending on the service in which the vessel operates.

(*c*) Establishment of the principle of overtime pay for work at the rate of $1 or $1.25 per hour, except in the tanker industry where a flat monthly sum is paid for clerical work.

(*d*) Annual vacations with pay ranging from 2 weeks to 1 month.

The following comparison shows the improvement of conditions of radio operators employed in the American merchant marine as a result of collective bargaining through the American Communications Association:

1930	1939
Freight vessels	*Freight vessels*
Minimum wage per month, $40.	Minimum wage per month, $125.
In most cases radio operators were required to act as helmsmen, perform deck work, clerical duties, and in some cases were obliged to wait on table.	No duties except standing a radio watch.
Favoritism was the basis of hiring. Blacklist in common use. Hiring of operators with substandard qualifications.	Rotary hiring through union halls under rules adopted by the union membership with a resultant partial stabilization of employment in an industry where there are three times as many qualified workers as there are jobs.
The hours of work were unlimited. Men who were required to act as purser-radio operators commonly were required to work from 12 to 20 hours per day.	Hours of work limited to 8, except in unusual conditions, when overtime is usually paid.
Passenger vessels	*Passenger vessels*
Minimum wage per month, $40.	Minimum wage per month, $125.
Maximum wage per month, $110.	Maximum wage per month, $185.
Most passenger ships carried only two radio operators. These men were required to maintain a continuous watch and therefore worked 12 hours per day.	All passenger ships under contract with American Communications Association carry at least three, and in some cases five, radio operators. Hours of work are limited to 8 per day, thereby increasing the protection of life and property at sea.

(The same changes in hiring listed under "Freight vessels" apply to operators on passenger vessels.)

According to the estimates of the American Communications Association, there are now available between 1,500 to 1,600 jobs for marine radiomen compared to 2,500 to 3,000 about 10 years ago. The decline in employment of marine radio operators, which is expected to continue, is due to several factors, of which the following are the main ones:

1. Mechanization: The international executive board of the American Communications Association, in its report to the fifth national convention of the American Communications Association held in April 1940, concluded: "Technological advance has definitely arrived in the field of maritime radio communications." Mechanization in marine telegraphy has been accomplished through the introduction of the radiophone and will be continued if the auto alarm is adopted and placed in general use.

Displacement of marine radio operators through the introduction of the radiophone operated by masters or mates has been particularly marked on the Great Lakes, where about 25 operators are now employed as compared with some 300 a few years ago. Marine radio operators who lost their jobs on the Great Lakes because of mechanization have for the most part migrated to deep-water ports, causing an increase in the number of unemployed operators in these ports. Additional mechanization that has and will continue to displace marine radio operators includes the auto alarm, which permits employment of only one operator on some ships where three were previously employed.

2. The Neutrality Act and the sale and transfer of ships to foreign operators have also decreased employment among marine radio operators as among all other groups of seamen.

3. The effect of the Maritime Commission's replacement shipbuilding program has been to further cause decreased employment of radio operators.

The American Communications Association has made numerous proposals for the solution of the problem of unemployment among marine radio operators. The union has taken a firm position in opposition to the extension of the use of the auto alarm on the grounds that the auto alarm does not adequately protect the public and does not maintain an adequate standard of safety.

As an example of the extent to which the problem of safe radio communication installations on vessels has been ignored, a report of the Federal Communications Commission disclosed that only 141 vessels on the Great Lakes were voluntarily equipped with radio as of July 24, 1939. This is in the face of the fact that a year earlier the Commission reported that 464 freight vessels and 62 passenger vessels over 100 gross tons were operating on the Lakes under the American flag. It is apparent that the maintenance of safety standards both on the Great Lakes and off-shore would require additional radio operators, whose employment would decrease the number of skilled operators who are presently unemployed.

As a second means of distributing employment, the union has proposed the establishment of a 6-hour day for marine radio operators.

In common with other maritime unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Communications Association maintains a union hiring hall which operates on the principle of rotary hiring. The dispatching is done by union members, and the system has completely eliminated favoritism in the hiring of radio operators. Improved conditions have resulted in more stable employment conditions in the industry, lower turn-over, and increased efficiency, all of which have accrued to the benefit of the ship operators as well as to the members of the American Communications Association.

INTERNATIONAL FISHERMEN AND ALLIED WORKERS OF AMERICA

The International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America, the Congress of Industrial Organizations union with jurisdiction over workers in the fishing industry, has a membership of approximately 17,000, most of whom work in the three Pacific Coast States and Alaska. Inasmuch as the problems of the industry are Nation-wide and are closely allied with the problems of both the seamen and of shore workers in canneries and food production generally, an attempt has been made to include in this statement a brief analysis of the problems of casual, seasonal, and migratory employment throughout the country.

Just as agricultural workers migrate in search of work, so fishermen are continuously migrating in search of fish. Fishing seasons are very short for most species of fish, various species are found in widely separated areas, and the fisherman who is trying to make enough money to support himself and his family must "follow the fish."

The seasonal conditions throughout the major sections of the United States and Alaska, which create a condition of seasonal employment, are shown in exhibit B.

EXHIBIT B.—*Seasonal operations, fishing industry*

Area	Species	Season
New England	Cod, haddock, cusk, hake, pollock, halibut, flounder, oysters, scallops.	Year round.
	Mackerel	April–November.
	Squeteague, sea bass, scup	December–April.
	Swordfish	July–September.
Middle Atlantic	Oysters, scallops, squeteague, scup, butterfish, whiting, flounder.	Year round.
South	Oysters, shrimp, squeteague, flounder, scup, sea bass, mullet, kingfish.	Do.
	Red snapper, grouper	November–May.
	Menhaden (North Carolina, Virginia)	July–November.
	Menhaden (Florida)	April–December.
Great Lakes	Pike, perch, carp, sauger, sucker, sheepshead, whitefish, mullet.	Year round.
	Pike, perch, carp, sauger, sucker, sheepshead, whitefish, mullet (Lake Erie).	All fishing subject to length of winter.
	Whitefish, lake herring, lake trout, perch, sucker, mullet, carp, pike, chub.	Year round.

Exhibit B.—*Seasonal operations, fishing industry*—Continued

Area	Species	Season
California	Tuna, mackerel, flounder, grayfish, rockfish, skate, halibut, ling-cod, barracuda, flounder, salmon, sea bass, shad, halibut, sablefish, smelt.	Year round.
	Sardine (Southern California)	November–April.
	Sardine (Monterey)	August–February.
	Alaska cod	April–August.
	Abalone	Subject to legal season.
Northwest—Alaska	Flounder, halibut, sablefish, ling-cod, rockfish, shad, smelt, steelhead, trout.	Year round.
	Salmon (Washington, Oregon)	May–November.
	Salmon (Alaska)	June–August.
	Herring (Alaska)	June–September.
	Cod (Alaska)	April–August.
	Shrimp	March–October.

Source: Office of National Recovery Administration, Division of Review, Earnings of Fishermen and of Fishing Craft; Appendix to The Fishery Industry and the Fishery Codes, by John R. Arnold. Work Materials No. 31, January 1936; table 1, pp. 4–7.

The only employment data available covering workers in the fishing industry are those collected and published annually by the Bureau of Fisheries of the United States Department of the Interior. The latest available figures for the year 1938 disclose that employment of fishermen on vessels and on boats and shore totaled 130,184 persons in that year. A break-down of these figures is found in exhibit C.

Exhibit C.—*Employment in fishing industry, 1938*

Region	Fishermen on vessels	Fishermen on boats and shore	Total
New England	5,123	15,125	20,248
Middle Atlantic	2,357	5,192	7,549
Chesapeake	2,537	12,760	15,297
South Atlantic and Gulf	4,565	25,023	29,588
Pacific	9,235	14,400	23,635
Lakes	1,616	5,360	6,976
Mississippi River and tributaries		15,884	15,884
Alaska	[1] 11,007		11,007
Total, United States and Alaska	36,440	93,744	130,184

[1] Including persons on boats and shore fisheries.

Source: U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Fisheries, Fisheries of the United States and Alaska, 1938. (All figures for 1938 except figures for Mississippi River and tributaries, which are for 1931.) Statistical Bulletin, No. 1385, p. 1.

In addition to this quantitative figure, the Social Security Board has published an estimate prepared by the Bureau of Fisheries covering the year 1937 which shows that of 119,000 employees of the fishing industry, 80,500 were more or less regularly employed and another 38,500 were estimated as receiving less than 50 percent of their earnings from fishing. The Social Security Board report added, "These individuals who gain the major share of their livelihood from other employment comprise more than one-third of the total of 119,000 persons estimated as regularly engaged in fishing during some time of the year."[4]

Employment varies among industries allied to the fishing industry in virtually direct relation to employment in the fishing industry itself. It is impossible to determine the exact number of persons continuously and/or seasonably employed in the transportation, wholesaling, and manufacturing of fishery products because of the inadequacy of employment statistics.

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[4] Kiehel, op. cit., p. 54.

Exhibit D shows the approximate number of persons employed in various categories of work in continental United States and Alaska.

Exhibit D.—*Employment in industries related to fisheries, United States and Alaska, 1938*

Region	Transporting (employed on boats and vessels)	Wholesaling and manufacturing				Fishermen's manufactured products—persons engaged
		Salaried employees	Proprietors	Wage earners		
				Average for season	Average for year	
New England	306	754	440	10,968	6,038	3,396
Middle Atlantic	238	952	179	5,065	3,598	287
Chesapeake	1,187	379	737	11,728	5,070	128
South Atlantic and Gulf	513	575	770	16,822	5,470	1,323
Pacific	191	1,155	315	16,645	6,065	133
Lakes	30	486	146	2,140	1,268	206
Mississippi and tributaries	29	355	204	4,275	3,483	216
Alaska	1,923	15,154			(1)	(1)
Total	4,417	90,244			(1)	(1)

[1] Not available.

Source: U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Fisheries, Fisheries of the United States and Alaska, 1938. (All figures for 1938 except for Mississippi River and tributaries which are for 1931.) Statistical Bulletin No. 1385, p. 6.

A tabulation has been prepared contrasting average employment for the season with average employment for the full year in the wholesaling and manufacturing of fishery products. The tabulation, contained in exhibit E, reveals that the number of workers employed throughout the year in both Alaska and continental United States is approximately 46 percent of the number employed during the season.

Exhibit E.—*Comparison of employment of wage earners for the season and the year in wholesaling and manufacturing of fishery products, 1938*

Region	Average number of employees		Percent average for year is of average for season
	Season	Year	
New England	10,968	6,038	55.1
Middle Atlantic	5,065	3,598	71.0
Chesapeake	11,728	5,070	43.2
South Atlantic and Gulf	16,822	5,470	32.5
Pacific	16,645	6,065	36.4
Lakes	2,140	1,268	59.2
Mississippi and tributaries	4,275	3,483	81.5
Alaska	15,154		----------
Total, excluding Alaska	67,643	30,992	45.8

Source: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Fisheries, Fisheries of the United States and Alaska, 1938. (All figures are for 1938 except for Mississippi River and tributaries which are for 1931.) Statistical Bulletin No. 1385, p. 6.

The tabulation reflects the degree of seasonality prevailing in different geographical regions. In the Middle Atlantic and on the Mississippi River and its tributaries, employment for the year is 71.0 and 81.5 percent, respectively, of the average seasonal employment. This contrasts with the South

Atlantic and Gulf and the Pacific coast where year-round employment averages are only 32.5 and 36.4 percent, respectively, of seasonal employment.

It is obvious that where the season is extremely short, fishery workers are forced to seek outside employment to maintain themselves between seasons. This search for work often involves migration to other communities or States.

The International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America have the largest percentage of their membership in the three Pacific Coast States. Because this region of the country is one in which seasonal operations are most common, the Congress of Industrial Organizations Maritime Committee is including the following description of the cycle of fishing operations on the Pacific coast prepared by Joseph F. Jurich, president of the International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America.

"With Seattle as a starting point and the spring of the year as the beginning of the cycle, between seven and eight thousand people annually go from the State of Washington to Alaska to work in the canneries and fishing grounds. There are occasional odd seasons, such as the 1940 Bristol Bay season (to be described later) when a curtailment of operations by the United States Bureau of Fisheries prevents the employment of many fishermen.

"The season in Alaska, which is established by the Bureau of Fisheries, opens no earlier than May and closes no later than September each year. In addition to the fishermen who go from Seattle to Alaska and return, there is a movement of fishermen who operate in the early spring in and around southeastern Alaska and return to their home grounds. Some of these people then drift to Oregon and Washington fisheries, continue to California and complete the cycle by fishing for tuna off the coast of Mexico and in Mexican waters before returning to Seattle.

"In the State of Washington, approximately 2,600 or 2,700 fishermen and approximately 1,100 allied workers engaged in transportation, wholesaling, and manufacture of fishery products, are employed between June and the 1st of September, and between October 5 and November 20. There is also some interchange of workers in this field due to the migration of workers to Alaska for short periods of employment and similar migrations to the fisheries of Oregon and California coasts. Some of the resident Washington fishermen who migrate to California complete this cycle by engaging in tuna fishing off Mexico; however, only a small percentage of Washington and Oregon fishermen take part in tuna fishing in foreign waters.

"Depending on State regulations, which vary from year to year, between four and five thousand people are engaged in commercial clam digging for a short period of time. In Oregon, approximately 4,500 people are engaged in salmon trolling, gill netting, and fishing with other types of gear. The season varies in different localities and on the various rivers, but is spread from the month of May to November with additional time permitted for steelhead fishing during the winter months of December and January. There is also some shad fishing.

"California has year-round fishing in some places. It has the usual exceptions such as on the Sacramento River, where the fishing is conducted during two periods of the year with approximately 400 engaged in gill netting in that area.

"There is a heavy concentration of fishing during the sardine season in San Francisco. The local people there have only 18 boats registered, although 270 boats were engaged during the fall season of 1939—this is with about 10 men in each boat. The additional crews were drawn primarily from Puget Sound (about 60 percent) and from San Pedro (about 40 percent). This is a short season and ends officially February 15. Actually because of weather conditions and slackening of fishing, the season ends about New Year's. These men then either go back to their ports up north or continue on down to San Pedro where they take part in local fisheries or become part of the fleet off the Mexican coast fishing for tuna and other species of fish.

"The small boats out of the port of San Francisco, manned by approximately 400 fishermen, also wander around and engage in salmon, crab, shark, and other types of fishing.

"San Pedro conducts fishing the year round, and some of the fishermen go as far north as Alaska for herring and salmon fishing in the early summer and return in the late summer and fall for sardine and mackerel off California. In the late winter and early spring, they fish for tuna. Approximately 3,500 people are engaged in fishing in this port."

In addition to uncertainties of the run of fish, legal restrictions on the length of the season have at various times caused widespread unemployment in the fishing industry. A typical example of this occurred as a result of the 1940 regulations on fishing in Bristol Bay, Alaska, promulgated in January 1940 by the Bureau of Fisheries.

In addition to a previously required week-end shut-down of operations of 36 hours, the Bureau in 1940 required a midweek shut-down of 48 hours, making a total of 84 hours per week in which no fishing operations could be carried on. Fishing operations in the area are continuous as there are at most only 18 to 19 actual fishing days on Bristol Bay, and the taking away of another 4 to 5 days through the additional shuit-down worked a great hardship. In addition, the Bureau curtailed employment of fishermen on Bristol Bay from 2,400 to 1,560 by limiting the number of fishing boats which were allowed to operate there.

These regulations seriously curtailed Alaskan fishing and canning operations in 1940 by reducing the margin of profit for operators and driving many of them from the Territory for the season. Virtually all operators who ship from the port of San Francisco, including cannery operators, decided that it was economically undesirable to operate.

The 1940 regulations for Bristol Bay area consequently deprived thousands of workers of a livelihood. More than 3,000 workers who annually go from the Pacific coast of the United States to Bristol Bay to fish and work in the canneries were unemployed during the summer of 1940, as were hundreds of seamen who customarily man the Alaska-bound vessels.

There is no solution to the seasonal problem of Alaskan fishing. Thousands of workers who return to Alaska summer after summer have long provided an experienced labor supply from which the operators may draw. Because of the short season, the industry is dependent on experienced fishermen and cannery workers and is desirous of having a minimum amount of labor turn-over each year. Yet in the face of the desire both of the union, representing all Alaskan fishery workers, and the industry, legislation has been proposed in Congress which would limit fishing rights to Alaskan residents. At the present time, Alaskan fishing permits are granted only to citizens of the United States; and the proposal is, therefore, nothing more than an attempt to discriminate against Pacific-coast fishermen who have helped build up the Alaskan fishing industry over the past 40 years, or to force them to become residents of Alaska.

A large percentage of the present employees of the canneries and fisheries are Alaskan residents who derive the greater part of their annual income from this work. The employment situation in Alaska at the present time is such that the addition of thousands of fishermen and cannery workers to the population, which will result if this legislation is adopted, would cause great hardship and privation.

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, with a membership of approximately 35,000, is a party to the coastwise contract covering all longshoremen on the Pacific coast. The union's membership includes longshoremen, dock checkers, bargemen, gatemen, dock watchmen, and ship scalers employed in the maritime industry as well as many thousands of warehousemen, a great number of whom work in warehousing directly dependent upon the shipping industry.

Prior to the organization of Pacific-coast longshoremen in 1933 and 1934, longshore work on that coast was exceedingly casual in nature, as it still is on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The employers fostered the maintenance of a large surplus labor supply and hired by means of the "shake-up" described in detail in exhibit F.

"EXHIBIT F.—CHARACTERISTICS OF LONGSHORE EMPLOYMENT BEFORE UNIONIZATION AND DECASUALIZATION

"The characteristics of the demand for labor in the stevedoring industry are too well known to justify detailed reporting here. It is sufficient to say that the demands are sporadic and intermittent and that the industry is subject to variations in activity which are superimposed on the seasonal and cyclical fluctuations and long-time changes common to all industry. The coming and going of ships are decided not only by factors affecting the general trend of trade and commerce but also by climatic conditions and fortuitous circumstances whose effects may be largely local.

"The history of the labor market of the industry bears out these peculiarities of demand. Stevedoring has been responsible for one of the most conspicuous classes of casual workers. Intermittency of employment, insecurity, and demoralization have been the reward of the dock worker; for him insecurity is frequently the only certainty.

"Because of the maximum forces required to fulfill the usual necessity of discharging and loading ships in minimum time and because of the irregularity of sailings, labor is ordinarily engaged for specific jobs only. Such constant dissolution and reconstitution of the labor force of given employers lead inevitably to intense competition for jobs, breed surpluses, and allow easy access into the industry of unemployed men from other industries. This latter characteristic is due not so much to the unskilled nature of the work as to the degree to which a proportion of unskilled labor can be absorbed into the labor force.[5]

"Under such circumstances, hiring has customarily been accomplished through the daily congregation of men at specified places and times; from among them, foremen select individual workers, thus assembling a labor force large enough to meet the port requirements for the next several hours. This method is the notorious 'shape-up' or 'shape' (known in Great Britain as 'calling on'). It is a system which has propagated favoritism, bribery, and demoralization. In some ports a part of the men have organized themselves into permanent gangs, and thus the practice has been simplified by the hiring of an entire gang as a unit. Sometimes the shape-up has not been used as a means of hiring the entire force each day. In such cases employers have maintained a permanent nucleus around which the total daily labor force has been built. Like the casuals, however, these permanent men are paid only for time put in and are apt not to be scheduled to work on regular shifts to any greater extent that the casuals. Their advantage rests in their having first preference for work.

"The irregularity and unpredictability of demand have led each employer to attempt to attach to himself a maximum reserve. With such surpluses many men are turned down at every shape-up and are left to await the next shape at their customary stand or to attend other shapes, but since they have no real knowledge of labor requirements in other places, their chances of getting work are limited. This kind of labor immobility, which creates shortages in the midst of surpluses, is also responsible for much idle time which is not compensated, although the worker must put it in to insure getting any work at all."

Average earnings on the San Francisco water front in 1933, prior to unionization, were $10.45 a week. Many longshoremen were on relief, others were virtually destitute, and only a very small number, the men in so-called star gangs, managed to earn a living. Speed-up marked the work which was accompanied by a high accident rate. The accumulation of these intolerable conditions led to unionization, and in turn to decasualization.

Under the union earnings increased. Exhibit G discloses that in the 2-year period between September 12, 1938, and September 7, 1940, all registered longshoremen in San Francisco earned an average of $38.71 weekly, and permit men earned an average of $24.47. During this period, members of gangs averaged $42.59 weekly.

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[5] See Boris Stern, Cargo Handling and Longshore Labor Conditions, p. 68: "There is no apprentice system existing in longshore work. The new worker * * * is placed in the gang on an equal basis with the older men and at equal pay. * * * But when it comes to the handling of the ship's winches or to stowing the cargo in the ship's hold, the degree of training required, the amount of judgment, and the sense of responsibility involved in so placing the cargo as to make the best possible use of the space and to insure that no damage will be done either to the cargo or to the ship during the crossing—such work can be learned only after several years of constant and persevering application." Handling special types of cargo, such as lumber, likewise requires a special skill.

Source: Works Progress Administration, National Research Project, Report No. L–2, Decasualization of Longshore Work in San Francisco, by Marvel Keller (Philadelphia, April 1939), pp. 1–2.

EXHIBIT G.—*Earnings of San Francisco longshoremen, Sept. 12, 1938, to Sept. 7, 1940* [1]

Classification	Earnings		
	Total	Average per year	Average per week
Regular registered men [2]	$4,026.28	$2,013.14	$38.71
Gang members [2]	4,428.96	2,214.48	42.59
Permit men [3]	2,544.73	1,272.37	24.47

[1] Included is the period of the San Francisco dock clerks' strike from Nov. 10, 1939, to Jan. 3, 1940. During this 2-month period, fully registered longshoremen averaged only $13.49 and $8.93 a week, and permit men averaged for the months of November and December only $62.80 and $35.67, respectively.

[2] Earnings are computed on a basis of hours worked reduced to equivalent straight-time hours and extended at 95 cents per hour, the straight-time hourly rate. Equivalent straight-time hours are calculated on a basis of 1 hour overtime equals 1½ equivalent straight-time hours.

[3] Earnings of permit men cover the period from Oct. 1, 1938, to Sept. 30, 1940, inclusive. These figures are based on a 10 percent sample of all permit men, selected at random from central-office records of the dispatching hall used for reporting earnings to the California State Unemployment Commission.

Source: Records of San Francisco longshore dispatching hall.

Virtually complete decasualization of longshore work has been effected since 1934 in all ports of the Pacific coast as the result of coastwise collective bargaining contracts between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Waterfront Employers Association of the Pacific Coast, on behalf of the various employers of longshore labor (shipping companies and stevedoring contractors) in California, Oregon, and Washington.

The key to successful operation of the decasualization system is union operation of the dispatching hall. The San Francisco longshore dispatching hall, from which all longshoremen in the port are dispatched, is maintained and financed jointly by the San Francisco local of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and by the Waterfront Employers Association of San Francisco. The operations of the hall, which commenced on March 4, 1935, are under the supervision of the joint labor relations committee, composed of an equal number of representatives of the union and the employers, which meets weekly and oftener if necessary.

Registered longshoremen working in the port of San Francisco fall into two categories—those who are members of the union and those who are "permit" men working by permission of the labor relations committee. There are a total of approximately 4,500 regular longshoremen registered with the labor relations committee.

Members of the union fall into 2 further classifications—those who are regular members of gangs and those who work from the plug or extra board as replacements. Briefly, the system works as follows: Let us assume that an employer has ordered 4 gangs for a certain dock at a certain time. Four gangs are ordered by the dispatcher to report with 18 men in each gang. The permanent members of the gangs may number, respectively, 16, 14, 18, 13. It will be necessary for 3 of the gangs to secure 2, 4, and 5 men, respectively, from the extra board in order to report for work with a full complement of men. Preference of employment is given to union members who have plugged into the extra board and signified they desire to work on the day in question. If an insufficient number of members of the union are available for work, permit men will be dispatched to the job.

Hours of work are equalized primarily between gangs rather than between individual members of the union; and, as will be shown, almost equal distribution of work has been attained. Records are kept in terms of equivalent straight-time hours which reflect earnings rather than actual hours worked as every hour of overtime, paid at time and one-half, is counted as an hour and a half.

The labor relations committee each Friday analyzes the trade expected in the port for the week ahead and establishes the "hours for the week" which begins on Sunday and ends on Saturday night. It is impossible to equalize the hours of gangs on an exact basis each week and therefore equalization of gang-hours is done over a 4-week period. The dispatchers have constantly before them records of the hours worked by each gang in the period and dispatch gangs with a view to bringing about equalization of work.

Although the majority of the members of the union are regular members of gangs, a considerable number of union members and all of the permit men work off the extra board. They are not expected to work more hours in any one week than the "hours for the week" established by the labor relations committee unless they are employed on a job, in which case they work until the job is completed and work fewer hours the following week. Hours worked by plugboard and permit men are equalized each period.

The wide spread in earnings of plugboard and permit men results in many cases from the fact that these groups are composed primarily of single men, many of whom are satisfied with a minimum number of hours of work each week. This does not imply that permit men share equally in the work of the port, for, as their name implies, they represent a necessary auxiliary labor force working by permission of the labor relations committee and utilized for the purpose of providing an additional labor supply.

A detailed analysis of the system, entitled "Decasualization of Longshore Work in San Francisco," was published in 1939 by the national research project of the Works Progress Administration. The experience of San Francisco, as described in this report, is applicable to the three other large Pacific coast ports, namely, Seattle, Portland, and San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles, with the exception that earnings in these ports are slightly below the level of earnings in San Francisco.

The extent of decasualization and sharing of work is shown in table 8 of the report, from which the following excerpt is taken:

TABLE 8.—*Distribution of gangs that worked in each 4-week period, Feb. 1 to Dec. 5, 1937*[1]

Number of equivalent straight-time hours worked	Number of gangs	Percent of gangs
180 to 189.9	4	2.3
190 to 199.9	133	76.9
200 to 209.9	35	20.2
210 to 219.9	1	.6
Total	173	100.0

[1] Works Progress Administration, national research project, Decasualization of Longshore Work in San Francisco, by Marvel Keller. Rept. L–2, Philadelphia, April 1939, p. 56.

In other words, 97.1 percent of all longshoremen who were regular members of gangs earned between $171 and $190 a period (4 weeks) in the year 1937. This tabulation is included only to demonstrate the extent of rotation of work and does not reflect earnings at the present time. Two factors influenced the extremely high earnings shown in this table—the fact that the period used as a sample begins at the conclusion of the 3-month strike which had tied up cargo operations through November and December 1936 and January 1937 and caused an accumulation of work, and the high level of business conditions in the year 1937 which resulted in greatly increased cargo operations.

In evaluating the San Francisco longshore dispatching system and decasualization plan, Marvel Keller, author of the national research project report, concluded:

"The San Francisco work-rotation scheme thus is a share-the-work plan without the usual implications of underemployment—a plan operating within the framework of controls which, in fact, tend to insure adequate employment to the registered labor force. It provides for a labor force which is flexible in size, yet it effectively avoids the usual problem of casual work. Equalization of earnings of registered nonunion or permit men, although on a lower level than that of the registered union men, is provided on a relatively high level, as least during periods of normal port activity. The purely casual (nonregistered) workers represent individuals for whom longshore work is merely supplementary to another primary occupation rather than persons dependent on such odd jobs. Such differences as prevail among union men, beyond the relatively narrow limits within which gang-hours are equalized, are accounted for largely by the preferences of the individual workers. * * *

"More complete equalization of earnings—and at a generally higher level—was realized in San Francisco during 1937 than had been achieved in other ports even during the predepression years for which data are available. This is true notwithstanding the fact that the data available on other ports usually cover only preferred groups of longshoremen; that is, those with relatively steady and wide opportunities for work. * * *

"The distribution of earnings and the high degree of stabilization in the longshore labor market of San Francisco may be expected to result in longshoremen representing a relatively light burden to the unemployment-compensation fund of the State of California."[6]

As a result of the nearly complete decasualization which has been achieved, virtually no union longshoremen on the Pacific coast are ever totally unemployed, few receive unemployment compensation, and only an infinitesimal number of men unable to do longshore work continuously, because of ill health or old age, are ever on relief. Thus decasualization and rotation of work, a demand pressed by the union for a considerable length of time before it was acceded to by the employers, has materially stabilized employment conditions in longshore work to the benefit not only of the longshoremen themselves but to the community as a whole.

In 1940 longshoremen on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts still have no job security, work when they can under intolerable conditions of speed-up, are exposed to constant accident hazards, and are forced to pay a sizable portion of their earnings to straw bosses and union racketeers operating with the knowledge of the employers.

The conditions that prevail are conditions of an unorganized, extremely exploited industry. The port of New York, for example, is flooded with thousands of longshoremen, for many of whom there will never be enough work. Many Atlantic coast longshoremen exist and do that only through relief.

In 1938 the New York settlement house, Greenwich House, conducted a survey and published a report on longshoremen and their homes, based on a case study of 278 longshoremen selected from names listed by Greenwich House, Morgan Line (Southern Pacific Steamship Co.), Clyde Mallory Line, Savannah Line, Cunard Line, Anchor Line, and two parochial schools.

The report disclosed that the average annual income of 217 longshoremen with families and one or more dependents, who were investigated, was $900; and that 39 percent of the families had annual incomes of less than $800. Only 11.5 percent, or a little more than one-tenth of the whole group earned over $1,600 a year.

The Greenwich House survey translated the average earnings into hours and days worked and made the following analysis:

"Let's try translating these incomes into hours of work. If we average the $1.05 'deep water' hourly rate and the 95 cents 'coastwise' hourly rate, we get a rate of $1 per hour. Figuring on this rate, we find that the average longshoreman in our group worked only 1,019 hours in an entire year. (If we assumed that he earned part of his income from overtime work at a higher rate of pay, then the number of hours he worked in a year would turn out to be still less.) At best, this means he did only half-time work, for a 40-hour week would amount to 2,080 hours per year and on a straight-time basis would yield an income of $2,080."[7]

The irregularity of the work is further pointed out in the Greenwich House survey which adds:

"Half-time work would not be so bad if it were not so irregular. Longshoremen must learn to manage not only on a low yearly income but on a highly irregular weekly one. For they may earn $40 one week and absolutely nothing the next. In fact, 20 percent of the men we interviewed had earned nothing at all the week before."[8]

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[6] Ibid., pp. 81–82.

[7] Longshoremen and Their Homes: The Story of a Housing Case Study Conducted Under the Auspices of Greenwich House, by Elizabeth Ogg. Greenwich House, New York, 1939. p. 31.

[8] Ibid.

Investigation of 217 longshoremen with one or more dependents disclosed that in the week preceding the survey 43 men, or 19.8 percent of the group, had earned nothing; 34 men, or 15.7 percent, had earned less than $10; and a total of 141 men, or 65 percent of the group, had earned $20 or less.[9]

The Greenwich House survey concludes that "relief, for the families as well as the single longshoremen, was only a last desperate resort, dreaded and avoided as long as possible." Only 29.3 percent of all families interviewed had ever been on relief and only 5.5 percent had received relief during the 12 months preceding the survey.[10]

The average size of the families of 217 longshoremen who headed households was 4.4 persons.

NATIONAL MARITIME UNION OF AMERICA

The National Maritime Union, organized in 1937, as an outgrowth of the rank-and-file movement in the International Seamen's Union, today has approximately 62,000 members on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, the Great Lakes, Mississippi River, and other inland waters. The union has contracts with virtually all steamship lines operating on these two coasts and with many of the lines operating on the Great Lakes and the rivers.

For the first time seamen, organized in the National Maritime Union, have a strong organization through which they can improve their conditions by economic and political action. The union has to its credit two major accomplishments since 1937. In the first place, it has materially raised wages, shortened hours, and generally improved the condition under which seamen work. Second, the union has protected the interests of its members by providing them with welfare services, aiding them in becoming citizens, and campaigning for unemployment insurance and other legislation.

The House committee, at its hearings in New York in July 1940, heard the testimony of a man who had been a seaman intermittently over a period of years. This witness, Elliott Philip Robbins, listed his address as "care of National Maritime Union, New York, N. Y." The address is the key to much of the union's work and many of its problems, for seamen are in every sense of the word migrant workers. Many seamen ship from and return to the same port for months and years. Others, unable to find employment in one port, are forced to migrate to other ports in search of work.

In an attempt to stabilize employment conditions and insofar as possible control the labor supply, the union through the union-operated hiring hall. has developed an effective system of rotary hiring which is today standard practice in all of the maritime unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

As a result of the rotary system of hiring and the union-controlled hiring hall, the shipping industry on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts now enjoys greater stability than at any time in its history. For this reason, the establishment of rotary shipping and its operation by union dispatchers may well be considered one of the most outstanding accomplishments of the union.

Numerous attacks have been made on the union hiring halls, both by employers desirous of returning seamen to the chaotic conditions which prevailed before the formation of the National Maritime Union, and by Members of Congress who through ignorance or shortsightedness opposed the hiring halls and sponsored legislation which, if enacted, would disrupt satisfactory and well-established labor practices of the industry. Though equalization of earnings is impracticable in the shipping industry, rotary hiring does distribute available jobs without favoritism or bribery, and is the most practicable way of providing employment stabilization in an unstable industry.

At the time the union was organized, wages were considerably lower than they are at the present time. Seamen were better paid at the close of the First World War than they were at any time prior to the organization of the National Maritime Union, and able-bodied seamen and firemen received $85 and $90 per month respectively, with other classifications of workers above ship being paid proportionately. In 1921, when the seamen's union was broken, the seamen were left with little or no protection, and wages tobogganed until in January 1922 able-bodied seamen and firemen were receiving only $47.50 and $50 a month.

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[9] Ibid., p. 59.
[10] Ibid., p. 35.

In 1937, the newly formed United States Maritime Commission, through the Chairman, Joseph P. Kennedy, issued a report entitled "Economic Survey of the American Merchant Marine." This report surveyed employment and earnings of seamen during the depression and concluded:

"Wages fell and working conditions grew steadily worse until, at the depth of the depression, some American seamen were receiving as little as $25 a month, living under wretched conditions, eating unpalatable food, and working 12 hours or more a day."[11]

At the present time wages in the passenger and freight agreements of the National Maritime Union range from $65 to $95 a month in the deck department, from $70 to $92.50 in the engine department, and from $65 to $130 in the stewards' department. At the present time, able-bodied seamen receive the following minimum monthly rate of pay:

Passenger and freight vessels, coastwise	$77.50
Passenger and freight vessels, deep sea	82.50
Colliers	85.00
Tankers	87.50
Great Lakes vessels	118.50

In addition, seamen are now paid overtime at the rate of 70 cents an hour for all work over 8 hours in the deck and engine departments, and over 9 hours in the stewards' department.

Following is a scale of average wages for various ratings as provided in International Seamens' Union and National Maritime Union contracts over the 6-year period, 1935 to 1940, inclusive:

	1935 [1]	1936	1937 [2]	1938	1939	1940
Deck department:						
Boatswain	$70.00	$73.00	$82.00	$90.00	$95.00	$98.00
Carpenter	72.00	76.00	83.00	90.00	100.00	103.00
Able-bodied seamen	55.00	60.00	64.00	74.00	75.00	84.00
Ordinary seamen	41.00	44.00	49.00	57.00	59.00	66.00
Engine department:						
Fireman	56.00	61.00	65.00	77.00	79.00	85.00
Oiler	64.00	69.00	75.00	84.00	87.00	92.00
Water tender	64.00	68.00	75.00	84.00	87.00	92.00
Coal passer or wiper	46.00	49.00	53.00	60.00	65.00	72.00
Steward's department:						
Chief steward [3]	121.00	125.00	128.00	122.50	125.00	135.00
Cook [3]	97.00	101.00	102.00	107.50	110.00	117.50
Second cook [3]	76.00	79.00	84.00	92.50	95.00	100.00
Mess steward	41.00	46.00	52.00	60.00	61.50	66.50
Mess boy	36.00	40.00	50.00	56.50	58.00	63.00

[1] While there had been some rank and file agitation prior to 1935, this is the first year in which the agitation was reflected in rising wage scales.

[2] The formal birthday of the National Maritime Union is May 3, 1937. The demarcation is largely illusory. The National Maritime Union membership was the old International Seamen's Union rank and file under another name.

[3] Average wages compiled by the Government for these ratings cover all American ships of 5,000 gross tons and over, but National Maritime Union figures cover only tankers, freighters, and colliers. If passenger ships had been included, these averages would be higher.

NOTE.—Average monthly wages for the years 1935 through 1937 are taken from Merchant Marine Statistics, published by the Department of Commerce. These cover all American vessels 5,000 and more gross tons. Average monthly wages for the next 3 years are based on National Maritime Union contracts with passenger-freighter, tanker, and collier operators.

One of the most detailed descriptions of the problems of maritime workers is contained in the report of the Maritime Labor Board to the President and to Congress. The description is quoted in exhibit H.

"EXHIBIT H.—EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS OF MARITIME WORKERS

"The work done and the kind of life lived by maritime workers is essentially different from that of workers in other occupations. The maritime worker's job, whether that of engine-room hand, deck hand, steward, or longshoreman, is irregular and exacting; it alternates between dull routine and conditions demanding intense labor, quick intelligence, and high courage.

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[11] U. S. Maritime Commission, Economic Survey of the American Merchant Marine, Washington, November 1937, p. 46.

"*According to custom, seamen are employed for a single round-trip voyage only, longshoremen for the period required to load or unload a particular vessel.* Though some workers remain attached to one ship or stevedoring company over a period of months or years, for the majority, employment in these occupations is both irregular and insecure. An indication of the extent of unemployment in this pursuit is given by figures showing that the number of unemployed persons in water transportation per 1,000 employed in 1937 was 120, compared with 103 on the steam railways, 88 in automobile factories, and 116 in cotton mills.[12] Considerable periods may also occur between jobs. The changes that have taken place in shipping incident to the development of modern science, though they have materially reduced the risks of employers and have in certain ways lightened the labor of workers, have, for the time being at least, considerably increased the risk of unemployment by creating an oversupply of labor.

"*The wages and earnings of seamen are also relatively low.* For example, the prevailing monthly rate for able-bodied seamen on merchant vessels is $72.50 in addition to living quarters and food. Because of frequent spells of unemployment among seamen, the total annual earnings for most of the unlicensed personnel fall far short of the possible full-time cash earnings of $870, exclusive of overtime earnings.

"*In the case of longshoremen the hourly rate is relatively high, but in spite of frequent overtime the persistently intermittent character of the employment brings the annual earnings to a comparatively low level with some notable exceptions.*

"In view of all these circumstances it is not surprising that the labor turnover is exceptionally high. The separation rate in deep-sea shipping, for example, is five times the average rate in manufacturing.[13] Among longshoremen, accidents are also particularly prevalent, the frequency rate for longshoremen for the year 1936 being 17.6 as compared with 13.6 for all industries.[14]

"Unlike other workers, when a seaman sells his labor he virtually sells himself, temporarily. Of necessity he lives on the ship. There is no possibility of changing his place of work or his occupation, whether or not conditions are satisfactory, until he reaches a safe port. While he is at sea, and to a less extent ashore, the seaman is restricted in matters which other workers consider definitely personal, such as food, clothing, living quarters, associates, and recreation. Frequently the 'foc's'le' is crowded, unsanitary, and ill-ventilated, though conditions have been improved in recent years, especially on the newer vessels. Hours of work are irregular if not long, and there is little provision for recreation in off time. Aboard ship the seaman's working life is strictly disciplined while on shore, lacking in general stabilizing home ties, he has little opportunity for normal participation in the social life of any place.

"*In contrast to the maritime employer, a great part of whose risk has been met by scientific improvements, insurance, and Government subsidies, the maritime worker of today finds himself in a uniquely unstable and inferior position among workers in general.* Almost his entire life represents a departure from the normal way of living. Legally the seaman is restricted. Once he signs shipping articles, he becomes a member of a group apart whose rights and duties are closely circumscribed by a special code of laws. Economically he is insecure; his right to industrial self-government is often unrecognized and his collective bargaining challenged, especially when in conflict with navigation laws. Politically he is virtually disfranchised owing to frequent absence at election time. *Yet, no other group of industrial workers is asked, or is expected, to show the compliance, discipline, loyalty, courage, and the spirit of self-sacrifice demanded of seamen by the employer and the public.*" [Italics supplied.]

Source: Maritime Labor Board, Report to the President and to the Congress, March 1, 1940, pp. 25–26.

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[12] Office of the Administrator, Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations, 1937, vol. 1, p. 17.

[13] Social Security Board, Constance A. Kiehel, The Maritime Industry and Unemployment Compensation, p. 27 (mimeograph).

[14] National Safety Council, Accident Rates in the Maritime Industry, 1936, pp. 3–4.

Maritime workers face a problem of discrimination which also threatens many groups of industrial workers. Companies, including the Standard Oil Co., have arbitrarily refused to employ or hire seamen over the age of 40 without regard to the physical or technical ability of the seaman to perform work as required. The union, faced with this problem, realizes that the only solution is the extension of the Federal old-age-security program to provide increased benefits, and to lower the age of eligibility.

Seamen who are temporarily unemployed find it extremely difficult to qualify for relief. They are unable to maintain residence in a given community or State for a long enough time to enable them to qualify for local relief. In addition, the arbitrary exclusion of seamen from the benefits of the unemployment-compensation system which now covers virtually all industrial workers is totally unjustified and leaves the seamen without any protection when they are unemployed.

After 3 years of discussions and conferences with Government agencies and congressional committees in an effort to obtain unemployment insurance, and in spite of a statement by President Roosevelt more than a year ago that unemployment compensation should be provided for seamen, the seamen have been unable to obtain the benefits now enjoyed by other workers.

Fiorello LaGuardia, mayor of the city of New York, testifying before this committee on July 29, 1940, in New York City, discussed the treatment of seamen.

Mayor LaGuardia correctly stated that the problem of unemployment among seamen creates special problems which must be given special consideration. The mayor said that if "you will include them (the seamen) in the unemployment-insurance system and provide for their care during times they are not at sea * * * you will be helping a great deal" and that seamen are "on shore sometimes through no fault of their own and they should not be treated or provided for under the same general provisions as you will provide for migrants other than seamen."

Mayor LaGuardia reached the crux of the problem—the necessity of maintaining exuperienced personnel adequate to man the American merchant marine when he said:

"We need them. We need to keep them skilled. We don't want them to grow stale, and yet the very calling of their occupation is such that they are 'beached' at times. If the ship goes into drydock the men are 'beached' because a great many ships have been taken out of commission."

Mayor LaGuardia's statement correctly points out some of the things that must be done to improve the conditions of American seamen. What he failed to understand was that in addition to the measures he suggested, it is necessary to maintain and improve collective bargaining and to repeal the antiquated maritime laws still on the statute books which virtually keep the seamen in bondage, and not only interfere with their right to bargain collectively but prevent them from exercising their privileges and responsibilities as American citizens.

CONCLUSION

The real solution to the basic economic problems of the maritime workers—unemployment and instability—the same problems faced by workers in other industries—is the creation of additional jobs and the stabilization of employment for those now working. Migratory and casual workers would not create an economic problem if they earned annual incomes adequate to support themselves and their families. Because the earnings of migratory and casual workers fall far below the standard of adequacy or even subsistence, their problem has become one of great importance to the entire national economy.

Certain proposals have been made before the House committee which would tend to destroy civil liberties without providing any solution to the problem of unemployment and its corollaries, casual and migratory employment.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations Maritime Committee is opposed to the proposal of Dr. Frank Lorimer, made during the New York hearings, which would establish a population registration system and require all citizens to carry registration cards, register their changes of address with the police, and conform to certain other regulations. It is the position of the Congress of Industrial Organizations Maritime Committee that his recommendation is totally unnecessary, is susceptible of being subverted from its alleged purpose, and is completely inimical to the interests of the American people.

Instead of passports and regimentation, the people of the United States need more jobs and greater security for migratory and casual workers. The way to attain this is to extend collective bargaining, shorten hours, and raise wages so that the purchasing power of wage earners, who form the largest single group in the population, will be increased.

The experience of the maritime unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations has been that extension of collective bargaining and the building of strong unions has greatly improved the economic and social conditions of the workers in the industry. Through organization of maritime unions and negotiation of collective bargaining agreements, the workers in the maritime industry have seen employment stabilized to an extent that had not been considered possible, have seen hours shortened, wages increased, and conditions improved, and have seen the highly casual longshore industry of the Pacific Coast decasualized.

Submitted by Congress of Industrial Organizations Maritime Committee.

Bjorne Halling, *Executive Secretary.*

Mr. Lamb. The third is a statement secured from a migrant witness who was unable to appear. This statement has been prepared at the suggestion of the committee staff by Samuel J. Smith, a sailor. It is a description of the problems encountered by this man in the course of his moving about from coast to coast and port to port.

The Chairman. That will be admitted in the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY SAMUEL J. SMITH, SAILOR, BALTIMORE, MD.

Seamen Pay Social Security Out of Their Wages and Board, But Get—Nothing

HOSPITALIZATION

When a sailor is "on the beach" for 60 days, he loses his rights to marine hospital treatment. We have no "city hospitals." We cannot get free treatment if sick, nor get relief from the city or State. We cannot be voters unless we live on shore for 1 year. We are "wards of the Federal Government" when people wish to penalize us. But we are just floating gypsies when we are destitute. When shipping is slack in one port, we hitchhike, or ride freight trains to another seaport. We are modern Ishmaelites, with every man's hand turned against us.

My suggestions are:

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, OR OLD-AGE PENSIONS AT 45

(Many shipowners discard their employees at the age of 40. They are no longer wanted; hence the rigid physical tests—and this is after many years of sea service to shipowners.) Give us the rights of humans—decent homes, square meals, decent clothing. Don't drive us into becoming objects of charity.

TRANSFER OF AMERICAN MERCHANT VESSELS TO FOREIGN FLAGS SINCE OCTOBER 1939

Number of vessels.—Forty-one to Panamanian registry, 17 to Brazil registry, 10 to Greek registry, 19 to France registry, 35 to Canada registry, 113 to British, and 58 more available in laid up fleet of the Maritime Commission besides several other small company tankers, which brings up the grand total of 306 ships to date. The average number of men for each ship is 40, which includes the captain and 3 mates, chief engineer, and 3 assistant engineers; roughly speaking, the number of men thrown "high and dry" on the beach is 12,240. Of this number, some have enlisted in the Navy and Army, and some have been drafted. Taking the average wage of an unlicensed seaman as $85 per month, and pay for overtime, he is reluctant to enlist in peacetime for $54 per month. The seaman pays into social security, but there is no provision made to draw benefits for unemployment.

The seaman is not eligible for "relief" similar to shore workers. He cannot vote, unless, here in Maryland, he can prove that he has resided at least 1 year on shore. He cannot truthfully claim any particular port as his home, because his livelihood takes him to many ports. Those who cannot join the Naval Reserve are also unable to pass the steamship company doctors (indeed they are sometimes stricter than the Government doctors). Industrial concerns cannot use our services; our training is different. Besides, we have chosen the sea for our livelihood; in other words, we don't "fit in."

HOW THIS WRITER LIVED IN 1940

Has worked 58 days to date.

Steamship *Ruth Kellogg* (Kellogg Steamship Co.), 11 days (sold to British).

Steamship *Kopperston* (Mystic Steamship Co.), 39 days (injured at sea), came ashore in Coast Guard patrol; taken to hospital at Norfolk, Va. Injuries: Broken ribs, and contusions of leg, hospital and out-patient treatment about 2 months.

Trimountain oil tanker, in dry dock, employed 8 days and laid off on account of not being strong enough to continue work.

My mode of living	Cents
Breakfast	10
Lunch	15
Supper	15
Tobacco (for 2 days)	10

Total abstainer.

Rent.—A room at $3 per week and going into debt to a poor woman who has but five rooms.

Have sold my sextant (I am a licensed navigator), books, clothing; in fact, anything of value, in order to exist. I begged a dinner on Thanksgiving Day from a friend; but I cannot beg from a stranger. The above jobs were unlicensed jobs, because I am unable to get a position as a chief officer of ocean vessels, as my license calls for. Our European trade is cut off on account of war. Only the Portuguese and African ports are open to American ships. And the neutrality laws forbid Americans to go to sea under foreign-flag vessels.

And so—we starve.

A word on "Seamen's Institutes and Anchorages" (dog-houses); "Abandon Ye All Hope—All Ye Who Enter Here."

The "seamen's institutes" are placed where seamen pay more, and receive less, than in any other fourth-rate hotel for seamen. Most of the rooms are too large for a coffin; too small for a grave; with chicken-fence wire around the upper part of the rooms. A stranger will go there once, but never twice. They are hang-outs for the lowest type of men who are not seamen. They are classed as charitable institutions on condition that four church services a month are held. In order to entice seamen to go to these places for church services, they will sometimes give him a cup of coffee and a stale bun. The only advantage of frequenting these "dens of hypocrisy" is, there is a reading room, where one can sit and read a 1936 magazine. Yet, they get a "cut" of the community chest funds yearly. They pay nothing for labor, such as cleaning windows, sweeping, and washing lavatories. Their clerks and two or three bed makers may get small wages, but other helpers never. These institutions receive donations from the well-to-do people, who think the seamen get anything they want—room, board, and clothing—free. The seamen pay for all. Once a year they may sing hymns in order to get a "Christmas dinner," or a cup of coffee. I mention these things because the general public is under the impression that they are going good. They are the seamen's worst enemies; they will try to procure strikebreakers if and when a strike is on. Even their room keys are an insult—a block of wood is chained to every key 6 by 6 inches so that one cannot put it in his pocket. The writer stayed at the Baltimore Anchorage, and even had to furnish his own soap. The bedbugs are free. The rooms are dimly lit; one cannot see to read or write. And as these rooms are open at the upper part, one can hear all the drunks at night, hear each other snore. Charitable institutions! Better, by far, to live in a boxcar and retain one's self-respect.

SEAMEN UNDER THE DEFENSE ACT

During the first World War, American seamen were allowed to sail under Allied flags. This writer served as an officer on board two French vessels. Under the neutrality law, we seamen are not allowed to service under foreign flags, under penalty of losing our citizenship. This year I have been offered as much as $700 per month, and while starving on the beach or "on de fence," must wait until a job appears on a United States merchantman.

The navy yards and ship yards have absorbed a few seamen; or those who could pass a rigid physical test. There, again, the work is different; for example, a seaman on a merchant vessel does all his work "by hand," such as sailmaking (sewing canvas). In navy yards sewing machines are used, of which we know nothing; the same applies to wire and manila rope work. Machinery takes a great part. And so we have to unlearn our methods of splicing wire cables, etc.

This writer has held a license as an ocean navigator for 23 years; it cost me about $1,200 for professional training in order to pass examinations. Yet, in recent years, all that is available for me is to make a "relief" trip of less than a month, while a regular officer takes a vacation. Therefore many men, like the writer, are forced to seek an unlicensed job, as a sailor; and now, the employed sailors don't quit; they ask for a 10-day vacation, so relief trips are in order for unlicensed men also.

Seamen, as I know them, are intensely loyal to America, regardless of the unkind remarks used against them. They have built for themselves a strong organization, in order to gain better food, better wages. The shipowners are using "national defense" as a weapon to destroy all that we have fought for. Should this country become involved in actual warfare, the seamen would all do their part, without resorting to "draft."

The majority of the young seamen are reluctant to swap jobs at $75 per month for a position as a naval man at $54 in times of peace.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID WHATLEY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Chairman. Will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. Whatley. David Whatley.

I have two or three points of view that I am quite sure will interest the committee.

The Chairman. What is your business?

Mr. Whatley. An attorney. I represent no organization.

The Chairman. Where do you reside?

Mr. Whatley. 1717 G Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The Chairman. All right.

Mr. Whatley. I have a couple of points of view I think have not been expressed here so far.

INADEQUATE ATTENTION TO SINGLE TRANSIENTS IN WASHINGTON

There has been inadequate presentation, I think, for the problem that exists for the unattached single men or women, often called transients, particularly in the urban centers.

I think Washington is typical of the inadequate care that is given to this class of people and therefore draw your attention to that.

I would recommend heartily that the entire membership of this committee, at sometime in the near future, visit personally all the missions in the city here, particularly during a very cold spell and particularly around meal time if it is possible.

They have two meals a day. At one of them, the Volunteers of America, they serve what purports to be a breakfast at about 9:30.

At the Gospel Mission they serve what purports to be a supper about 5:30.

The bulk of the membership of the House and Senate passes by both of these missions daily coming to and from the sessions of the Congress.

I find in questioning most of them that practically none of them have ever stopped to see the actual conditions that exist here.

There are window panes that are broken out that permit the cold winter wind to pass through almost unobstructed. The food is so terrible that the bulk of the transients in Washington are not even attracted to these so-called missions except on two or three special occasions a year, like Christmas time and Thanksgiving time, which occasions are specially publicized and which attract a large group, particularly because they have one good meal that attracts not only single men and women but families that are hungry.

They get sometimes as good a fare as a slice of roast beef and good bread and a good cup of coffee.

Ordinarily that breakfast affair is a washed out chicory coffee, a kind of cereal made from oatmeal that is served without sugar and without cream—served with skimmed milk and day-old bread which is received free from the bakeries here.

At supper time they give them a bowl of soup which they secure from the left-overs from the navy yard, and one or two other items which are totally inadequate to sustain any man even in the summertime, for any length of time.

It is in itself an obvious reason for so much unemployment among that class of people—why they are chronically unemployed—and it appears to me to reflect directly upon the whole problem of unemployment and care for these people, because it causes a chronic circle. Hunger prevents employment and unemployment becomes chronic and because of that that segment of the population has been completely overlooked by any legislation with the exception of minor cases of care in some localities.

As to Federal legislation, the Federal Government has done nothing about it since 1935 when they disbanded the transient shelters here.

Major Brown has pointed out that 65 or 70 percent of arrests made in Washington are of nonresident people.

Now, the actual financial burden on the localities for support of those people is quite great in the jails and it does not constitute a punishment, so that there is no incentive for good citizenship.

I think it is a rather shoddy argument to say that a man must be fed so that he will become either a law-abiding citizen or a potential member of the national defense. But I do say that it strikes at the very system of criminal administration that a man has no incentive since he is rewarded by being arrested in Washington, being sent to the municipal jail where he is given a clean bed, a warm place to sleep, and three square meals a day.

If I may, I would like to make a couple of recommendations affecting the whole migrant problem nationally.

RECOMMENDATIONS

May I recommend that the Department of Agriculture give attention, as this committee undoubtedly has, to the problem of nationalization and federalization of the distribution of certain major basic farm products—cotton, corn, wheat and so forth, in order to ameliorate the differential between what the farmer receives and what the consumers pay. This will help to avoid further the export subsidies which in turn penalize our own processes of farm products and help the foreign competitor, such as Japan, in the cotton-processing industry by allowing them to obtain a lower price.

The CHAIRMAN. We have covered that in our hearings in different places—not in Washington but we have covered that.

Mr. WHATLEY. Further, may I recommend the federalization of the entire public assistance program, of the Social Security Board, that I believe was recommended by Miss Edith Abbott.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHATLEY. And a system of grants-in-aid for the general public relief.

Further, may I ask that the tenant purchase program be expanded with Senator Lee's bill and that this can be done cheaper by using land which has been taken up by the States and municipal governments for tax purposes, which land is at the present time bought in by land speculators under tax sales and which could be purchased much cheaper by the Federal Government and turned over to approved tenants.

Further, that the Federal Government set up migratory camps in all the urban centers to take care of the single migrant people, which camps should be located on land already owned by the Federal Government and should be constructed by Work Projects Administration labor to reduce the cost of such camps.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, sir.

(A statement by Congressman H. Jerry Voorhis, of California, was submitted for the record and appears as follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. H. JERRY VOORHIS, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM CALIFORNIA

In recent years an increasing number of people in the United States have come to realize that one of the major social and economic problems of our day is the problem of virtually homeless families who have been forced off the farms they formerly worked and uprooted from their former homes to wander across the face of the United States in search of a new place where they may strike root.

Four Phases of Migration

There are four different phases to this problem. First, is the mechanization of agriculture, coupled with low prices for many of our basic farm products and the consequent growth of large scale corporation agriculture with the pushing of many formerly independent farmers and tenants off the land to become either hired agricultural laborers in their old homes or to move to other parts of the country. The second phase of the problem is a net westward migration of these homeless people most of whom have gone to the States of the Pacific Coast and the Southwest. But unlike the typical migrations which have marked American history all through its course, these people have found not free lands in a new unoccupied country but instead a condition where there were already many people unemployed, where the price of land was high and the supply of labor plentiful. It is with these two phases of the problem that we must mainly concern ourselves, although the third and fourth phases cannot be neglected. They are the necessity in California and certain other States of a certain amount of seasonal labor in agriculture. This necessity has been present for a very long time and will almost unquestionably continue. Finally we have the problem of an overcrowding of certain areas as illustrated by the fact that 45 percent of the people newly arriving in California in the past 10 years have settled in Los Angeles County alone. The effect of their immigration in such a case is not so dramatic as when they congregate in rural areas and camp along roadsides but it is nevertheless a serious problem not only to the people newly arriving but also to the older settlers who find themselves confronted by severe competition for jobs together with a threat to established wage scales.

Recommendations

REHABILITATION OF AGRICULTURE

A variety of solutions for these general problems have been proposed. The only long-range solution, of course, is an improvement in the economic and social conditions of the whole United States and particularly of the farming areas of the South and Middle West, from which regions most of the migrants come. I shall not attempt to set forth here a complete program for the economic rehabilitation of American agriculture but it should at least be indicated that by means of rehabilitation loans the Farm Security Administration has enabled literally thousands of farm families who might otherwise have become migrants to improve their farming practices and repair their homesteads and make a new start on the land that has in the past yielded them so meager a living. A broad attack on farm tenancy is necessary as well, I think, as some modifications of our tax laws and our agricultural adjustment program so as to give advantage to the family unit farm over the large-scale corporation type of agriculture.

RECLAMATION AND CONSERVATION

Reclamation and conservation are of great importance. Soil conservation, the provisions of better fertilizers, and measures of this sort such as are being carried on in the Tennessee Valley, will help to stem the migrant tide and if properly administered the reclamation of formerly arid lands in the West can be the means of providing thousands of new homesteads for some of these people. Another program which offers real hope is the program of enabling migrant families either to rent or purchase on easy terms small plots of good land in regions where there is a considerable amount of seasonal demand for labor. In this way they have a home and are also enabled to form a corps of dependable workers in such communities.

RECOGNIZE AS NATIONAL PROBLEM

In the last analysis, however, it is important that steps be immediately taken to recognize practically the fact that this is a Federal problem and not a local one. Until this is done the full energies of the Nation as a whole will hardly be directed toward a solution and since the roots of the problem are so deep and so intimately associated with certain basic forces at work today it will never be solved until national attention is given to it.

FEDERAL REIMBURSEMENT TO STATES FOR MONEY SPENT ON TRANSIENT RELIEF

In the next place American States cannot resort to exclusion acts such as one nation is enabled to impose against immigration from other nations, nor do I feel that it would be right for us to do this if we could. On the other hand, it cannot be denied by any fair-minded person that in California particularly the relief rolls of the State, the work of the county hospitals, and the capacity of the schools have all been severely taxed by the rapid influx of these new people. If States like California are to be expected to absorb a large number of distressed folk into their social and economic fabric the least that the Nation as a whole can do is to assume its share of the financial burden involved. It is for this reason that I have introduced in the last three Congresses successively legislation providing for Federal reimbursement to States of the amount of money expended on the relief and medical care of nonresidents. This legislation leaves the administration of such relief entirely in the hands of the local State and county authorities but provides that if they do grant relief or medical care to nonresidents the Federal Government will repay them for moneys expended. The legislation also would bring about uniform residence requirements in the several States and would provide an orderly process for the determination of the State of legal settlement by the Social Security Board in case of disputes between State authorities.

I hope I have made it clear that I do not believe that this type of legislation is any long-range answer to this problem. I do feel, however, that to meet the immediate situation it is not only important but a matter of evident justice both to the States and counties to which a large number of people have moved as well as to those people themselves.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 o'clock p. m., the hearing was adjourned without date.)

(The following document was received subsequent to the hearing, and accepted for the record:)

FACTORS UNDERLYING THE INSECURITY OF FARM PEOPLE IN THE CORN BELT

(BY PAUL S. TAYLOR AND WILLIAM W. ALLEN)

The stream of destitute people who seek to better their condition by migration from one State to another is fed by those who have lost their security upon the land. The dramatic exodus to the Pacific coast of people detached from the soil of the southwestern Cotton Belt and of the adjacent hill country is well known. Less attention has been given to those conditions which now are unsettling people in the Corn Belt, and thus stimulating directly and indirectly a distress migration.

This study is based upon field investigations in the Middle West, principally in the summer of 1940. It is intended as a documentation of the factors which are producing insecurity there. It rests upon observation and interview, upon examination of farm journals and newspapers, and upon special studies by others. Attention is focussed upon those groups whose insecurity is growing, rather than upon those who derive advantages of status from the changes which are occurring.

This memorandum is complementary to the brief statement submitted by Paul S. Taylor at the hearings before the Special Committee on Interstate Migration on December 2, 1940, and should be read in conjunction with that statement.

The displacement of farm operators and farm laborers which now is in progress in the Corn Belt was not unforeseen. Just a decade ago A. G. Black, present administrator of the Farm Credit Administration, wrote:

"It is only yesterday that the engineers began to design farm equipment that could be used most effectively only upon large acreages. Up to the present, the prevailing size of farm has been the dominating force in the development of machinery. There are indications now that we are entering upon a period where machinery will become a dominant force for shaping the size of the farming unit * * *.

"Once the new equipment is introduced * * * it becomes a fixed investment, but there is a possibility of reducing costs by working this equipment to capacity. If the equipment has a larger capacity for land, additional land may be rented or purchased * * *.

"The time has just been reached when methods of production on large farms can differ sufficiently from those on small farms to make it desirable to form large farms solely to take advantage of the opportunity to exploit the benefits of large-scale production." (Large-scale farming in the Corn Belt, Journal of Farm Economics, 1931, vol. XIII, pp. 146–154.)

It is this simple principle of the economy of capacity use of machinery that causes operators who are unsuccessful in obtaining one of a diminishing number of farms to be forced off the land.

Dr. Black estimated the prospects of farm consolidation in the following language, which raises issues of definition:

"My own prophecy would be that there will not be many large farms or corporation farms created in the Corn Belt. I would expect a material increase in the size of the individual farm, however, during the next two decades. The most efficient family-size farm may well become from one to two sections in size." (Ibid.)

Definitions of "large-scale farming" and the "family farm" are not yet a matter of general agreement among economists. It is pertinent, therefore, to note that the census of 1930 reported 205 acres in a cash-grain area as the largest average size of farm in any type-of-farming area in Illinois. The largest average size of farm of any type-of-farming area of Iowa in the same year was 193 acres in the northern cash-grain area, an area which a study of the State Agricultural College characterized as "typified by large farms." Dr. Blacks' 1931 anticipation of "family-size farms" from "one to two sections in size" it therefore appears, suggested an increase of approximately from three to six times in size.

In 1930 E. G. Nourse, of the Institute of Economics, forecast an increase of farm size even greater than anticipated by A. G. Black. Disclaiming any attempt to determine the ultimate limits of farm expansion, he stated:

"I concur in the general judgment of students of farm management that agriculture does not lend itself at all readily to such aggregations of large units as would tempt corporate enterprise into this field. On the other hand, there is much to indicate that, even with the decentralized character of agricultural processes and the development of comparatively small power units adapted to farming, farms from four to possibly ten times the size of the family operating units to which we have been accustomed would make the best fit with the requirements of the new technique. Even if on grounds of conservatism we take the lower figure, the introduction of such a change in organization would permit a selective process which would result in culling out the three-quarters of our farmers who show themselves to be the poorest business managers. There is ample evidence that this process is even now in greater or less degree under way * * *" (Proceedings of the American Economic Association, 1930, pp. 126–132).

POWER MACHINERY

Of first importance is the development of tractors of a type suited to operations in the Corn Belt. The rubber-tired all-purpose tractor has come to be recognized as the type of machine most useful for power. Its adoption has occurred mainly since 1935. The number of farm tractors of all types in the four Corn Belt States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa was 230,839 in 1930. By 1940, according to the estimate of Implement and Tractor (July 6, 1940), the total had risen to 486,478, or an increase of 110.7 percent.

The significance of tractor power lies not only in its saving of labor. By raising total farm overhead costs, it also exerts strong pressure on operators to use their power to full capacity in order to reduce power cost per unit. The easiest and most natural way to serve this need is to acquire more land on which to employ the machine. The result is stiff competition among farm operators for a limited supply of land. This principle had more elaborate statement in the testimony referred to earlier, and need not be developed further here. (See also Technology on the Farm, published by United States Department of Agriculture, 1940; National Research Project, Tractors, Trucks, and Automobiles, 1938; and presentations by staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, 1940, and before the Temporary National Economic Committee, 1940.)

TILLAGE AND HARVESTING MACHINERY

Perhaps even more effective in producing incentive to expand size of farm than the tractor itself is the development of new and improved implements specially adapted for use with tractors. Mechanical corn pickers, two-row and four-row planters, and cultivators are examples. Mechanical corn pickers in the spring of 1940 already numbered 1 to each 9½ Iowa farms, according to the assessors' reports. By 1938 more than one-third the corn was mechanically picked over great stretches from Illinois to South Dakota.

Beyond the mechanical corn picker there is already visible the combined harvester, which picks and shells corn in one operation in the field. Of course, mechanical pickers and shellers, operating separately, are not new. Now they are being built into a single machine and operated experimentally in comparison with other types of combines. Preliminary results of the corn combines are very promising. A few machines are in commercial use.

NEW PRACTICES

One of the obstacles which it was feared might limit the use of combines in corn is moisture. A test recently reported by Farm Implement News is basis for a claim that—

"Elevators in surplus corn territory can usually handle shelled corn if the moisture is not over 25 percent. For storage in grain bins on farms, the moisture should be under 15 percent as a rule. The conclusion seems clear that farmers in surplus corn territory engaged in grain rather than livestock farming can pick and shell in the field if they so desire and market their shelled corn immediately, just as they do their wheat. The saving in labor and machine-use by this system is obvious" (Farm Implement News, October 31, 1940).

Perhaps some economic aspects of the use which may be made of corn combines are as significant as their mechanical perfection, which appears ready to revolutionize harvesting methods in the cash-grain areas of the Corn Belt. Some of the first combines have been purchased by elevator men, or grain handlers, who then offer either to buy corn in the field and harvest it, or to harvest it on a custom contract for the farmer. Buying corn in the field is the counterpart of "patch buying" lettuce, melons, or other vegetables. Patch buying is one of the practices by which the handlers (i. e., packers, processors, or grower shippers) have secured volume for their processing and marketing organizations, extended their control over production on the land, and integrated and concentrated phases of production, financing and marketing of vegetables. So few corn combines are yet in use that any generalization would be hazardous. Besides, there is no way to ascertain now whether the differential in capacity to handle moisture will or will not favor the handlers strongly. The trend will bear watching, however, for what it may mean to the status of corn farmers.

One of the limiting factors which has restricted enlargement of Corn Belt farms is the ability of a man to cultivate his corn within the season. Experiments designed to eliminate the necessity of row cultivation by new and faster methods of early tillage have been made during the past 2 or 3 years under auspices of a well-known hybrid corn breeder in Illinois. These are described in the Hybrid Corn News, summer issue, 1939:

"NEW IMPLEMENTS, NEW METHODS FOR CORN WORLD OF TOMORROW

"Under careful scrutiny on the El Paso farm of Lester Pfister is an 80-acre test field of hybrid corn drilled May 24 with the newly designed eight-row planter pictured above and cultivated with the drag harrow, finger weeder, rotary hoe, and other implements of speedy, mass cultivation.

"The test is being made, according to the silver-haired corn breeder, to determine if weed growth can be controlled without the traditional, slow implements of row cultivation to the extent that the economies offered by this type of streamlined farming can successfully be incorporated into the production of hybrid seed corn.

"Projected plans for harvesting the 80 acres also include a new type corn combine that will pick and shell the corn in one operation, delivering it in bags much in the same manner as our small grain combines.

"Watching the experiment also, with keen eyes and an ear to the ground for a possible new equipment market, are those manufacturers whose newly designed implements of production are being tried for the first time in this experiment.

"With the new planter the rows are drilled 20 inches apart. The planter makes deep furrows, into which is dropped one kernal of seed every 19 inches. This gives the same number of stalks per acre as given under normal methods of planting. Drilling the corn in this fashion, which allowing greater "feeding" ground for cultivation implements of the Corn Belt.

"Expedient to the successful use of this type of planting and care is a good program of advance cultivation. For instance, the piece of ground being tested on the Pfister farm was fall plowed from wheat and alfalfa land. And further preparation in advance of planting time included one working with a field cultivator and four workings with a wide harrow with teeth set very deep. Planting was delayed until the last of May in order to allow the weeds to be well sprouted and worked down several times before the actual planting.

"Due to the deep furrows made by the planter and in which the corn hills are planted, the ground can be worked with the rotary hoe and harrow until it has reached considerable size. In being worked the ground gradually fills into the furrows around the roots of the corn.

"If the ground has received sufficient advance cultivation and the corn is cultivated frequently enough during early growth, Mr. Pfister believes that the leaves of the corn shading the ground will offer sufficient impediment to the weeds to hold them in check for the remainder of the season.

"At present Mr. Pfister contemplates continuing the experiments with records on costs, weed control, and yields carefully kept and checked against the same factors appearing in contemporary plots planted, cultivated, and harvested in traditional Corn Belt fashion.

"Just as the introduction of hybrid corn into the Corn Belt has relegated varieties of open-pollinated corn into comparative obscurity, it is also calling forth new implements of production."

In August 1940 these experiments were reported to us by interview with the corn breeder. He stated with confidence that the new practices give promise at an early date of eliminating the necessity for row cultivation and of facilitating the harvest of corn by combine.

The elimination of row-crop cultivation has additional economic significance beyond the breaking of a work factor hitherto limiting size of farm. If achieved, it will be possible for farmers in the Corn Belt to do all their tractor work with machines of the crawler type, instead of, as now, using mainly the all-purpose, row-crop type. Crawler-type tractors are more costly, but fuel costs are much less. Because overhead costs will thus be higher relative to operating costs, the principle of the economy of capacity use may become even more important than at present as an agent of farm consolidation in the Corn Belt.

SMALL GRAIN

The recent development of small combine harvesters for small grains is spreading this form of harvesting rapidly into the Corn Belt. Early use of huge combine harvesters for large-scale operations was on the Pacific coast. In the twenties and early thirties these great "factories on wheels" were rapidly displacing wheat farmers in the Inland Empire of Washington. See Edwin Bates, Commercial Survey of the Pacific Northwest, U. S. Department of Commerce, Domestic Commerce Series, No. 51, 1931, pp. 230–231, 241–246, 268–274, 283–284, 311–313, 332–334.) A. P. Brodell, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, describes the spread of the combine as its size became smaller:

"The increase in the use of the combined harvester-thresher during the last 20 years has been exceedingly rapid and widespread. Its limited use in harvesting less than 5 percent of the wheat crop in 1920 has increased until in 1938 it was used in harvesting about 50 percent of the wheat acreage harvested for grain. During the same period the number of combines on farms in the United States increased from about 4,000 to around 100,000.

"Types and sizes also have changed, the general tendency being toward smaller and lighter machines. The 'baby' combine, of recent development, has been largely responsible for the rapid spread of the combine method of harvesting in the Central, Eastern, and Southern States, where wheat acreages are small compared with the large acreages of the Plains and western wheat country. The combine is used also in the harvesting of small grains other than wheat, and in the harvesting of such crops as grain sorghums, soybeans, and grass seeds; but it still remains of primary importance in harvesting wheat. * * *

"The limited use of the combine in harvesting oats for grain is due probably to the desire of farmers to save the oats straw for feed and bedding. Consequently, the combine is used for harvesting oats to a greater extent in those areas where oats are plentiful than in areas where the acreage is limited. In the East North Central States nearly 15 percent of the oats harvested for grain was harvested with the combine [in 1938]. In the Middle Atlantic, West North Central, and South Atlantic States less than 9 percent of the crop was combined." (Agricultural Situation, August 1939.)

The desire to use straw, which is a present factor retarding combine harvesting in some areas, presents no insurmountable barrier. Some farmers already use pick-up balers to salvage the straw left in windrows by combines. (See Farmers' Guide, November 2, 1940; Capper's Farmer, April 1940.) In Story County, Iowa, small farmers have been enabled to save straw from their small combine-harvested fields by using custom balers. One custom operator baled 550 acres in a season. Capper's Farmer, August 1940.) About 68,000 combine threshers were sold in 1939 and 1940. (Farm Implement News, February 6, 1941.)

LIVESTOCK

It has been pointed out frequently that the livestock phases of farm operation are a present limiting factor in expansion of size of farm. The recent report of the Department of Agriculture on Technology on the Farm, for example, calls attention to the fact that, to 1936, "in sections where livestock production prevails, the area in crops per farm has shown little tendency to increase" in contrast to a fairly substantial increase in cash grain. How serious an obstacle to expansion livestock production is, and how long it will remain so, are other questions. The paragraphs which follow suggest answers which are being applied to important phases of the livestock industry.

FORAGE

Production and handling of forage crops is a major factor in the cattle- and sheep-feeding industry of the Corn Belt. At this point, as in other "bottlenecks," mechanization is now weakening the bonds which have held the scale of production small. Pick-up balers have greatly reduced time and labor requirements for harvesting hay and straw, and reduced storage requirements. Tractors and rubber tires on existing types of haying machinery have materially speeded up old methods. Recently ensilage cutters have been adapted for tractor-drawn field operation. They require much less labor than the previous method. Stationary ensilage cutters have commonly been owned either individually, by two or more cooperating farmers, or by custom operators. Field ensilage cutters, rubber-tired for great mobility, and representing greater investment, offer increased probabilities of cooperative or custom operation. Which form of ownership will predominate is not yet clear.

Now there is being developed the forage harvester for field chopping of hay or grass silage. Prof. F. W. Duffee, of the University of Wisconsin, reports:

"An analysis was then made of the comparative labor requirements of the field baler and the large field chopper, showing an advantage in favor of the field chopping method of 13 to 1, insofar as the work involved in getting the hay onto the wagon was concerned. The prices of these units would be about the same" (Agricultural Engineering, January 1941).

A dairy farmer in Illinois who uses a forage harvester reports a lower, but still impressive, saving of labor:

"It was difficult to get help, and we like this method because it enables us to put up hay twice as fast with a crew half as large as would be needed for other methods that would be practical on this farm. We run a large dairy herd, operate 5 milk routes, and bottle 1,700 quarts of milk and a lot of cream each day. It takes considerable feed to produce so much milk, and we keep 80 of the 640 acres in alfalfa. It would require a big labor bill to handle 3 cuttings a year in the old way, and we would lose more hay. This way materially reduces weather loss and practically eliminates loss of leaves" (A. G. Maupin, New Way To Put Up Hay, Capper's Farmer, February 1939).

In terms of acreage, hay is the third largest crop in the United States. Professor Duffee points out the meaning of the harvester, if successful as it appears to be:

"I believe the forage harvester is of profound significance, as it represents the last link in the development of mechanized agriculture, insofar as the three major crops outside the Cotton Belt are concerned. I repeat that we have mechanized grain and corn, but not hay; when haymaking is fully mechanized we will then for the first time have fully mechanized agriculture insofar as the field work is concerned on millions of American farms" (Agricultural Engineering, January 1941).

E. W. Hamilton asserts that "the chopping of hay in the field promises to effect as much of a revolution in American agriculture as did the coming of the self-binder" (Country Gentleman, August 1940).

Other forms of mechanization also contribute to the handling of forage. Blowers elevate chopped hay. Implement and Tractor (July 6, 1940) calls the forage blower a "sign of a new roughage era," and adds that "used in connection with the forage harvester, the forage blower may lower the curtain on pitchforks and other equipment depending heavily on manpower."

Not all improved methods come through commercially produced machinery. Ingenious, practical farmers are continually at work developing semimechanizations, or making new mechanical adaptations, or devising new working short cuts. Farm journals are filled with examples which may be summarized as follows:

"A Nebraska farmer speeds up raking by pulling two adapted rakes behind an old automobile" (Capper's Farmer, May 1939). "Some farmers are mounting horse-propelled hay bucks on rebuilt automobiles or on tractors" (Capper's Farmer, May 1939, May 1940). "An Illinois farmer applies the same home-made device to move grain shocks to the thresher" (Bloomington Pantagraph, July 29, 1939).

"A Missouri custom thresher built four of these units to eliminate all his bundle wagons" (Capper's Farmer, April and July 1939). "A Minnesota farmer has had built a tractor-mounted sweep stacker in order to stack hay from the windrow" (Capper's Farmer, October 1939).

"An Indiana farmer feeds two stationary hay balers placed at opposite ends of the field with his tractor buck rakes to give him a full load in both directions" (Farmers' Guide, August 24, 1940). "Simple woven wire devices to roll off silage into trench silos are used to speed unloading" (Capper's Farmer, July 1939).

"In anticipation of commercially produced forage harvesters, 'Not a few have improvided crude machines of their own'" (Country Gentleman, August 1940).

"The use of grass silage began to attract attention about 3 years ago. 'The implement industry unfortunately did not rush in and provide the needful machinery, yet grass silage in this country has spread like wildfire. This year it will be put up on thousands of dairy farms across the continent. More machines for harvesting the grass and getting it into the silos are needed. Some implements will be available this year that we should have had 2 years ago.' Barns are now being designed and built to provide the greater strength required to store chopped hay than to store loose hay" (Country Gentleman, March 1941).

Mechanization of one stage in the process often creates pressure to improve the methods used in other stages. Previously regarded as efficient, these customary methods have become bottlenecks to be eliminated. A 735-acre Indiana farmer, for example, found himself in this position after equipping his farm with tractors:

"With tractor power in the field, transportation to the farmstead or feeding point constituted the bottleneck in haying operations. He eliminated it by making rubber-tired wagons with flat racks. Behind a car or truck these wagons will shuttle a load of hay any distance up to a mile without causing any congestion in the field. One season his father, with a small pick-up truck and three wagons, hauled all the hay, kept loading and unloading crews busy, and replaced four men and four teams" (Capper's Farmer, May 1940).

Methods found efficient in one area of specialized production migrate to other areas. Thus—

"With the increase in stacking, particularly in central Iowa, has come a new enterprise—custom stacking. Taking a cue from the West, quite a few combination sweep rake-stackers, pushed by tractors, were put into use this year. In Marshall County, Iowa, a dozen or more of these outfits were in operation. In this section of the Corn Belt stacking of hay was almost unknown until last year. The usual rate charged by custom stackers was $1.25 per hour for machine, tractor, and operator" (Country Gentleman, November 1940).

TENDING LIVESTOCK

One of the reasons why it has been assumed that handling livestock will be a barrier to expanded farming operations is its high labor requirement. We may expect that for a time livestock production, particularly in certain phases, will retard farm enlargement. Enterprising farmers, however, already are developing practices which make it doubtful how serious a limiting factor ultimately this will prove to be. The rapid development of economies in forage production has been described above. It remains to indicate some of the ways in which labor handling and storage costs in feeding operations and around the barns are being cut, thus opening the way for larger operations. Scrapers on cables run through a barn remove and load manure in a single operation (observed in Livingston County, Ill.). Tractor-mounted loaders are coming into use by many large feeders. An Iowa farmer reports that with loader and tractor-drawn spreader he and his sons have loaded and spread "10 loads of manure in 50 minutes" (Capper's Farmer, October 1939). Mobile hay bunks simplify hay hauling and feeding, save hay from trampling, and permit feeding always in a clean spot. Mechanical elevation of feed by blower or carrier, overhead storage, and gravity or carrier distribution to feed bunks are increasingly in use. Feeding plant lay-out begins to resemble that of commercial elevators. A Nebraska farmer, for example, has arranged his storage building so that—

"There is a dump-pit elevator and feed grinder at the ground level in the center of the building. The storage space for shelled grains is above the driveway. Grain may be spouted down from each of the several overhead bins into the hopper of the grinder. The ground feed is delivered into the elevator pit, from which place it may be lifted to the top of the building and delivered through the pipe at the left to bunks in the feed lot. There is a telescopic joint where the picture shows a bend in the pipe. The section of the pipe below the joint may be swung about in a wide arc to reach several feed bunks. Mr. Meyer can feed 100 or more steers without shoveling any grain" (Capper's Farmer, September 1939).

A recent article on 'beef-making equipment" reports that on an Indiana farm "assembly-line methods have been adopted in arrangement of buildings and in processing, mixing, and delivery of feed to the lots." The article continues:

"At the farmstead, equipment is arranged on the principle of an assembly line so that feed preparation and mixing is a continuous process from bins, cribs, mows, and silo to the cattle.

"The hay chopper is mounted permanently across a runway onto which trucks may be backed so that feed may be unloaded directly into it. The blower discharges into bins in a mill building which is equipped with grinding and mixing machinery. If corn is to be chopped it is blown into one side of the mill and hay into the other. Grain is run into four small bins from which it may be spouted into trucks or wagons.

"At feeding time, corn and corn meal and chopped hay are loaded at the elevator and silage at the silo. The hand-fed ration is thus made up as feed wagons proceed toward the bunks.

"Mr. Morgan finishes 800 to 1,000 cattle annually, and so labor charges without special equipment would contribute greatly to beef-making costs. * * * Equipment provided enables 1 man to feed and bed 200 steers in 3½ hours a day, the same time formerly required in caring for 50 head. Thus the labor charge against beef turned out at that plant has been reduced 75 percent" (Capper's Farmer, June 1940).

A variation of the same pattern is employed by a Harrison County, Iowa, farmer, who reports:

"I bought the place as a beef-making farm and designed my plant purposely with the notion of saving the labor of at least 1 man * * * With this arrangement 1 man can feed 400 cattle and look them over to see that they all come up to eat, within 1½ to 2 hours * * * The second man is free to milk and look after sows and pigs. I formerly employed a third to attend those chores" (Capper's Farmer, May 1940).

DISTANCE FARMING

Improvement of the highways and the development of more mobile machinery are important factors making possible enlargement of individual farm enterprises. Tractors capable of rapid movement in fields and on roads are now available. Rubber tires are essential elements in both achievements. Rubber provides better traction, consequently more power in the fields; also it makes for greater speed. Between 1937 and 1940 the percentage of wheel-type tractors sold by manufacturers for domestic use which were equipped with rubber tires rose from approximately 43 to 92 percent (Implement and Tractor, July 6, 1940, and Farm Implement News, February 6, 1941). Crawler-type tractors can be moved speedily on highways by loading them on rubber-tired trucks. Rubber tires are becoming common on harvesting machines and appearing on tillage machines partly to cushion shock, but even more to give mobility.

Since most farm land is already occupied, it is not always easy for an operator to acquire contiguous fields to meet his need for expansion. With mobile machinery, it becomes possible to incorporate in a single enterprise fields which are not part of a single block of land but which are distant from the headquarters. While costs rise because fields are not contiguous, the rise is nullified to a surprising degree by the developments noted above.

The substitution of rubber for steel or iron-bound wood has made possible basic changes in engineering design. Prof. F. W. Duffee, of the University of

Wisconsin, states that "rubber seems to me to be the nucleus of many recent changes in agricultural methods. It makes them practical. With rubber we find it possible to do things we hadn't thought of, or hadn't thought possible" (Country Gentleman, November 1939).

Among the things which become practical with rubber is consolidation of farms in order to cut overhead costs. Neil M. Clark states:

"Changes in agriculture scarcely foreseen even by the most farsighted may result from the coming of rubber. In certain sections, for example, there has been a marked tendency toward an increase in the size of the family size farm, made possible by modern equipment. But as Professor Duffee pointed out, a farmer can't always get additional land next door; but a mile or so down the road there may be plenty.

"'We used to get questions about expanding,' said Mr. Duffee, 'and when we investigated we often found it meant hauling equipment from one farm to another. As long as it was a case of steel wheels, or removing steel lugs to go on the highway, or perhaps loading plows or even the tractor itself on a truck, we were inclined to discourage the idea. Today a man can go a mile or so on the road with rubber-tired equipment in less time than he could go to the back end of his farm 10 years ago. So now when we are asked about expanding, our inclination is to say: "Go ahead."'

"Mr. Babcock (Ithaca, N. Y. farm operator) sees rubber tires thus helping to put agriculture in stronger hands. In his opinion, the principal effect of mounting farm equipment on rubber will be to spread the area over which a competent farmer may operate efficiently. 'This means,' he says, 'that more and more land, in the Northeast at least, will be run by those who have the means for working it and who possess the ability to operate it. Areas of land worked by a single operator need not be adjacent.'" (Ibid.)

The complexity of the pattern of farm operations which is developing is described in a recent study in Indiana:

"The mechanization of agriculture and the continuous shifts in the ownership of farm land have been major factors in developing a farm unit complexity little appreciated by even the most observing agricultural workers. Only 55 percent of the operating units in Deercreek Township and 42 percent of them in Johnson Township were located in one contiguous tract and owned by one individual. The remaining operating units presented pictures of varying degrees of complexity. Some of the operating units included as many as five different landowners, and as many as six separately located tracts of land, some of which ranged from 7 to 15 miles from the home tract.

"Even though definite evidence indicates that the farm-unit picture was becoming somewhat complex as early as 1914, it is apparent that recent trends toward larger operating units accompanied, or encouraged, by the increased use of large-scale machinery has made the situation more acute, and now presents new and different problems in the efficient operation and management of the land on many Indiana farms." (John R. Hays, Land Tenure and Land Use in Selected Areas in Indiana. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, February 1940.)

Harry O'Brien confirms the trend of noncontiguous, or distance, farming, as a part of farm consolidation in the Corn Belt:

"Power farming makes this possible. The farmer wants more land. He often cannot get it next to his own farm. So he gets it where he can. By truck or fast-speed tractor on rubber tires, he can transport one set of tools from one farm to another. This is being done by thousands of Corn Belt farmers today, as their operations become larger" (Our Changing Farm Map, Country Gentleman, June 1940).

How noncontiguous tracts can be combined into a single livestock farm is suggested by a 200-cow dairy in Pennsylvania. Seven places have been consolidated into a 700-acre unit, made possible largely by modern equipment on rubber tires. (Furrow, July–August 1940).

The most extreme examples of distance farming which we observed in the Corn Belt were two farms, each with large fields 75 and 80 miles apart, respectively. The Iowa farm comprised 1,000 acres all told, and the Illinois farm more than 1,100 acres. These probably should not be called "chain farms." They were operated not as separate farms under a single management, but as single-farm operations in very much the same sense as if the fields had been contiguous.

In the Wheat Belt distance farming takes on even more extreme forms than are yet apparent in the Corn Belt. A Kansas farmer operates two wheat farms, one of them 320 acres in size. "When the harvest is finished at home, (he) loads the tractor on the truck, hitches the 12-foot combine behind, and in 5 hours he is 116 miles away ready for the Scott County harvest" (Capper's Farmer, June 1940). Another Kansas farmer loads his crawler-type tractor on a truck and farms two sections 130 miles distance from his home farm of 300 acres. He also takes dirt-moving contracts during fall and winter and "uses a house trailer as headquarters for the operating crew when they are away from home" (Capper's Farmer, September 1939). Interstate grain farming is practiced by an Oklahoma farmer who also operates another tract 220 miles away in the Texas Panhandle, hauling his equipment back and forth by truck (Capper's Farmer, July 1940).

DISPLACEMENT OF LABORERS

A picture of the traditional farm-wage worker of the Corn Belt known as the hired man was drawn by H. C. Taylor more than 20 years ago.

"On the general farm in the northern part of the country the typical wage worker on the farm is a young man who is temporarily a member of the farmer's family as well as a part of the farm crew. He eats at the family table, reads the paper in the family living room after supper, puts his soiled clothes into the family washing, and in general shares the life of the farm home. If he is a good hand he will soon become interested in the work of the farm and attached to the farm by many ties other than the wages he draws. This young man is a part of the farm family, and whether he is contented with the life and interested in the work depends largely upon the success of the farmer and his wife in developing sympathetic and happy relations. There are no class distinctions. The young man expects to become an independent farmer and feels that he is gaining skill, money, and credit which will enable him to establish a home of his own in a few years. * * * The hired man is not satisfied simply to eat and sleep in the house. He expects to be made to feel at home, and if he does not feel at home, he will move along and try another place. The farmer and his hired man work side by side in the field and in the barn; they sit side by side at the table, and it is perfectly natural that the employee should expect to be considered a part of the family. * * * *The goal of the hired man is the position of an independent farmer on a farm of his own*" (Agricultural Economics, 1920, pp. 168, 157–158, 176).

Since this description was written the position of farm wage workers in the Corn Belt has undergone marked change. More efficient methods of work have raised productivity per man. The national research project reports a decline in family labor employed in the corn area between 1909 and 1936 of nearly 19 percent and in hired labor of 30 percent. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics reports continuance of the decline of hired workers since 1936. L. J. Fletcher states: "Farm machines are largely responsible for the disappearance of women and children as workers in the fields and are displacing the 'hired man'" (Journal of Farm Economics, May 1937). Studies by Case and Wilcox, of the University of Illinois, fully corroborate this trend:

"One of the unfortunate aspects of all these changes—more mechanization and less labor entering into crop production—has been that the farm affords less opportunity for employment. On the cash-grain farms in the study, the number of laborers hired declined almost in proportion to the reduced labor requirements for crop production" (R. H. Wilcox and H. C. M. Case, Twenty-five Years of Illinois Crop Costs 1913–37, Bull. 456, p. 403).

The falling off in total employment available to wage workers on farms has been reflected in complete elimination from the occupation of some, in underemployment of others. Curiously, the number of persons who call themselves farm-wage laborers may actually increase. As Prof. Ray E. Wakeley has noted:

"Improved methods and greater efficiency in farming are causing an increasing number of farm consolidations. Especially in the cash-grain areas of the Corn Belt, combinations of from 2 to 10 farms are reported with increasing frequency. Changes like these add to the number of hired laborers, but they decrease the total number of workers needed in agriculture" (Surplus Farm Labor, Iowa Farm Economist, October 1940).

Where the displaced farm laborers go is mainly to the towns, often on Work Projects Administration or relief. Occasionally we were informed in the summer of 1940 that "some of the laborers who come from Kentucky move back there." This resembles the return of Oklahoma laborers from California, or southerners from the mountains left unemployed by depression in automobile plants of Michigan. Some farm laborers find jobs in factories, which, in the eastern part of the Corn Belt, are not distant from farming areas. For this reason the problem of displaced farm laborers (and farmers) stands out less starkly in Ohio and Indiana than in the Cotton Belt, Wheat Belt, and western portions of the Corn Belt itself. Stimulation of defense activity is enlarging temporarily this outlet for the displaced.

There is little protest on the farms over the displacement of laborers. As employers, the farmers are naturally relieved by the process and the laborers are not vocal.

"What the tractor has displaced in greater volume than the farm tenant is the hired hand. But the farm laborer is a voiceless fellow who looks for a job somewhere else if he can't find it on the farm and not much is heard from him" (El Paso (Ill.) Journal, July 4, 1940).

Declining employment of wage laborers makes an appeal not only to farmers but to their wives as well. For example:

"Little or no outside help is required when you use a McCormick-Deering picker to harvest your crop. It takes only one man to operate both tractor and picker. Thus the problem of finding and boarding a large crew of outside help at corn-picking time is eliminated, and the womenfolk, too, are relieved of worry and extra kitchen work" (advertisement pamphlet entitled "McCormick-Deering Quality Built Corn Pickers").

Intimacy of relationship between the farmer's family and his wage laborers is one of the chief reasons why the status of "hired man" always has been regarded as paternalistically protected and as superior. It is this very fact, however, that the hired man lives in the household, that adds to the burden of work by the farmer's wife. Open protest against it appears to be growing. The wife of a central Illinois machine farmer emphasized this to us in the summer of 1940:

"You can remember this: The women won't do any more cooking for hired men. I never have a man in the house. For the last 6 weeks they've been feeding them in the church on big long tables, at 40 cents a meal. Otherwise they eat in restaurants. Our men bring their dinners. Let their own wives put up their dinners. Farm women aren't going to be tied down. They aren't going to be slaves. Farm women want modern homes."

She was willing, however, to drive farm machinery and to have her 12-year-old daughter do so.

A description of the growing industrialization of the relationship between employer and employed on the land appears in a report from St. Clair County issued in 1938 by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission:

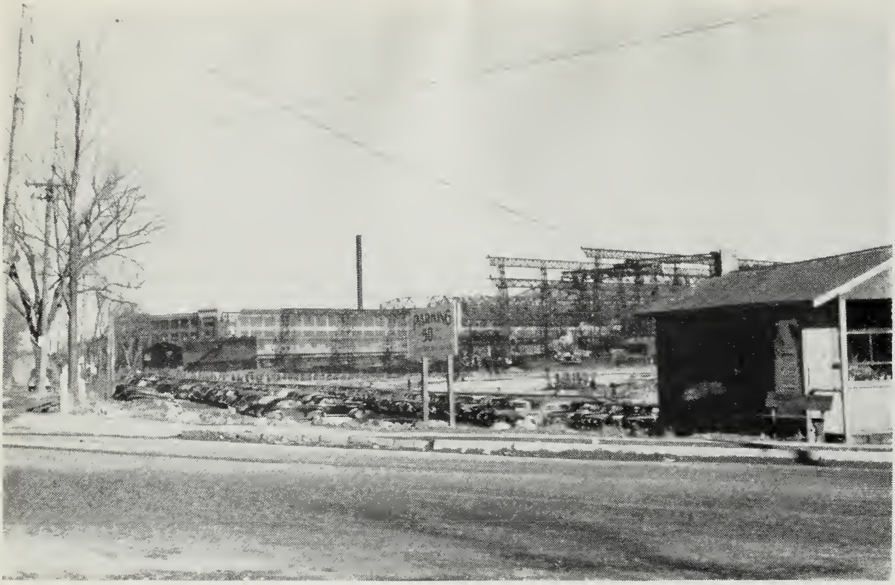
"It was found and agreed that the number of farm laborers is decreasing for the reason that the cost of living was rising, while the wage of farm laborers remained stationary. Also, farm operators have in large measure discontinued giving foodstuffs and shelter, in addition to wages, regarding their workers more as employees in other industries. This circumstance may contribute to another phase of the problem, since it tends to result in the use of casual and transient labor, especially in seasons of greatest need. This results, as pointed out by the representatives of the farm bureau, in absence of needed skills. The farm bureau particularly emphasized the fact that a man doing only occasional farm labor, even if this has been his principal occupation, may now be helpless under present-day farm mechanization." (Release dated April 20, 1938, entitled "Exhibit K, Relief Rolls and Farm Employment.")

Of similar tenor is the report from Agricultural Digest, March 30, 1937, of an innovation:

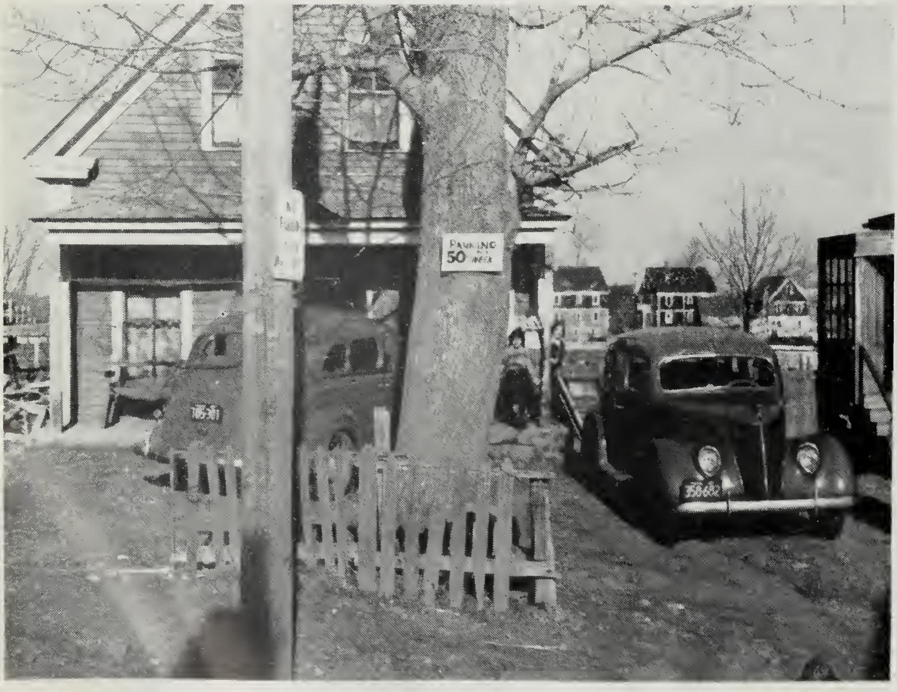
"Recent help-wanted advertisements for farm hands have in many cases stipulated married men, with trailer houses. In former years Iowa farmers hired unmarried men, boarding them in their own homes, or employed married helpers, providing them with separate houses."

The photographs in this section were submitted by the Farm Security Administration and were accepted for the record.

They illustrate conditions existing in and around defense areas in various sections of the country, such as were described by various witnesses in the December 1940, February and March 1941 hearings, and appearing in parts 8, 9, and 10 of these hearings.



Parking lot adjoining Quincy, Mass., shipyards. Cars parked here bear tags from many States.

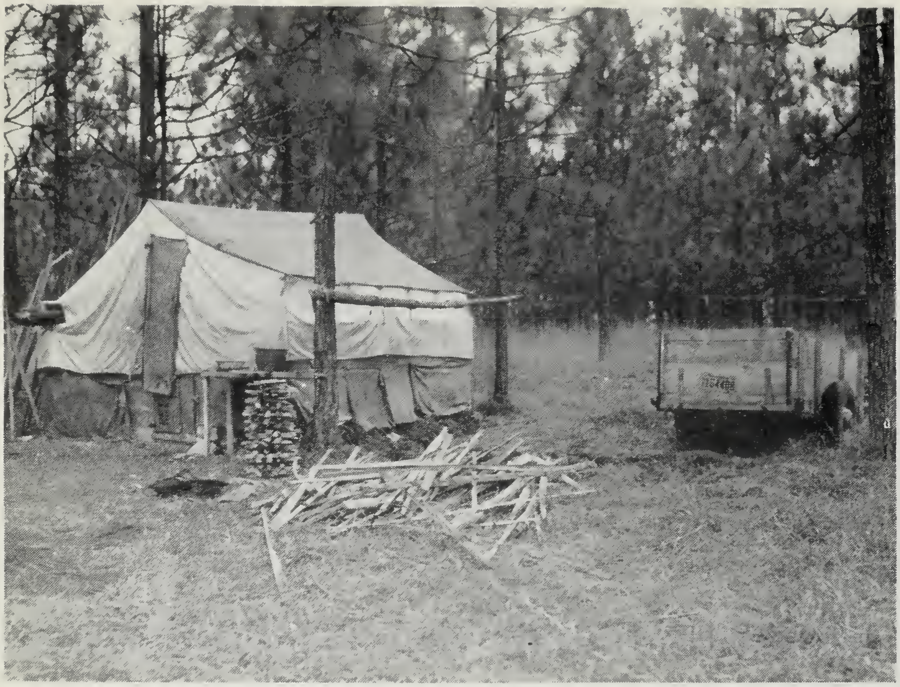

PARKING
50 WEEK

People at Quincy, Mass., rent their back yards to shipbuilders for car space because of lack of parking space.

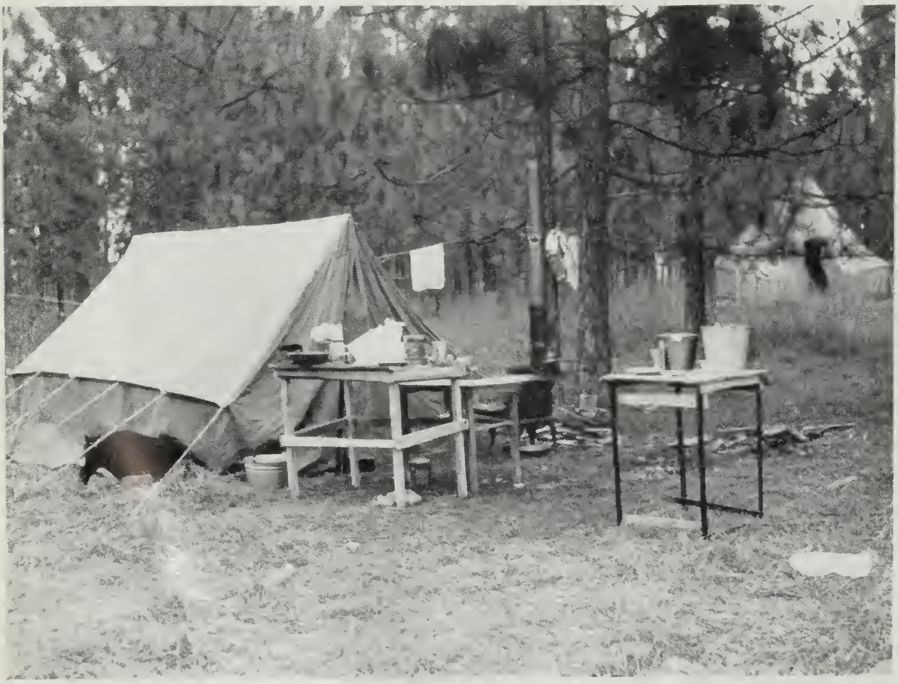
4072-B

Trailer home of Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Burton near the Bath, Maine, shipyard.

Migrating farmer from southern Louisiana seeking work at Camp Livingston, Alexandria. He is carrying his bedding and a portable house.



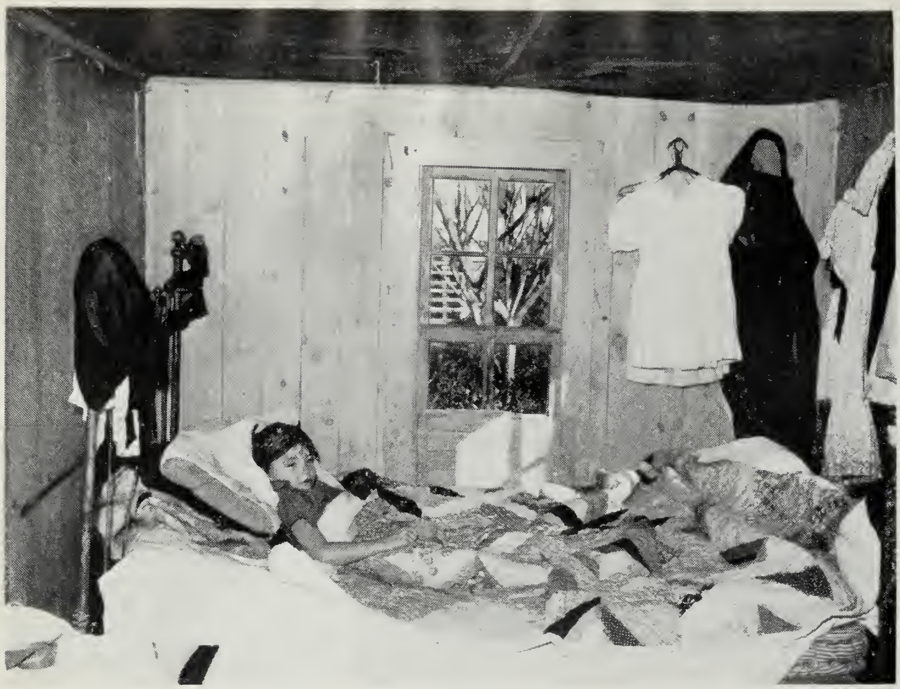
California migrant's home in the woods near Camp Livingston, La., where he found work on the defense project. He pays no rent for his tent, being on Government property. December 1940.



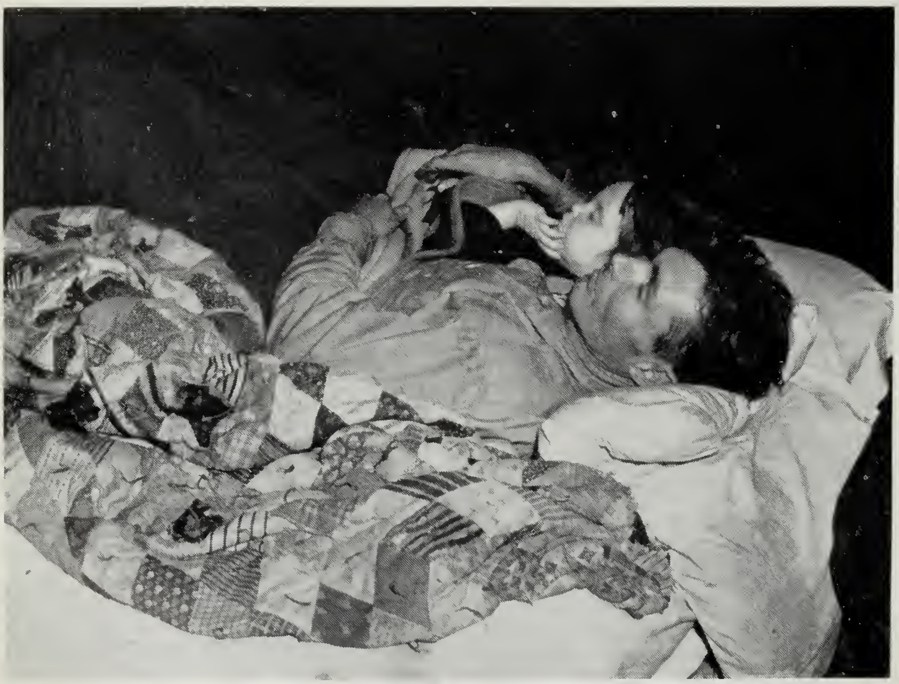
Camp Livingston, La., construction workers live in these tents on Government property rent free. Cooking is done out of doors and there are no sanitary facilities.

Open garbage cans are a threat to health in this trailer camp near San Diego, Calif.

Defense construction workers' children playing around garbage and rubbish heap in the rear of their tent homes near Camp Livingston, La. December 1940.



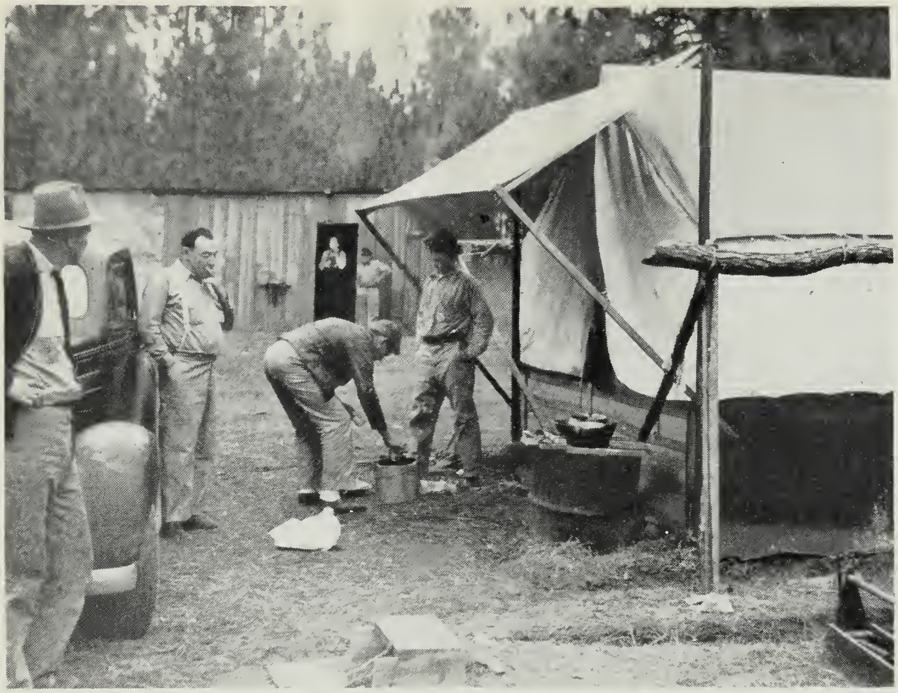
Sick child living in squalor near a defense construction job at Corpus Christi, Tex. His father, a construction worker, was injured while at work and later found employment on a parking lot. December 1940.



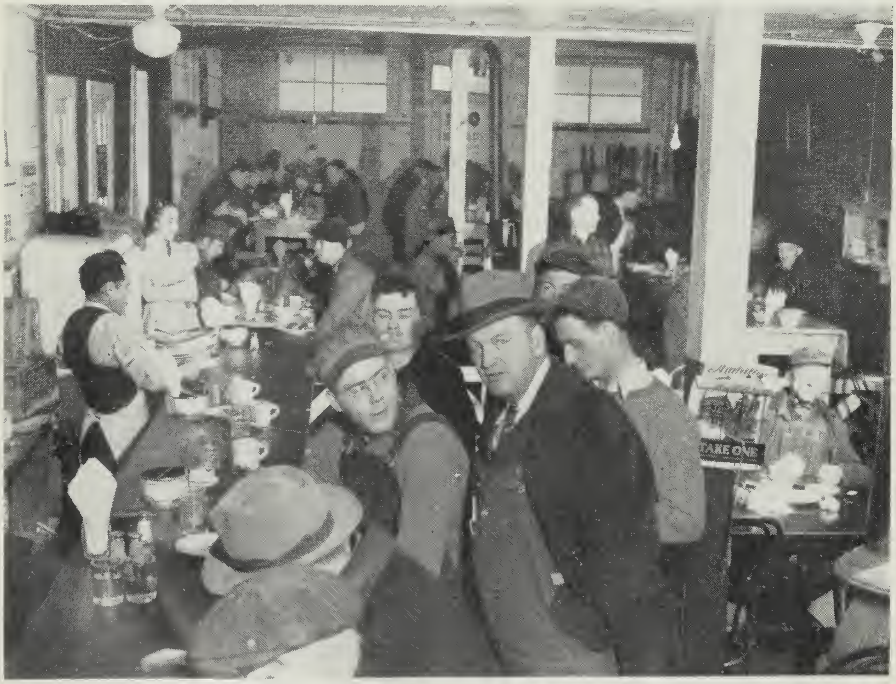
Tent occupied by men, two women, and two children near Alexandria, La. The men worked on construction at the Army camp and slept in shifts.

These men, employed at the naval air base at Corpus Christi, Tex., left their families in Louisiana because of the housing shortage where they worked. December 1940.

Three migrant youths from Los Angeles interview a friend at San Diego about jobs. They were told they could find work in the morning if they hustled. December 1940.



Camp Livingston construction workers from Monroe, La., cooking out of doors in front of shacks they have built for themselves out of salvaged lumber. Here they have no sanitary facilities and pay no rent, since the shacks are on Government property.



Shipyard workers' lunchroom at Bath, Maine, showing crowded conditions due to increased personnel at the yard.

In Iowa we were informed in the summer of 1940 that this type of advertisement continues to appear annually, usually in the spring.

Wallace's Farmer raises the question editorially of the progressive shortening of the term of employment:

"When do you fire your hired man? Some farmers were discussing this up in Cerro Gordo County, Iowa, recently. The general practice seemed to be to hire an extra man in the spring, sometimes not till late April, and then fire him after harvest. That makes a work year of 2½ months. Maybe another month in the fall if the corn is husked by hand" (August 26, 1939).

Apparently for some who used to obtain steady work the year round opportunity has dropped to seasonal employment from planting through harvest; sometimes the laborer is even expected to furnish his own house on the farm.

The effects of labor displacement are not limited to permanent wage workers. They extend to the sons of farm operators as well. As Wilcox and Case recently have pointed out:

"The sons of farmers are finding, as they approach maturity, less opportunity of becoming established as farmers themselves. There are not so many farms for rent; and the opportunity to get a start by working as a hired laborer has been reduced. This reduced opportunity tends to offset the effects of the greater attractiveness of farming and farm life so far as keeping young men and women on the farms is concerned" (Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 476, p. 404).

Also, this increasing difficulty of ascending the agricultural ladder, caused by the increase in capital equipment necessary to start farming, and by growing competition for farms withdraws another element always regarded as essential to the status—"hired man."

Some agricultural workers remain on the land after mechanization has progressed, with improved standard of living. Ray E. Wakeley notes this in reporting a recent study of Hamilton County, Iowa:

"A recent survey in Hamilton County indicated that the younger hired hands were relatively well off. Nearly all of them owned a car, and most of them were assured of steady employment. The average laborer in this survey had worked for 2 years at his present job. One-fourth of these laborers were related to their employers.

"The average size of farm on which these laborers were working is 300 acres. The farms are two-man farms, considerably larger than average for the State or for that section of the State" (Iowa Farm Economist, October 1940).

But for many there is loss of status, with greater irregularity of employment and break-down, not only of the close relationship which formerly prevailed between hired man and farmer, but also of clear-cut attachment to agriculture as source of livelihood. Wakeley continues:

"Temporary or emergency workers, in contrast, have neither security nor reasonable promise of advancement. Most of them are caught between the farm and the city. They cannot extricate themselves so as to attain a level of living which will make it possible for them to take a full part either in rural or urban society."

The effect on relief agencies of the displacement of laborers was immediate. In the spring of 1938 the Illinois emergency relief commission reported that the spring farm labor supply conferences held to help farmers needing laborers had turned largely into conferences to help laborers needing farm jobs which were disappearing (Illinois emergency relief commission, mimeographed release, dated April 29, 1938, entitled "Exhibit K, relief rolls and farm employment.") From county after county the reports came in:

From Calhoun County: "As in other counties, power machinery is supplanting farm labor."

From Greene County: "The supervisor of Kane Township gave us, before the meeting, some very interesting information as to what is occurring in his township. There are 10 farmers who are planning to plant 75 acres of corn each, and intend to cultivate this crop without any help. There is 1 farmer who is tending 1,500 acres of land. He has 6 tractors and will hire only 6 or 7 men, when previously between 15 and 20 men were employed to tend this amount of land."

From Ogle County: "One person who is a farmer on a large scale stated that modern machinery has replaced to a large extent the need of farm hands and has tended to level off the cycle of farm work. He stated that in his own community of Polo there have been 70 tractors sold during this last year and that as a rough estimate each of these has displaced one farm worker. It was felt that later on, perhaps in the harvest season, there might be need of some additional farm help for a period of 1 or 2 days, but that this need could be taken care of."

From Morgan County: "It is reported from the Jacksonville area that farmers are using their tractors night and day rather than hire additional labor."

From Lee County: "Machinery is tending to iron out the peaks which formerly required so much seasonal help."

From Peoria County: "The supervisors of Rosefield and Halleck Townships, in Peoria County, have constant inquiries as to the possibilities of Work Projects Administration employment from unemployed farm laborers, both relief and nonrelief."

From Vermilion County: (The farm advisor and several members of the Farm Bureau) pointed out that the displacement of the casual farm laborer was due in a large measure to the general use of power machinery and suggested that some program of public employment would have to be planned to absorb these permanently displaced agricultural workers.

A "hired hand" wrote to Wallace's Farmer:

"I am a hired man and have worked for just two men in the last 14 years. But the last 4 years I have had a hard time living on 114 days' work out of the year, outside of corn husking. Farmers expect their men to live on relief the rest of the time" (hired hand, Fremont County, Iowa, March 25, 1939).

Professor Wakeley states that—

"Probably as many as one-fourth of the people on relief in towns of under 5,000 in Iowa are or have been farm laborers. The shift toward hired labor has increased the proportion of workers in agriculture who are dependent on seasonal employment and need public assistance part of the year" (Iowa Farm Economist, October 1940).

In an editorial of September 7, 1940, Wallace's Farmer says:

"Some of the big farms badly need workers for 10 days at a time, but only a few times a year. They pay the workers for the time worked, and the relief administration keeps the crew alive until they are needed next time.

"An Iowa farmer put it a little differently: 'I don't use a year-round hired man any more. I hire one for a month in the spring and for a month in the fall and let W. P. A. keep him in between.'"

An Illinois county supervisor whom we interviewed last summer was puzzled. On the one hand, he and his brother had expanded their own operations in partnership to include what had been four farmsteads. On the other, his county responsibility showed him the effect of labor displacement on the relief rolls. Like many another man faced with the advantages and disadvantages of change, he said in perplexity, "I've always felt we'd be better off here if we'd never had the tractors. If we didn't have all this machinery there'd be a job for everybody, and at wages they could live on. * * * We didn't get our first row-crop tractor till just this spring—but everybody else was doing it, so what the hell?"

DISPLACEMENT OF FARMERS

Enough evidence has been cited already to show that mechanical techniques and methods of farm organization and operation are developing to the point where early fulfillment of Dr. A. G. Black's 1931 prophecy that "the most efficient family-size farm may well become from one to two sections in size" is now possible of realization. The principle of capacity use of machines which drives toward larger farms has been elaborated in the testimony of Paul S. Taylor before the Special Committee on Interstate Migration sufficiently to require no repetition or addition here. We face now the condition foreseen by an economist which would permit "a selective process which would result in culling out the three-quarters of our farmers who show themselves to be the poorest business managers." Not alone questions of increasing farm operating efficiency are raised, but broad issues of social policy confront us as we start the actual displacement which this enlargement of farms entails. L. J. Fletcher stated this 5 years ago before the annual meeting of the American Farm Economic Association:

"A greater spread of production costs will likely result as ability to operate and manage mechanical equipment becomes more important than muscular ability and willingness to work long hours. This widening of the bracket between the high and low cost producer will increase the problem of those who desire to insure a suitable income to all farmers and to maintain them all as independent farm operators and, if possible, as farm owners. * * * Relative efficiency in production will determine the size of the farm project unless social legislation prevents" (Journal of Farm Economics, May 1937).

Enlargement of farms proceeds commonly by a practice known as "field renting." Sometimes it begins with outright purchase, but probably more often renting, or field renting, is the preliminary to purchase. A recent intensive study in Indiana describes ways in which field renting takes place:

"The practice of renting separate fields has become common in these two townships and in other parts of Indiana as a result of the following situations:

"1. Some retired farmers or farmers' widows wish to retain possession of the farm buildings and possibly of some pasture and hay land, but do not want to operate the entire tract.

"2. Some landowners occupy the farm buildings but operate none of the land, and devote their time to city employment.

"3. Some owner-operators and renters wish to increase their cropland without the capital outlay for purchases. The renting of fields enables them to increase their feed production, and thus keep more livestock on their home tracts. Field renting enables more efficient use of large-scale machinery by cutting down the per-acre cost of the fixed charges." (J. R. Hays, "Relationship of character of farming units to land management in two townships in Indiana." Bulletin 450, p. 12.)

The patterns of farm consolidation are numerous and varied. Small farms, some of them "uneconomically small" for a family are consolidated into larger farms of "economic size." Farms are enlarged to great size for pure commercial operation. Consolidation is grounded both on purchase and on lease land. Operation of enlarged farms is by the farmer himself, by father and son, by tenants, by hired labor, or by a combination of these. The factors which accompany and seem to give impulse to consolidation likewise are varied. This report emphasizes mechanization in its broadest sense, because machinery is believed to be basic. At one time or another, in one place or another, to one observer or another, factors such as the purchase of land by city people who crowd out "farmers" by substituting hired labor for tenants, the taking advantage of aspects of the agricultural adjustment program, or tax laws, the bidding up of rentals, appear to play a leading part. We believe they are subordinate, although not to be ignored. In this variety of farm, the Corn Belt closely resembles the Cotton Belt.

The following reports on the difficulty of tenants in finding farms to rent, made by observers in various counties in Indiana show the appearances of consolidation in March 1940 as seen by people who are close to it.

Bartholomew County: "Farmers with tractor equipment are renting two or more farms."

Allen County: "One of the main causes for this has been that there have been so many farms sold by insurance companies to factory workers who will live on the farm but rent fields."

Delaware County: "Factory employees purchasing smal farms and operating as a side line. Expansion of small operators taking up otherwise available farms."

Fayette County: "Causes: A. Agricultural Adjustment Administration program has caused landlords to hire hands to farm. In many cases Agricultural Adjustment Administration check pays farm laborer but gives him no opportunity to make any progress toward security. B. Trend toward mechanized equipment is tending to encourage commercialized farming rather than family-size farms. C. Apparently more young men are starting to farm, which is displacing older men who have spent their entire life farming, and who are not equipped for any other type of work."

Marion County: "1. Mechanized farm machinery and other labor-saving devices of the farm; the high cost of this equipment necessitates the operation of large units to pay the original cost and maintenance. 2. Uncertainty of farm commodity prices. 3. Agricultural Adjustment Administration program has curtailed production to the point that many farm owners are renting their houses to industrial workers and renting fields to farmers with mechanized equipment so that they may stay within compliance with the conservation program. This has tended to greatly reduce the number of family-sized units available to farm tenants."

Wells County: "One of the major causes contributing to this condition is the rubber-tired tractor. After a farmer purchases this machinery he rents two or more farms in addition to his own. This invariable crowds out one or two small farmers."

Adams County: "It appears that the cause of the situation in this county is not that there are more farmers than there are farms, but that the farmers, with the use of power equipment, are farming more land, thus making fewer farms available."

Miami County: "It appears that farms are getting harder to rent each year. I believe the cause of this is the efficient power machinery that farmers have which permits one man to operate more land. If a landowner desires to retire he can rent his fields to a neighbor and continue to live on the farm. This just makes another farm less for a farm family to operate."

Jasper County: "The principal cause appears to be the increase of tractor power and equipment. Many farmers in this territory are farming as many as four times the number of farms previously operated, complying with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program and realizing exceedingly large benefit payments. Other landlords are operating their farms with hired labor and using the Agricultural Adjustment Administration payment to pay this hired labor, and thereby receiving all proceeds from the farm. The absentee landlords owning farms in this territory increase the tenant problem by refusing to rent to tenants without tractors, or they rent their entire farm to neighboring farmers with power equipment."

White County: "Some of the better tenant farmers have purchased farms and are now operating the purchased farms as well as land they had been operating as tenants. The tendency in this county is for increased use of power equipment and the operation of large units. This is not only the attitude of operators but landlords."

Fulton County: "One farmer will take one or two tractor outfits and rent the total sum of three or four farms. * * * When these farms are incorporated in this way one man will farm about six or seven hundred acres."

In Iowa a letter from Woodbury County published by Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead (May 4, 1940) emphasized loopholes in the homestead tax-exemption law which offered advantages to city folk:

"It's because of the 40-acre tax exemptions. The landlords rent their homes in town for big rent, occupy their farm homes, put up their mail boxes and get 40-acre homestead exemption. Their soil-conservation checks will more than pay for hiring their land farmed. They get the entire crop and do nothing. * * *"

We saw in the summer of 1940, from central Ohio to northwestern Iowa, actual working out of the pressure to enlarge farms in application of the principle of capacity use of machinery. Much of the evidence which we gathered has already been presented. A few other examples from interviews in the field are given here:

(1) An extension specialist in farm machinery at an agricultural college: "In the better land, farms are increasing in size, and one of the big elements is machinery. I hate to see the destruction of the family farm. I've seen them use foremen and work crews, with 10 tractors or 6 cornpickers in a field. It's the industrialization of farm life. Buildings are torn down, the employer employs labor when he needs it, and lets somebody else care for it when he doesn't."

(2) An official of the United States Department of Agriculture in a Corn Belt State: "Machinery on the better land is putting labor out of jobs and farmers out of their farms. City people put their money in farm land, partly because of the insecurity of the times, and partly perhaps to avoid income tax by putting money into upkeep and improvement of the land. Substantial buildings on farms retard consolidation, but on the good land I don't know whether we're going to be able to stop it."

(3) A county agent in western Ohio described the beginnings of farm consolidation in his county: "There is an agricultural problem arising in X County probably more widespread than this county alone, but which came more acutely to my attention during land-use meetings in eight townships this spring.

"Farmers in these meetings reported that from two to three tenants per township were not able this spring to rent farms and found it necessary to sell their livestock and machinery. They also told me that the young men in these townships are not able to purchase farms that are being sold in the townships, but that a very large percentage of these farms are being sold to owners in Dayton, Richmond, Union City, and cities even farther away. They tell me that the prices paid for these farms are out of line with their agricultural production values, and that a farmer really cannot purchase them and come out on his investment.

"We would like to see this social as well as economic problem studied more fully from an actual research angle. We know in general that these farmers for the most part do not find farms to rent, move to the county seat or other small county towns, causing a severe shortage in housing in small towns. They are also causing severe competition for jobs available in these towns. When it was man-and-horse labor, the small farm wasn't at such a disadvantage to the large farm. The man who has the machinery is the man who gets the farm. We don't find our young people able to start in farming."

(4) Empty houses are less frequently visible as evidence of consolidation and displacement in the Corn Belt than in Cotton and Wheat Belts, but they are occasionally to be seen. Near Irwin, Ohio, a boy by the roadside gave us the simple explanation: "Empty houses? They got tractors and then they didn't need the tenants any more."

(5) We visited one 9,000-acre Corn Belt farm operated by brothers, nearly all of which they own. The brothers remember the days of oxen on their father's farm; their land purchases began when each bought 40 acres with money given by their father. Ever since they have continued to buy land, 1,000 acres as recently as the last couple of years. The ranch is operated with day laborers paid $2.50 when they work, and provided with house. The advantage which the brothers claim for large farming is low overhead; the estimate was made that the same 9,000 acres operated as family farms would require twice the machinery. It was stated that consolidation of farms is going on in the district, one man taking two farms, building up farms of 500 acres, 800 acres, and so on.

(6) The farm editor of an Illinois newspaper reported the following as among the symptoms of farm consolidation in his area: "(*a*) In a recent local survey an average of eight empty farmhouses per township were reported. (*b*) A tenant farmer told the editor he intended to organize a tenants' union, because other farmers' organizations fail to represent the tenants subject to displacement. (*c*) Nowadays farmers don't want farms close to other farmers who are expanding, because they won't be able to expand themselves."

(7) In one county of the Illinois cash-grain area we were told that the principal factor displacing tenant operators in the last 2 or 3 years had been a trend toward operation of farms with hired labor by owners who previously had rented their land to tenants. Many of these new owner-operators were townspeople who continued to live in nearby towns, and exercised supervision by frequent visits to their farm property. Some were retired farmers, others merchants or professional men. Our informant, a large farmer and an official of the county Agricultural Adjustment Administration organization, described the trend:

"The main trouble we're having here is landlords farming their places themselves, and the reason for it is we got power equipment now. So, inside 10 days we'll be through corn picking and can put the pickers in the shed and go to town and not do a thing on the place till the next spring. A lot of people think the Agricultural Adjustment Administration is what's brought this trend on, but it isn't. It's true that the benefit payments are helping to bring it on some, but they're not the main cause. The main thing that causes it is just some little disagreement, between the landlord and the tenant, lots of times over some little foolish thing that shouldn't cause any trouble. But now we got power equipment, and that, together with the fact the conservation program cuts down the amount of ground that has to be cultivated, makes it possible for the landlord to get mad when these little disagreements and misunderstandings come up, and take over the farm and run it himself.

"This power equipment we got is the biggest curse we've got toward that. A landlord can take $3,000, or really even less, and go out and buy enough machinery to farm his place.

"It's not all the landlord's fault; not by a jugfull. I started out as a hired man, working by the month, and I was a renter for a good many years, and I'm still renting some land, and renting other land out to a tenant, so I know both sides of it, and I can tell you it's not all the landlord's fault.

"One thing that makes a lot of landlords mad, so they get disgusted, and want to farm the place themselves, is a lot of tenants don't take care of a place. They won't fix up the buildings, or cut the weeds; or if there's a board loose on the barn, instead of taking a hammer and going to fix it, they'll let it flap for months, till the landlord sends out a man from town to fix it.

"I know how it is—I've got a renter on a quarter I own over in X county, and every year I have to take two or three men over for a week, to fix up the buildings and repair and paint; the tenant don't do a thing. Twenty years ago, if I'd asked my landlord to hire carpenters to fix up my crib, he'd wanted to shoot me; he'd have said: 'And what in hell are you doing, when it's too wet to work in the fields?' "

(8) An Illinois farmer, operating 480 acres and owning other land, told us: "No, sir. It is not just the slack or incompetent farmer who gets squeezed out and can't get a place. I can name you plenty of good farmers, intelligent, with plenty of equipment that haven't been able to find places in the last 2 years. Of course, in general, the ones that aren't much as farmers tend to be the first to go, but this year and last year there's been good farmers with good equipment put off. I'd say in the last 2 years 90 percent of those that couldn't get places were that kind.

"Last year I just tried to make myself believe that it was only weeding out the poor farmers, but that just isn't so. Why did I try to make myself believe it so long? Well, mostly because the prospects just look so damn bad if that wasn't the case, that I didn't like to face it. I saw this trend coming all right, but so many men a lot smarter than I am would give reasons why it's going to work out, that I tried to make myself believe it. If we can't solve it—the trend toward displacing tenants—we're going to run into dictatorship as sure as God made green apples. If we don't solve it, it'll be handled through the Government, and we'll be asking for a dictator. Why am I worried about it? Why, what would the community be like, if they all operated that way?"

(9) An Illinois Agricultural Adjustment Administration county official said: "A lot of those that couldn't get a place move to southern Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Kentucky. Quite a few get onto some farm that isn't good for much but raising a little stock—land that's worth, say, $30 to $40 an acre. A good many buy a place like this—make just a small down payment. Who moves to these places? Well, a good many fellows that were renting and couldn't get a place, and some that had owned but lost their land or were just about to lose it. Well, for example, George, he's been renting one of the half-section places that X bought. (NOTE.—X is a young businessman residing in the county seat, who has bought four farms since 1938; he plans to begin operation of three with hired labor in the spring of 1941.) He's going to have to sell out; he's tried all over to get a farm and can't. He plans to go to western Missouri, and be some kind of manager on a horse farm there.

"John, another renter on one of the places X is going to operate, don't know yet what he'll do. He's been on that place about 10 years, a half section, and very good land. He's a good farmer with good equipment; he's done everything in the world to get a place and hasn't found one yet."

(10) Illinois observers noted the movement of displaced farmers to poor land: "Another thing that's coming in: Tenants who can't get a place buy 40 acres and settle to try to hold over their equipment for a year, in the hope of getting a place the following year. This year up along the Sangamon River, several farms have been split up into 40-acre patches, and tenants who couldn't get a place are taking them.

"Most of the displaced tenants move to town, do odd jobs, carpentering, painting, Work Projects Administration. We've taken on one here at the bank as a janitor. Some, a few, move back to Kentucky, but one of our biggest problems is cheap labor moving up from Kentucky. They're glad to work for $10 a month at first."

(11) In Livingston County, Ill.: "There is a definite trend for those who've lost the places they were on in the good land areas, to gravitate to the poor land, and to try to farm it with the same methods they used when they were on the good land. For example, a good many get up on the Cayuga Ridge."

(12) An Illinois county agent: "Oh, no; I don't think the trend toward larger units has worked itself out yet. I expect it to continue. We're seeing more and more of it. I don't see anything which will stop it, short of Government interference. There are people here who want that; want to limit the size of unit a man may farm, but I'm not in favor of that because you couldn't police it. It would be administratively impossible. Besides, that's getting regimentation we can't have here—it is opposed to our system of ownership and free enterprise. The backing up of population on the land during the depression hasn't checked the trend toward larger units, as some might expect. In fact, in some case it has increased the tendency. For example, last Friday a man came in, asking if we knew of any place to rent. He'd been on one place 12 years, but the landlord had just notified him that he was moving onto the farm next spring to live—not to work it, but just to live in the house. He'll rent the land out to a neighbor to work. This renter has no good prospect of getting another farm. About the only way you can get a farm now is through having some friends who are next to somebody who has one to rent, and who will put in a good word for you."

(13) Illinois farm manager: "The main trend toward larger farms dates back only 5 or 6 years, to the time they began to be able to buy machinery, but there was some of it, even before. One reason, maybe, was that the depression sent a lot of farmers' sons home from the city; naturally, they felt "if he's home, we can farm more land.' But the trend was not so pronounced then, during those early years, because, due to the low prices and all, they couldn't buy machinery. From 1926–27 on, farmers weren't buying much of anything they didn't absolutely need, and along in 1931 and '32 they were buying absolutely nothing."

(14) Professional manager of farms in Illinois and Indiana: "I think there might be quite an opportunity for farming from town by a man who has enough of the right kind of power equipment and implements. The technological conditions are much more favorable to such an organization of farming then they were only 8 or 10 years ago, due to the new machines and rubber. If a man were a good manager, and hired the right kind of help—I don't mean highly trained, but just farm boys from around her, who know machinery—I think he might do very well at it. He could have a central machinery shed and workshop, in town, live in town, and rent land out around town on a straight cash-grain farming proposition. I would not hesitate, under present conditions, with rubber tires, to try it for a radius of say 15 to 20 miles out, in all directions, that is, say an area about 30 miles across. I'd want to start out on share rentals, at first, but after I got well enough established so that I could afford to gamble a little, I'd try offering cash rent. How many farms could one outfit handle? Well, the only limit is the limit of a man's executive ability. It would all depend on what kind of help you got. If you got some good submanager type of help, you could handle a great deal. But I wouldn't hesitate to go out and manage 2,500 to 3,000 acres on that basis myself, without any submanagers or straw bosses at all, just with ordinary farm help."

Among the appeals he felt sure would be effective in winning landlords to this type of operation, despite the fact that it would provide absolutely no manure for their land, were: "I'd tell landlords, especially absentee landlords: 'We've got good equipment; we don't handle any livestock, so you can be sure all our attention is being given to farming your land; and you can be sure no grain is being diverted to a tenant's livestock, on the side.' And there's another thing that would create more of a demand for that kind of farming now than some years ago—many absentee owners have realized that buildings on a farm are not an asset."

In a nearby county we were told that a professional farm manager is now attempting to organize a machine-farming center along the lines just described. One of the main obstacles he has met is said to be fear of local opinion on the part of the directors of the bank from which he is seeking backing.

(15) An agricultural official in western Indiana: "Shortage of farms is the biggest problem we have here at present. I have noticed it only in the last 3 years. It seems to have been more acute last winter than before, and this fall they are already coming to us here, every day, asking if we know of a place to rent. We have had so many come in and ask: 'Can you tell me where I can get a farm?' I ask why they are leaving the place they are on, and they say: 'So-and-so's got my place.' Often it is somebody who is renting more land. The trend here is very definitely toward larger operating units."

(16) A farm owner of Mercer County in western Illinois: "Down in Adams County, there's some poor land that is a kind of jumping-off place for a lot of those that got squeezed off better land. There's one township there that has about 60 cases getting help from the Farm Security Administration, and it is estimated that 50 percent of them have come there within the last 5 years. Several townships surrounding it are in about the same situation. In the northern two-thirds of the State, if they get squeezed out they tend to drift toward: (1) The poor land along the rivers, particularly along the Mississippi and the Illinois; (2) north into the thinner land of Wisconsin and Michigan; and (3) onto the poor land in the good land areas; for instance onto Cayuga and Sugar ridges, and along the Mackinaw."

(17) An agricultural official: "Contract land sales ought to be studied; a lot have been made here, often to tenants who couldn't get places. Insurance companies will accept from 10 to 25 percent as down payment; sometimes as low as $1,000. I've encountered a number of cases of contract sales to renters who had lost the places they were renting. Sometimes they have mortgaged their livestock and machinery, in order to try to buy a farm on a contract sale. Within one day, recently, three so-called owners who had bought farms on contract, asked financial help from the local Farm Security Administration. Each one had mortgaged livestock or machinery. In one case, the man had sold virtually all his livestock to get the down payment, and was trying to operate a quarter section without livestock. This man had been a renter for years on good land; he had had at least a half section, and was well equipped with livestock and machinery."

(18) A western Iowa professional farm manager: "Tenant farmers' fear of not being able to rent a place has been a big factor in recent sales of farm land. They usually buy a smaller farm than that they have been on, because they can't finance purchase of a full half section. They usually buy on small down payment of 10, 15, or 20 percent. In some cases we sell to our own tenants, men who have proven themselves, on less than 10 percent down payment. In other words, it's a character sale. If he has proven himself, by his record with us for several years, that is more important to us than an additional 10 percent down on the payment. It has been a question in my mind: if a tenant buyer is a good half-section farmer, shouldn't he try to buy a half section unless, that is, he is able to rent another quarter besides the one he buys? If he reduces his scale of operations to a quarter section, because he is unable to rent an additional quarter, it seems undesirable. We have no figures on how many of our buyers rent additional land, but there is a lot of competition for unimproved land, particularly in the better-land areas, and as a result, many of our buyers cannot rent additional land. I would estimate that, roughly, 25 percent of the sales would be to owner-operators who are buying more land in order to expand. A lot of our early sales were to this type of buyer; they would buy early, fearing that someone else would get the piece of land they wanted. In extreme northern Iowa, for example, around Sioux County, there is a large class of purely tenant large-scale operators, who don't want to tie up their capital in land. If investment buyers would come into the market more, these operators would slacken up their buying; they would feel that they could rent the land from these buyers, and that they would not need to buy it. Power farming and larger farm units are economically advantageous, even though they may not be socially advantageous. There is a real difference between the social aspect and the economic. Power and larger implements will drive a certain percentage of our farmers from Iowa. There is definitely a tendency to increase the size of farming unit and that will mean an exodus, somewhere. If industry picks up, they won't go west, but if industry lags, I suppose the normal tendency is to go west, at least it has been in the past. I think the issue is the social or home aspect as compared with the purely economic aspect of farming. I don't believe we have emphasized as much as we could have the social and home values of the farm. I think these values will tend to hold the economic trend in check, partly at least; that is, that it will come to a balance."

(19) Indiana attorney who supervises farms for absentee landlords: "There are big changes in farming the last 10 years. One farmer I know out here goes 7 or 8 miles to one of his farms from his home place. He has most of his implements on rubber and has a truck, so he pulls the machinery back and forth between the places. He farms three places now; on one the owners live in the buildings and he just rents the land. It is a problem for the tenant farmer to rent

a farm around here. Most of them are well equipped. Practically all have a tractor, and still they can't get a place. Some are poor farmers, some are good ones, just victims of circumstances. They may have lost the places they were on because they were sold. Or maybe the landlord wanted to come on it himself, either to move on and work it himself or to hire the work done. There is not so much of that here, but some of the Chicago people who come in do it. Some of them hire managers, and some just get a good, competent hired man to work the place for them.

"Those that can't get a place usually give up, sell out, and try to get work. A fellow was in here the other day who had stored his stuff over for a year, hoping to get a place for 1942. Quite a few go on Work Projects Administration. I don't know what becomes of the rest—it is hard for a man that is along in years to get a job in the mills. We have some 'farmers' that hold down a job in industry and hire the work done on their farms. That is not right. Some of them drive 30 miles to work. There are landlords who don't care, so long as the work gets done, but I would never rent to one of these fellows."

(20) An Indiana farm manager: "Farms are scarce. Four fellows have come to me in the last few days looking for places. There have been a few cases of landlords putting tenants off and starting operation with hired help, but not very many right around here. X is living in town and running his two farms, almost a section altogether, with hired hands. I expect farms to continue getting bigger, but I doubt the change will be very rapid. One of my neighbors is farming 500 acres, without a horse on the place, and only one cow and a few chickens. He has just one man, by the month till the corn is picked. Another neighbor is farming 960 acres, with three sets of buildings, but he has two sons and a hired man. He uses a big caterpillar, pulling 5 16-inch bottoms, but that is the only one used in this neighborhood."

(21) We were at the house of an Illinois farmer who had just let it be known that he had a farm to rent. A neighbor woman aged 50 rushed in, saying, "I just heard your place is for rent. I had a pie in the oven but decided to come right over to see if Jake and I could get it." Jake had inherited a 320-acre farm from his father, subject to mortgage. In 1932 he lost it by foreclosure, but remained to operate as tenant. In 1940 the farm was sold, and Jake was notified to vacate in March 1941. His wife said: "It just seems there aren't any farms around here, the fellows are all farming so big. And these big shots—our old neighbors—are buying up so much land. Of course, you can't hardly blame them; they've got the money to invest and have to put it somewhere. There are plenty of farms in that thin land up in Wisconsin; we were up there last Sunday. The company that owns our old place wants to sell Jake a farm on contract; it seems the only way you can get a farm now is to buy one. But Jake says he's too old to start paying for a farm at his age (52)." Jake had a full line of equipment, including two tractors and combine. He got no farm and held a sale of his equipment in January 1941.

(22) An Illinois farmer's widow who owns an 80-acre farm with no buildings: "The 1 day my place was for rent they just about drove me crazy coming to try to rent it. Seven or eight or more came, and a couple of them came back two or three times. X came just as quick as he heard my renter was giving up the place; he left his threshing crew and came right in. He has three-quarters now, and has a lot of machinery, so he wants to get more land. Of the seven or eight who came in that 1 day, before I rented it, four were men who already had a place but wanted more land, and two were young fellows wanting to get married, who wanted to get a place to start up on. The man to whom I rented didn't bat an eye when I slid the oats share up to half and half. I told him I had always rented for two-fifths the oats, the way grandpa did, but as long as everybody else was getting half I didn't see why I shouldn't."

(23) Salesman for ground-feed company in Illinois: "Mister, there's been plenty pushed out. Where do they go? Mister, that's just the question—where did they go? Chances are two out of three went on Work Projects Administration."

(24.) A physician in county seat of an Illinois cash-grain county: "What's happening to farm population here? Well, the first thing is, there's more machinery and less men hired. And something we doctors know is that none of the farmers have any money. They're all loaded up with machinery, bought on credit, and every noon the company tells them on their radio programs 'You can buy our machinery without any money down.' A farmer will buy anything, so long as he can buy it on credit. We doctors used to know, 30 years ago, that even a hired man would pay something on his bill in time; whenever he got something, he'd pay on the bill. But now, even the farmer himself can't pay; he's loaded down with debt for machinery. Seems our people haven't any morals any more; they don't believe in paying their bills."

(25) A 320-acre part-owner farmer: A farmer near him is expanding his operations to 800 acres next year. "This will be the ruination of three tenants and three hired men. It seems to me there ought to be a tax against that kind of farming. That's putting men out of work."

(26) A former Illinois county agent: "I look for farms to get bigger and bigger in this area. You'll notice that for every 40 or 80 which changes hands, 9 out of every 10 neighbors are after it. They're not only equipped to farm more land, but they're anxious to do it. I'd say a half section is now, but inside a few years, a section will be the efficient size for an average operator through here."

(27) Illinois farm land salesman and ex-banker: "I don't like it. I think it's a dangerous tendency, dangerous for the community; might lead to something like socialism or communism. I had been thinking of writing a little article for the Farm Bureau paper. We ought to show the landowners it is to their interest to keep up and put more buildings on land; they could put buildings on 80's and 120's to provide a place for a young couple. Landlords should have the danger pointed out to them. True, they might make more in the short run by tearing down buildings, but there's danger. We ought to show them there will be no profit in it, if they get all the land in their hands, and a mob takes it away from them, and maybe kills them and the family in the bargain. For stability we need to make places for more people. If we make places for young families on the land, they can have a cow, chickens, few pigs, etc., and always make a living. They can't be so easily inflamed and are more stable than hordes in the cities."

(28) A half-section farmer of central Illinois, with housemoving as a side business: "In the last 4 or 5 years I've moved off about 12 to 15 farm houses in a radius of around 15 miles. Many displaced farmers go to nearby villages because rents are high in the city. People can buy a lot and one of these moved-off farm houses cheap in villages. About 12 years ago, that's when they really started to spread out and root the little fellow off. Well, it's power farming did it. There was some before, but that's when they all started doing it. It's getting serious right here in this country. Two fellows farming together was spreading out and farming more land every year. They was going to take over another place next spring. One morning when they got up they found two letters on their front porch that didn't come through the mail, and them letters told them they'd better stop spreading out, or they'd be burned out."

(29) A farm laborer, son of a small farmer in a poor-land area of southwestern Indiana: "One thing that causes some farms to get bigger is there are so many places with buildings that are getting run down and need a lot of repairs. The landlord don't want to lay out the money, so he rents to somebody who has a place with buildings enough of his own."

(30) A young farmer of Madison County, northeastern Nebraska: "Corn pickers are coming into our country quite a little in the last few years, since they have been building them lighter in weight, and with a power take-off, and on rubber. They are bought by the larger farmers and by those planning to do custom work. Combines have been selling pretty well, just the last 2 or 3 years. With us, it is mainly the small ones, 5- and 6-foot cut. A few field ensilage cutters have come in. They are owned by big feeders or by custom operators. A good many farm houses are not used by farmers any longer. Most of those near the towns are occupied by WPA-ers or people on relief, but farther out, a lot stand empty. A lot of people lost their places due to drought and the depression, and when they leave, somebody who has a place buys or leases their farms. A lot of those that leave go to Washington or Oregon; a few are buying back cheaper farms now; and some move to town, either to get a job or go on relief."

(31) Chairman of county agricultural planning committee in central Illinois: "Some consolidation of units has been occurring here, through either buying or renting additional farms. One thing that often encourages it is that farm buildings have gotten so run down that it would cost a good deal to fix them

up, and the owner doesn't feel that he can lay out that much, particularly on the cheaper land. A thing that I am more concerned about, however, is a trend which is just beginning, but would be very serious if it develops far; that is, for landlords to replace tenants with hired labor. The hired labor doesn't contribute to the support of the community, toward building up your churches and schools. A hardware dealer in town has six farms, and in the last couple years he has put the tenants off, all but one, and works them himself with hired labor. Some say the only reason he kept that one tenant is that it enabled him to get a better corn allotment."

(32) An Illinois county assessor: "Consolidation means just one less place for the other fellow. When a man gets to gobbling up all of the places, there's nothing for these others to do. I'm afraid someday it'll go here just like it did in Europe; the rich may find themselves on the shelf. Maybe our people will get to thinking: 'Why should I send my boys out to fight for these millionaires?' I fear for the future of our country if these trends continue."

(33) A large farmer in central Illinois: "One thing which aggravates the shortage of farms for tenants is the fact that our tax system penalizes the man who provides a home for a family to live in. Just last week a businessman was complaining to me about it. He had bought a 240-acre place on which the buildings were pretty badly run down. It had been farmed for the last 3 years by a man operating almost a thousand acres. This businessman modernized the house, put on a new barn, built new fences, and fixed it up generally. He thinks he will get a better renter that way—which he will. All those improvements are going to raise his taxes almost 30 percent, but a landlord that puts a tenant off, rents the land to an adjoining farmer, and either tears the buildings down, or lets them go to ruin, will get just the same share rent and cash rent, will reduce both his tax base and upkeep costs. Of course, the man that keeps his buildings up and has a lot of livestock on his place may be better off in the long run, but a lot of our landlords are pressed for money now, and don't see it that way."

(34) Illinois renter: "This farming two farms is a bad thing; the landlords let the places run down when they rent out their fields. Therefore, there is less property on which to base taxes; therefore taxes are higher on those farms which remain; therefore added reason why they have to go out and rent more land to keep up with their taxes; and it goes around like a circle. It's tough on those who get bumped."

(35) An east-central Illinois country-town merchant: "No; they don't hire half as much labor as they used to; less than that, I'd say. And it has got so that a landlord doesn't need any buildings anymore; he needs only a crib on the place. Why, if a set of buildings burn down, a landlord is almost money ahead—he can get just the same rent."

(36) An expanding Illinois operator: "Of course, it's kind of tough on the little fellow, but a man has to look out for himself."

IN CONCLUSION

The attitudes with which mechanization in the Corn Belt is viewed exhibit wide variety. At one extreme, attention is fixed on rising income for those farm operators who remain. More or less expressive of this point of view is a 1937 bulletin of Purdue University, Indiana, phrased in terms of historical retrospect and a maxim:

"Farm machinery which enables power to replace hand labor and makes possible larger units of operation, is in a large measure responsible for the favorable social and economic position of the American farmer in contrast with that of his European and Asiatic contemporaries. * * * Initial cost, inventory value and repair cost of machinery per acre decrease as size of farm increases." (The cost of using farm machinery in Indiana, Bulletin No. 437.)

Some agricultural economists who have seen displacement of farmers as the other side of mechanization have faced the issue. As long ago as 1930, before the difficulty of absorbing the displaced stood out so clearly as it does now, one of them made note of the selective process resulting when operators mechanize and expand, saying that "if carried through with a degree of thoroughness anywhere between the 4–1 and the 10–1 ratios suggested above, it must be obvious that the level of entrepreneurship in this industry is destined to be raised to a quite significant degree." He commented as follows on the view of persons apprehensive at this prospect:

"The real indictment to be brought by those who 'view with alarm' is that even the modest degree of operative consolidation suggested in our 4–1 ratio would remove 75 percent of our 'independent' farmers and make them wage workers with all the social sacrifice which that is supposed to imply.

"As an utterly barefaced piece of amateur psychology, I would suggest an alternative appraisal of this change in status from proprietor to wage worker, if it does in fact take place. Let us say that at least 75 percent of our agricultural workers have been fighting a losing battle against the increasing complexity which has come into their calling. Less and less capable to master the technological needs of modern scientific agriculture, they have found themselves increasingly enmeshed in an economic system which in terms of meeting market requirements, solving financial problems, and adjusting productive operations was complex on the eve of the World War and has been quite baffling ever since. Mere handicraftsmen (including those whose education is meager to the point of illiteracy) have been struggling with the problems of the specialized technician and the business executive. So long and so unsuccessfully has the contest now run that the 'independent' farmer would perhaps be ready to admit himself licked were it not that his so-called friends had encouraged him to believe that his problems could be solved by political patent medicine while his old habits of thought and patterns of economic organization remained comfortably unchanged.

"Until it is proved that commercial and professional specialization in other callings is definitely damning and that the social discipline of group life in large business undertakings is less valuable than the alleged independence of the farmer, this basis for fear of the mild process of agricultural mechanization seems to me unconvincing." (E. G. Nourse, Some economic and social accompaniments of the mechanization of agriculture: Proceedings of the American Economic Association, 1930.)

Today, absorption of the displaced clearly presents a more serious problem than it did a decade ago when the preceding statement was made. Recognizing this, the editor of Country Gentleman wrote in 1940:

"Power farming is increasing at a rapid pace, particularly in the Corn Belt and other areas of fertile land. This causes farms to increase in size; fewer men are needed. These are facts of national importance. * * * The spreading use of mechanized equipment and the operation of larger acreages by individual farmers are contributing to a surplus farm population. This is true of other areas as well as the Corn Belt. If chances to work are not opened up to these people off the land two prospects shape up. One is an increase in public relief. The other is a movement for a redistribution of land. This has occurred in many other countries since 1918." (Country Gentleman, June 1940.)

Emphasis on the critical character of the problems of which displacement is the most conspicuous symptom comes from Henry A. Wallace:

"All these (technological developments) make agriculture a dynamic craft-profession that more and more requires specialized training and knowledge, and cause other, related, tendencies and effects: Bigger, more commercialized farms; a lessening of rural isolation and growing dependence on cities and city life; changes in family and neighborly relationships, enlarged dependence on a money economy and less on home-produced foods and clothing and self-made recreation; keener competition in localities, areas, and regions; and an intensification of the Biblical statement that to him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away. * * * Add to these economic probabilities two social factors: That the farm population is the seed bag of population, and that the forces of technology are driving more and more farmers down the agricultural ladder, from positions as owners to those of renter, tenant, wagehand—or even migrants." (Christian Science Monitor, weekly magazine section, September 14, 1940.)

A member of the Legislature of Iowa wrote as recently as last December:

"I believe the State of Iowa owes a duty to every farm tenant in the State—a selfish duty, perhaps, but nevertheless a duty. That duty is to keep the tenant a good citizen, reasonably secure in his chosen job of farming.

"It is in the interest of the public welfare that Iowa should solve its tenancy problems, which means, in simple terms, either to make tenants more secure or make their opportunity to become owners more simple.

"That is not being accomplished under present laws. It will not be done under future legislation unless the people act. If allowed to drift, will conditions become so bad that we will either be confronted by peasants on our farms or revolution in our land? I hope not; but I'm not sure.

"To discourage large operators of farm land and to promote family sized units would be the first step in making tenants more secure. I believe some State law following roughly the outlines below will accomplish this result." (Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead, December 28, 1940.)

Recognition of the far-reaching import of current changes is now becoming general. In at least the three States of Iowa, North Dakota, and Oklahoma, land taxes graduated on size of holding have been voted upon or proposed. Both major parties paid their respects to preservation of the family farm in their 1940 platforms. Representatives of the farm machinery industry and agricultural engineers acknowledge the gravity of the situation, but profess the belief that recent development of small machinery will enable family farms to compete with success. The McCormick medal for "exceptional and meritorious engineering achievement in agriculture" in 1941 has been awarded to an engineer noted, among other things, for his work in the "creation of smaller tractors." Commenting on this award the Journal of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers said:

"He has wiped out much of the differential in efficiency between the large and small farm, and has lightened the labors of farmers by the hundred thousand. What these things mean in preservation of the family system of farming and the American social order we can only vaguely surmise." (Agricultural Engineering, January 1941.)

Whether we can rely upon small machines to see us through the existing period of change and insecurity; whether we can depend upon their competitive qualities to lead us in the direction of sound national policy is highly questionable. It should be made the subject of more careful study and analysis than it has yet received.

The direction of this research and thought should not be confused by arguments "for or against the machine as a social instrument." Accepting the benefits which the machine manifestly can render on farms as elsewhere, the analysis should be pointed toward mitigation of its unfavorable effects and toward the broadest distribution of its benefits.

EXCERPTS FROM AN UNPUBLISHED REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR*

The United States Senate, during the Seventy-fourth Congress, asked in a Senate resolution for a report from the Secretary of Labor on the problem of laborers migrating across State lines (S. Res. 298, 74th Cong.).

This report was filed with the Senate during the Seventy-fifth Congress and was referred to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor under date of July 3, 1937, but was not printed.

Because of the fundamental character of this investigation and report, it has furnished valuable background material for the work of our present committee and certain excerpts are here introduced into our record for the purposes of reference. These excerpts follow in the order in which they appeared in the report of the Secretary of Labor.

* * * * * * *

Migration has brought into focus the distress of large numbers of American workers and the acute problems to the communities with which the migrants come in contact—problems of relief, education, health, and of social and economic conflicts. The insufficiency of existing data and the lack of means adequately to investigate the subject cannot obscure the widespread and pressing character of the problems which center in the migration of workers. Accordingly, the following summary of tentative findings is submitted:

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*Plates referred to in this report are held in committee files; not printed.

1. The workers who now migrate across State lines are predominantly native white Americans.

2. Families appear to form a larger proportion of all migrant groups than formerly. Most of the migrants in agriculture move in family groups including small children.

3. Interstate migrants are younger than the working population as a whole. The concentration of migrant workers between the ages of 20 and 45 makes them a highly employable group.

4. Migration of workers is a normal process of adjustment to changes in opportunity. The causes of migration are so fundamental and pervasive as to leave little hope that workers may be immobilized and little justification for the existing discrimination against the migrant himself.

5. Migration falls characteristically into two main types:

(*a*) Migration for permanent relocation in response to major economic changes such as industrialization, drought, and depression.
(*b*) Continual migration from job to job in response to seasonal or irregular fluctuations in the demand for labor.

6. The relocation of workers across State lines affects more persons than does continual migration. More than 9,000,000 persons moved from one State to another or entered the country as foreign immigrants during the decade 1920 to 1929. More than half of these were domestic migrants.

7. During the depression hundreds of thousands of destitute workers were dislodged and migrated across State lines in the somewhat futile hope of finding subsistence. More adequate local relief since 1932 has tended to stabilize the population and to induce some migrants to return to their former places of residence. Business recovery reduced still further the number of depression migrants. But even today the floating population in search of work appears to be greater than during the 1920's.

8. The total volume of relocation since 1929 is probably no greater than in the previous decade, although the volume of domestic migration may have doubled. Increased domestic migration has been offset by the almost complete disappearance of foreign immigration. The burden of adjusting to changing economic conditions has been largely shifted from the immigrant to the American worker.

9. The rapid development of the United States would have been impossible without an extreme mobility of workers. Relocation of workers is necessary in any dynamic society and in this country relocation must involve movements across State lines. Industrialization, the development of new areas, drought, the collapse of old structures such as farm tenancy, technical changes, depression and the quest for health all force workers to move from one State to another.

10. Industrialization shifted 6,000,000 persons from farms to cities during the 1920's, partly within the various States and partly across State lines. This urban trend has now been resumed at three-fifths of the former rate, after a brief interruption during the depression.

11. As new areas develop and old ones decline, workers must migrate across State lines in order to develop the new resources and to relieve the older communities of surplus workers. The problems of stranded commmunities resulting from shifting work opportunities are accentuated by local wage and tax inducements to attract industry. After employment has shifted from one area to another, migration gives rise to fewer problems than the continuance of stranded communities as a result of insufficient migration.

12. Drought in the Great Plains, coming after years of depression, has forced more than 200,000 persons to migrate to other States. Further migration from these areas is to be expected. Half a million persons are still dependent on Federal grants for their existence in the drought States.

13. More than four-fifths of the recent migration of workers to California consisted of persons from States afflicted by drought. More than half of these migrants came from the drought States of the Great Plains where emigration would be desirable even after the present drought comes to an end. Most of the drought migrants in California have been forced to become constant, seasonal migrants without residence in any one community.

14. The disintegration of tenancy in the cotton region of the Southeast has already forced thousands of former tenants to seek casual employment in Florida and elsewhere. Technical developments will continue to dislodge increasing numbers.

15. Increasing numbers of workers are forced to move ceaselessly across State lines to eke out a living by piecing together short and scattered seasons of employment in agriculture and industry. As long as employers demand much more labor in one season than another, workers must migrate or find some alternative means of subsistence within each local area. For hundreds of thousands of American workers even a meager subsistence is dependent upon continual interstate migration.

16. Migration of workers, although necessary, is largely unguided or ill-directed. Although the relocation of workers has been broadly advantageous it has often been inefficient from the point of view of the particular individuals involved. There has been inadequate migration from many stranded areas. At the same time there has often been too concentrated a flow to particular localities.

17. Rarely does any type of migrant have the assurance of a definite job until after he has moved. The lack of such assurance is especially disastrous for seasonal migrants who hope at most to share in a few weeks of employment in one place. When the migration of seasonal workers is overstimulated, untold misery results.

18. Accurate knowledge as to the employment and earnings of migratory workers does not exist. The failure to appropriate funds for the preparation of this report has made it impossible to secure comprehensive information. Such studies as are available suggest that migrants seeking new permanent places of work, if they find employment, earn less than most workers in the areas to which they go. Many, however, receive more than they earned in the areas from which they came.

19. Seasonal migrants in agriculture seem to be able to average only about 6 months of work each year. They appear to average about $300 a year per single man and $400 a year per family.

20. The interstate migrant has been largely overlooked in many of the recent laws to provide for the security of workers. Agricultural workers have been excluded from the employment compensation laws so far enacted and from Federal old-age annuities. Seasonal workers are inadequately covered in most State social security laws. Many workers now stand to lose whatever right to unemployment compensation they may have accumulated if they migrate from one State to another, unless special arrangements to cover such cases are successfully established by future interstate agreements.

21. The conditions of migratory life, as observed in the areas recently surveyed, are a threat to the development of good citizens:

(*a*) The migrant and his family tend to be isolated from the normal activities of the community, both because of their enforced mode of travel and living and because of community prejudices against them. The extreme unwillingness of some communities to assimilate the migrant is evidenced by border patrols and strict enforcement of vagrancy laws. It is also reflected in the difficulties experienced by relief authorities in obtaining funds for the relief of migrants who are in need.

(*b*) Living accommodations for most migrants are deplorable. Families with as many as six children are traveling in old cars and trucks. At night they sleep by the roadside, in squatter camps, or crowd into one- or two-room cabins in low-priced tourist camps. Unattached men live, for the most part, in congregate shelters maintained by relief agencies or in "jungles." Even labor camps provided for migrant agricultural workers are frequently crowded, inadequately equipped, and insanitary.

(*c*) Lack of medical care and health protection for the migrant menaces the community as well as the migrants themselves. The ordinary health services of the community are seldom available to nonresidents except in extreme emergencies. Few communities attempt to control venereal and other contagious and infectious diseases among migrant workers.

(*d*) Educational opportunities are lacking or extremely limited for the children of thousands of migrant families, particularly those of migrant agricultural workers. Children old enough to work in the fields are expected to contribute badly needed income, and parents often do not consider it worth while to enroll the younger children in school during their short stay in any one community. School authorities, on their part, are frequently lax in enforcing the school-attendance laws in cases of the children of migrant families.

22. Public relief is dependent in most communities upon legal settlement. Lack of uniformity in the settlement laws, the long period required to obtain settlement in some States, and the possibility of losing settlement in one State before it is acquired in another results in many persons becoming Stateless.

23. Since the liquidation of the Federal transient program, relief for migrants has been sharply restricted. Such relief as is available has been generally limited to families with young children, unattached women, and the sick and aged. The attempts of both public and private relief agencies to discourage migrants from applying for assistance makes it impossible even to know how many are in need.

Respectfully,

FRANCES PERKINS,
Secretary of Labor.

PART I. NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

This report on migration is made in response to Senate Resolution 298 of the Seventy-fourth Congress. The resolution authorized and directed the Secretary of Labor to "study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs of laborers migrating across State lines, obtaining all facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the Congress and the States in enacting remedial legislation."

In accordance with the terms of the resolution, the emphasis of this report will be upon workers who migrate across State lines. However, it has not always been possible to distinguish the worker from the nonworker or the interstate migrant from those migrating between localities within a given State. Workers will constitute the vast majority of every group discussed, and likewise workers who move across State lines. Where intrastate migrants are included within the group surveyed, it will be because similar conditions are shared by those who move across State lines and those who may chance to remain within the borders of a single State.

The term "migration" is one which calls for definition.[1] It is a generic term embracing groups with somewhat different characteristics and problems. Broadly speaking, a migrant is any person who changes the location of his actual residence or workplace from one local community to another. Usually migrating persons change residence and workplace at the same time. But sometimes persons move their residence without a change of workplace, and the job of a worker sometimes moves to another community while the worker himself retains his former home.

Most of the problems of migration have arisen from change of residence.[2] Throughout the report, except where special qualification is made, a migrant will be a person who changes his residence. Within this definition, two major classes of migrants must be distinguished.

Seasonal and casual workers who move continually from job to job will be referred to as constant migrants. Migration is sometimes mistakenly discussed as though this were the only group of migrants. Even more fundamental and presenting at times extremely serious problems is the group of removal migrants, who move in response to a fairly permanent relocation of their work. Such migration may be internal or across international boundaries. The westward movement of population in the United States is an important example of internal removal, while the arrival of foreign immigrants to this country is a movement of the same type except that it takes place across national lines.[3]

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[1] The term "transient" is not used in this report, except by way of quotation, because it has conveyed such different meanings to different people. The different classes of all migrants, all persons without homes, constant migrants, depression migrants, nonresidents receiving any kind of relief, nonresidents receiving Federal relief, and nonresidents in need of relief have all been designated as "transients" at various times.

[2] A migrant is defined under the unemployment compensation acts in terms of the workplace rather than the home. This suggests a study of those persons whose jobs move across State lines but stay within commuting distance of the worker's home. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has begun to collect information on this subject.

[3] The terms "immigrant" and "emigrant" may thus be applied to migrants within the country as well as to those who come from or go to other countries. Since the term "immigration" has a special connotation, internal migrants are called "domestic immigrants" or "settlers" and "domestic emigrants" to distinguish them from the foreign migrants.

Frequently the removal migrants merge into the class of constant migrants. Thus the drought refugees, who are clearly removal migrants in origin, have often become seasonal workers, moving from job to job, when they have been unable to reestablish themselves permanently in any one community. Much migration during the recent depression also belongs to an intermediate class. Numerous depression migrants took to the road because of lack of work or relief at home and not usually with the intention of moving constantly. Some have returned to their former homes, so that their migration was special and temporary. Some have resettled, and thus become removal migrants. Others have continued to search for work on the road and so become constant migrants recruited from the relocating forces of the depression.

It is important not to confuse migration with the relief problem faced by some migrants. The need for relief occurs among some of each class of migrants, but the great mass have never been relief cases. However, nonresident relief cases will receive special attention throughout this report because our settlement laws make the problem of relief a crucial one, and because the need of some migrants for relief is very great.[4]

This report will be composed of three distinct parts. Part I, prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, outlines the nature of the problem of human migration in the United States. Information has been assembled from a wide variety of sources presenting a comprehensive view of our present knowledge. At the same time it is important to note the extent of our ignorance which necessitates continuing work in this field.

Part II, prepared by the Children's Bureau, deals with social problems of migrant workers and their families as they have been observed in certain areas studied by agents of that Bureau. The extensive literature on the social problems which arise from migration will not be summarized. Rather an attempt is made to illustrate these problems specifically from conditions which were directly observed.

Part III consists of a photographic documentation of the report supplied by the Resettlement Administration. The purpose of part III, as of the photographs in the text, is to suggest concretely the working, traveling, living conditions of migrant workers as they have been directly observed.

Part I attempts to show what kind of people the migrants are, the reasons for the existence of each of the several types of migration, the direction, extent and trend of migration of each type, how migrants are recruited, what they earn, and how they may be treated under the existing unemployment-compensation acts.

The literature on these subjects is voluminous but fragmentary. Many important questions still remain unanswered. Hence several agencies have been asked to collect special information from their field representatives or to begin or complete studies which they had planned. In addition, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has begun two new studies: A sample of public employment office records and a study of statistical schedules covering migrant workers who have obtained relief during the past year.

The study of employment office records was undertaken with the cooperation of the United States Employment Service and 16 State employment services. Twenty-one centers in all parts of the country were selected for study.[5] From these 21 centers a sample of 123,523 registrants' records was taken. Preliminary tabulations reveal that at least 26,671 of the workers studied had been migrants, as shown by the fact that at least one job across the State line was recorded on their registration cards. When completed, this study should reveal the age, sex, color, marital status, dependency status, occupation, industry, and direction of migration of job seekers in different sections of the country. Comparisons between the 26,671 interstate migrants and those who showed movement within their States as well as comparisons between migrant and resident workers will be available. Use will be made in this report of the results of a preliminary tabulation of the whole sample and of certain findings from the complete tabulation for migrants who have been recorded in Chicago since 1923.

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[4] It is also important to distinguish the migrant population from the local homeless population. Both classes are homeless and both are likely to be in need of relief, but the local homeless are legal residents and therefore eligible to local relief even under existing residence laws. Wherever local homeless persons have been included in the groups studied, this fact has been noted.

[5] Birmingham, Ala.; Fresno, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Bernardino, Calif.; Denver, Colo.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Chicago, Ill.; Baton Rouge and New Orleans, La.; Springfield, Mass.; Minnesota (transient file); Kansas City and St. Louis, Mo.; Newark, N. J.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Akron, Ohio; Oklahoma City, Okla.; Portland, Oreg.; Memphis, Tenn.; and Seattle, Wash.

The collection of schedules covering recent relief cases was made possible by the cooperation of social agencies in Washington, D. C., St. Louis, Minneapolis, and various offices of the State Relief Administration of California. Approximately 5,000 such schedules have been received. These have not yet been analyzed because no funds were available.

Part II gives a present-day picture of the living conditions and social problems of migrant families and individuals as observed by agents of the Children's Bureau during field visits to representative areas. These visits were made between September 1936 and the middle of February 1937.

The areas selected for study by the Children's Bureau included States and cities in which the migrations were primarily of seasonal agricultural workers, and others in which there were migrations of both skilled and casual industrial laborers. A number of the cities were centers in which seasonal migrants gather between migrations or through which they pass en route to other localities for employment. These are cities at important railroad junction points and on the main highways east and west and north and south. People migrating for reasons other than for work opportunities and people in search of favorable climate are also represented in the areas studied.

Wide representation of the various geographical sections of the United States was afforded in the selection of the localities visited.[6] In a number of the States several communities, urban and rural, were visited in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the types of migration problems in those States.

The information gathered includes descriptive data pertaining to the nature and extent of the problems of migration in the areas visited and also the social problems and provisions available for meeting them. Information was gathered from: (1) Interviews with officials and individuals familiar with the problems of migrants and their care, and interviews with a small number of migrant unattached persons and family groups; (2) observations made by the agents of the Children's Bureau on standards of care provided—relief, housing, shelter, etc.; and (3) published or informal reports of agencies which gave statistical information regarding the extent of the problem, and records of individual cases of migrants applying for relief.

The interviews with officials and individuals included State officials conversant with labor and welfare problems and local persons connected with public and private social welfare organizations, educational and health agencies, police departments, and employment services. The observations as to standards of care provided were made through personal visits to typical shelters and camps, including the commercial tourist camps, State camps, and camps furnished by employers to agricultural workers.

Time did not permit interviews with large numbers of migrants and their families but in many of the communities there was opportunity for brief interviews with a small number. Sometimes this was just a chance conversation with a family as their old car or covered wagon was parked at a service station or on the street. Some families were interviewed during visits to camps and still others were seen at the offices of the relief agencies as they came in to apply for aid. Visits were also made to the jungles and shelters frequented by unattached men.

Although no attempt will be made in this initial report to examine specific proposals for the treatment of migrant workers, it is believed that the data assembled should prove helpful in assessing particular measures. The character of the migration problem, as presented in part I, and the character of existing needs of migrants as described in part II are believed to be vital factors which should be considered in the framing of any comprehensive program relating to workers who move across State lines.

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[6] The following States and cities were included:

Middle West.—Illinois: Chicago; Iowa: Des Moines; Kansas: Topeka; Ohio: Cincinnati; Michigan: Lansing, Detroit, Flint; Missouri: St. Louis, Kansas City; Minnesota: St. Paul, Minneapolis.

South.—Georgia: Atlanta; Alabama, Birmingham; Louisiana: New Orleans; Florida: Jacksonville, Tampa, Miami, West Balm Beach, St. Petersburg, and rural areas.

Southwest and West.—Oklahoma: Oklahoma City; Colorado: Denver; Arizona: Phoenix, Yuma, Tucson; New Mexico: Albuquerque, Roswell, Las Cruces, Lordsburg; Texas: El Paso, Dallas, Fort Worth, Amarillo, and three rural counties; California: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, and two rural counties—Imperial and Kern.

Northwest.—Washington: Yakima Valley and Puget Sound areas; Oregon: Willamette Valley and Hood River Valley areas.

East.—New York: New York City.

CHAPTER II.[7] CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

All types of workers become migrants as movement becomes necessary to find work or regain health. No single picture is adequate to portray the migrant worker throughout the United States at all times. Recently, however, existing studies have revealed three significant changes in the migrant population: (1) An increasing proportion of native white persons, (2) a displacement of single men by migrant families, and (3) a growing tendency toward young migrants of the most employable ages.

Nativity and color

The migratory workers of each period are drawn from the domestic working population and from new foreign immigrants. Historically, the foreign-born have accounted for much of the migration into the United States and between individual States. As late as the decade, 1920–30, for example, 4,300,000 immigrants relocated in this country, a number nearly as large as the highest estimate so far made of the number of persons who moved from one State to another during that decade (4,600,000).[8] Many of these foreign-born workers continued to migrate from job to job after their arrival. In certain areas most of the constant migrants were formerly workers of foreign birth. Thus successive waves of Chinese, Japanese, and Mexicans have dominated the highly mobile ranks of California farm workers at various times between 1850 and 1930, together with smaller numbers of Indians, Hindus, and Filipinos.[9] Mexicans, the last of the foreign recruits to migratory life in this country, are still to be found largely among those workers who migrate seasonally into California, the southwestern States, and the western beet fields.[10]

In recent years the burdens of migration have been increasingly borne by native white Americans, since immigration laws have virtually ended the arrival of new workers from abroad. Less than 36,000 aliens have arrived in each of the 5 years since 1931. Fewer workers have arrived than have departed.[11] This curtailment of foreign immigration operates directly to reduce the proportion of the foreign-born arrivals among workers who are in the process of relocating in the several States. It also operates to decrease the proportion of foreign-born persons in the working population of the country, as the former immigrants die, and so to decrease indirectly the foreign-born element among all migrant workers. The proportion of the foreign born among workers who have migrated recently for permanent relocation cannot be known until the next census is published, but comprehensive data are available for more than 20,000 interstate migrants who registered for relief in 13 cities under the Federal transient program between August 1934 and April 1935. Less than 6 percent of this group of depression migrants were foreign born, and more than four-fifths of the group were native whites.[12] Some allowance may be made for a greater accessibility of relief to native whites, which would increase their proportion in the relief population. However, it seems clear that more than three-quarters of the depression migrants were native whites.

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[7] Part I of this report (chs. II–XIII) was prepared by N. A. Tolles, of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, assisted by Amy Macmaster. The contributions of persons and agencies outside the Bureau of Labor Statistics are acknowledged in the letter of transmittal and in footnotes throughout the text.

[8] See appendix A. The figure of 4,600,000 for domestic migrants includes 120,000 foreign born who had arrived in earlier periods and who relocated during the decade.

[9] Cf. Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, Historical Background of California Farm Labor, Rural Sociology, September 1936, pp. 289–294.

[10] Intrastate migrants in California still probably include a higher proportion of Mexicans than of whites, although the proportion of Mexicans has been reduced recently by emigration to Mexico and by native-white drought refugees who have become seasonal workers. Eric H. Thomsen reported within the last year that two-thirds of the California growers hire Mexicans (Indoor Minds and Outdoor Miseries, U. S. Resettlement Administration, San Francisco, 1936, quoted in an unpublished study of California farm labor by the Federal Writers Project, Works Progress Administration, Oakland, Calif.).

The majority of Texas and Arizona seasonal workers and of western beet-sugar field workers are Mexicans. (U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936–37, and Paul S. Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States: The Valley of the South Platte, Colo., University of California Publications in Economics, 1929.) However, most of the Texas agricultural migrants now remain within the State (cf., infra, p. 157), and interstate migration of beet-sugar workers has been greatly reduced (infra, pp. 142–143).

[11] U. S. Department of Labor, Immigration and Naturalization Service. (Cf. Statistical Abstract, 1936, p. 95.) During the fiscal year ending in 1936, immigration exceeded emigration for the first time since 1931. Alien admissions numbered 36,329, or 512 more than alien departures from July 1935 to June 1936.

White persons [13] now predominate even among the migrants along the California border where Mexicans have been most numerous until recently. Complete counts are being made of "persons in need of manual employment" who enter California on all highways. Table 1 shows that nearly nine-tenths of all such migrants during the year ending June 15, 1936, were white persons. The constant seasonal migrant in this area is best represented by returning Californians. Among these one-seventh were Mexicans, while three-fourths were whites. Relatively large proportions of Mexicans are also shown among the immigrants to California from the neighboring Pacific Coast and Mountain States. However, the drought refugees who are now migrating in large numbers to California are almost entirely white persons, as can be seen from those data in table 1, which relate to workers entering from Oklahoma.

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[12] John N. Webb, The Transient Unemployed, Division of Social Research Monograph III, Works Progress Administration, 1935, table 4, p. 102. Computed for 9 months to include unattached persons and family heads with other race or color counted as foreign-born.

The cities studied were Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Jacksonville (Fla.), Kansas City (Mo.), Los Angeles, Memphis, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Phoenix, Pittsburgh, and Seattle.

The following statements may be helpful in evaluating the representative character of this sample:

"* * * The cities were well distributed geographically * * * in total registrations in these cities not only varied much as did registrations in the country as a whole, but represented from 7.1 to 8.8 percent of all unattached transients registered each month, and from 11.5 to 15.9 of all transient family groups" (loc. cit., p. 23).

"Except for the fact that they were nonresidents, there seems little reason for considering transients as a distinct and separate group in the total relief population * * * they were younger and included a greater proportion of unattached persons" (loc. cit., p. 2).

"The following comparison of the usual occupations of the transients studied with the resident relief group and with all gainful workers (loc. cit, table 17) indicates further the type of sample which was available:

	Transient sample, April 1935	Resident relief registrations, 79 cities, May 1934	All gainful workers, 1930 U. S. Census
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
All persons	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional	2.2	2.1	6.1
Semiprofessional	.3	.2	.4
Proprietors, managers, and officials	4.2	3.3	18.9
Clerical	4.8	5.4	8.6
Sales	5.9	5.4	7.3
Operators [1]	.3	.4	.7
Production:			
Skilled	16.5	18.1	13.4
Semiskilled	23.6	27.8	16.6
Unskilled	31.8	21.0	21.1
Service	10.4	16.3	6.9

[1] Telephone, telegraph, radio.

[13] The following sources did not distinguish between native and foreign-born white persons.

TABLE 1.—*Major racial groups of migrant workers entering California by automobile, June 16, 1935, to June 15, 1936*[1]

License plate of car—State	Total	Racial group				
		White[2]	Mexican	Filipino	Negro	Other[3]
Total migrants	87, 362	78, 233	5, 245	2, 048	1, 046	790
Percent	100. 0	89. 6	6. 0	2. 3	1. 2	0. 9
California	16, 315	12, 271	2, 294	1, 280	325	145
Arizona	7, 671	5, 774	1, 449	179	213	56
Texas	6, 685	5, 988	563	----------	100	34
Montana	1, 027	661	62	281	3	20
New Mexico	2, 637	2, 244	376	10	7	----------
Washington	3, 108	2, 941	----------	146	2	19
Oklahoma	13, 984	13, 720	111	----------	153	----------
Other	35, 935	34, 634	390	152	243	516

[1] Adapted from Edward J. Rowell, Monthly Labor Review, December 1936, p. 8.
[2] Used as an inclusive term for all not classified otherwise.
[3] Includes Japanese, Chinese, American Indians, Hindus, and 6,229 gypsies.

During the decade of the 1920's, the relocation of Negroes from South to North was a prominent feature of migration in the United States. Nearly a million Negroes crossed State lines in this period. This Negro movement accounted for one-fifth of the estimated interstate relocation during the decade, and for about one-tenth of the number of persons arriving in the various States, including foreign immigrants.[14] Since the twenties, the importance of Negro migration has declined. In Chicago, a center well situated to reflect the trend of Negro migration, 31.4 percent of the recent job seekers who arrived in the 1920's were Negroes but only 21.5 percent of those who arrived from 1934 to 1936 were Negroes (table 2).[15]

TABLE 2.—*Percentage distribution by race of interstate migrants, 1923–36, in sample of registrations, at Chicago employment offices, grouped by periods of migration*

Race	Years of termination of last job cited outside State			
	Total, 1923–36	1923–29	1930–33	1934–36
Number of cases	1, 134	421	351	362
All racial groups .... percent	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0
Negro .... do	26. 8	31. 4	26. 8	21. 5
White .... do	71. 4	65. 8	71. 5	77. 9
Other and unknown .... do	1. 8	2. 8	1. 7	. 6

The Negro has never been important among the seasonal migrants who move continually from job to job.[16] Only 2 percent of the migrants across the California border during the year 1935–36 were Negroes (table 1).

All the available evidence points to a decline in the importance of foreign and of colored workers among the migrants. The problems of migration now, as never in the recent past, affect native white American workers.

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[14] See appendix.
[15] Further tabulations of records taken from 20 other centers by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in cooperation with the U. S. Employment Service are now in preparation (cf., supra, pp. 6–7).
[16] Cf. Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., p. 34.

Marital status and dependency

Family groups, including women and children, are more and more affected by the conditions of migratory life. Historically, it has been unattached men rather than the heads of families who have filled the need for seasonal migrants in the United States. The casual workers of the pre-war period in the western wheat fields, lumber camps, and orchards were single men.[17] The lack of strong local ties and of family responsibilities adapt the single man to a migratory life much more easily than the families of women or minors.[18]

Available studies fail to reveal whether single men continue to outnumber the members of families among migrants generally, but there are numerous indications of the increasing importance of the migrant family. Two factors appear to have put family groups in motion: (1) Upheavals, such as depression and drought, have uprooted large numbers of workers whether families or unattached persons;[19] (2) the growth of specialized crops such as sugar beets, fruits, vegetables, and cotton, has increased the available employment in harvest work which is adapted to family labor and which requires migrants in many areas.[20]

The family status of depression migrants is best indicated from a study of cases formerly under the care of the Federal Transient Bureaus. Migrants who move because of drought are most easily observed at the California border.

Federal transient cases reached their maximum number of 214,826 in January 1935.[21] Although less than one-fifth (17.8 percent) of the cases under care at that time were family cases, two-fifths of the individuals under care were members of the 38,651 family groups.[22] Drought refugees appear to consist almost entirely of families, and these families evidently include a large number of children. An average of 5 persons have arrived in California in each car bearing workers from the drought States during the 12 months ending June 15, 1936.[23] Although a few of these cars may have carried groups of single men, it is evident from various field reports that the great majority actually did contain family groups.[24]

While the forces of dislocation have been uprooting families, seasonal agricultural work has increasingly attracted family groups to a life of perpetual migration. The sugar-beet companies of Colorado have endeavored to recruit families rather than single men, whenever they have required outside workers since 1919, in spite of the finding of one company that 1,000 "solos" could do 40 percent more work than the family workers who could be shipped at equal expense.[25] California agriculture which used to employ single men almost exclusively now makes large and increasing use of migrant families.[26] The growing group of seasonal migrants in Florida also appears, from recent studies of the Resettlement Administration, to consist very largely of "kinship groups." [27]

More comprehensive data as to the family status of migrants to various areas of the country will be available when the Bureau of Labor Statistics has the opportunity to complete the tabulation of records, already secured, from 21 public employment offices.[28] A sample tabulation reveals that one-third of the most recent migrants to Chicago (1934–36) were married, that 47 percent of these migrants had dependents and that 27 of them had more than 1 dependent.[29]

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[17] Cf. The Casual Laborer and Other Essays, 1920 (posthumous), and Gibbons, Logging in the Douglas Fir Region, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 711, Washington, 1918, pp. 11–15.

[18] Cf. Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., pp. 38–39.

[19] See, infra, pp. 44–49, and ch. VI.

[20] See, infra, pp. 142–152.

[21] Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., p. 100.

[22] An average of 3.1 individuals per family was found in 13 study cities (op. cit., p. 38). If all transient families had such an average composition, the family groups in January 1935 represented 119,818 individuals of an estimated total of 295,993 individuals under care. Less than 3 percent of the unattached persons under care were women (op. cit., p. 32).

[23] Rowell, Monthly Labor Review, December 1936, op. cit., pp. 6–7.

[24] Since these border counts did not cover the railroads, some of the single men from drought States were missed. An overwhelming proportion of married persons was also found among recent rural immigrants to the State of Washington who were largely from drought States (cf. Paul H. Landis, Rural Immigrants to Washington State, 1932–36, Pullman, 1936).

[25] Taylor, Mexican Labor, II, 1929, op. cit., p. 134.

[26] Paul S. Taylor, Migratory Farm Labor in the United States, Monthly Labor Review, March 1937.

[27] Preliminary data from a study of migrant labor in Florida made available by the U. S. Resettlement Administration (cf., infra, pp. 127–130).

[28] Cf., supra, pp. 6–7.

Age and employability

The recent increase in the importance of migrant families might suggest that migrant workers were relatively old workers. On the contrary, the available evidence indicates that the older worker migrates across State lines much less frequently than the young worker and that workers who migrate are increasingly in the most employable age groups. Young employable persons are found more frequently among migrants than in the gainful population.

The heads of migrant families are older than the average of the working population,[30] as might be expected. However, these families include considerable numbers of young children and in the western farm areas, at least, the children of migrant families are usually employed workers. A recent study of 328 migrant families in California farm camps revealed that one-quarter of the 964 working members were less than 20 years of age and that one-tenth were less than 15 years.[31] The fact that these youths and children were gainful workers brought the average (median) age of these workers in California migrant families down to 30 years.

All available studies of migrant workers show them to be younger than the working population of the United States. The median average age of all gainful workers in 1930 was 35 years.[32] The corresponding average age of each migrant group recently studied is close to 30 years. Such was the finding for California farm families, just mentioned. Such also was the finding of the Works Progress Administration study of migrant workers who registered in 13 cities at the former Federal Transient Bureaus.[33] The median ages of unattached members of this "transient" group varied from 27 to 30 years between May 1934 and April 1935, while the much smaller group of family heads[34] had average ages from 33 to 35 years in different months. A combination of these two groups of "Federal transients" suggests that half of the workers who migrated across State lines during the depression were also 30 years of age or less.

Workers who move for permanent settlement in new communities also appear to be younger than the workers residing in the communities to which the migrants go. A recent study of southern white migrants to Cincinnati shows such an age contrast.[35] The median age of 389 migrant heads of families who had married Cincinnati residents was 30.6 years. The median age of 264 heads of families all members of which had come from the South was 33.8 years. Both groups were much younger than the control group, 434 heads of families permanently resident in Cincinnati, whose median age was 36 years.

A similar contrast has been found between the age of migrants to Chicago who registered at public employment offices and the age of the working population of Chicago. Moreover, the recent migrants to Chicago appear to be younger than the former migrants were at the time of their movement to that city. Half of the gainfully employed of Chicago in 1930 were more than 33 years of age,[36] but half of the 1,134 migrants studied who came to Chicago after 1922 and who later registered at the public employment offices were less than 30 years of age at the time of migration.[37] It was possible to separate these job seekers who had been migrants into groups, according to the time of their arrival in the city. Half of the 421 Chicago job seekers studied who moved during the 1920's were less than 32 years at the time of migration. Half of the 351 workers who migrated in the period 1930–33 were less than 30 years and half of the 362 most recent migrants to Chicago (1934–36) were less than 29 years. We do not know whether this tendency toward younger and younger interstate migrants is characteristic of other areas.

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[29] The average size of family among the 170 of these migrant workers who reported dependents was 3.3 persons. This is closely similar to the size of the migrant families studied who received aid under the Federal transient program (3.1 persons) (Webb, loc. cit.; cf., supra, p. 21). However, nearly half of the Chicago immigrants reported dependents in contrast with one-fifth of the Federal transient cases. An average of 1.0 dependent worker was reported by all the migrant job seekers studied who came to Chicago between 1934 and 1936. The migrant group, for those with and without dependents, thus averaged 2 persons, including the worker himself.

Three-fifths of the Chicago job seekers who moved in the years 1923 to 1929 were married at the time of registration for work, in contrast with one-third of the most recent migrants who were married. This contrast merely indicates that a large number of the earlier migrants had married by 1934.

[30] Cf. L. R. Breithaupt, Bulletin No. 164, Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, Corvallis, 1936.

[31] Adapted from an unpublished study of migrant farm labor in California by the U. S. Resettlement Administration, San Francisco, courtesy of Edward J. Rowell.

[32] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States (cf. Statistical Abstract, 1936, p. 53).

[33] Cf. Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., tables 2A, 2B, p. 101.

[34] Cf. supra, pp. 20–21.

[35] Preliminary results of an unpublished study by Grace G. Leybourne. This study was based on an analysis of 1,246 schedules of southern whites and 1,214 schedules of comparable resident working-class families taken from the special Cincinnati census of April 1935. The schedules were made available by the city manager of Cincinnati and the regional department of economic security.

The younger worker appears to have much greater mobility and is, therefore, much more likely to become an interstate migrant than the older worker. Evidence of the correspondence between youth and mobility is available from several sources. One of the most striking age contrasts was found between the unattached migrants and unattached local homeless persons, as registered under the Federal transient program. Half of the interstate migrants studied in 13 cities were less than 28 years of age, while half of the local homeless were more than 43 years of age.[38] A similar contrast was found between the ages of interstate migrants and those who had moved only within the State of Indiana. Two-thirds of the migrants from other States were less than 35 years of age, while nearly two-thirds of the intrastate migrants were 35 years or older.[39] Among the interstate migrants themselves a similar rule seems to apply: the younger workers move the greater distances. This is suggested by table 3, which shows the ages of migrants registered at the public employment offices in Chicago whose previous jobs outside of Illinois were located in each of five regions. It will be seen that those emigrating from the Northeast and from the far West were distinctly younger than those who had come from the neighboring States of the east north central region.[40]

TABLE 3.—*Percentage distribution of age at termination of last job cited outside State of interstate migrants, 1923–36, having employment in specified regions before registering at Chicago employment offices*

Age of termination of last job outside State	All regions	East north central	South	West north central	Northeast	West
Number of cases	[1] 1, 134	424	252	192	141	94
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 20 years	10.6	9.4	15.1	10.9	7.1	9.6
20 to 24 years	21.2	18.9	27.4	19.2	19.9	20.2
25 to 29 years	17.3	16.3	21.0	19.2	12.0	17.0
30 to 34 years	14.7	17.7	9.5	10.9	19.9	13.8
35 to 39 years	12.9	12.7	11.5	12.4	17.7	10.6
40 to 44 years	10.8	11.6	7.1	11.4	12.0	10.6
45 to 49 years	6.7	6.4	4.8	9.8	5.7	10.6
50 years and older	5.5	6.8	2.8	6.2	5.7	6.4
Age unknown	.3	.2	.8	---------	---------	1.1

[1] Including 30 cases of foreign origin, not tabulated for age.

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[36] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, vol. IV, p. 440.

[37] Cf. supra, pp. 6–7. Similar information will be available for migrants to 20 other cities when tabulation of records obtained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics has been completed.

[38] Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., p. 29, and tables 2A, 2C, p. 101.

[39] Cf. Indiana, Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief. Statistical Survey of Transient Activities, December 1933 to September 1934. 1935.

[40] Similar tabulations of employment office records from 20 other centers are in preparation (cf. supra, pp. 6–7).

This same tendency for the younger migrants to range more widely than the older migrants was revealed when the results of the monthly census of transients under care of the Federal transient bureaus were compared with the results of monthly registrations of the same bureaus. Thus the median age of all transients under care on March 31, 1935, was 32 years, while the median age of the transients who registered during that month in 13 study cities lay between 27 and 28 years (Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., p. 30). Although part of this contrast arose from the inclusion of local homeless in the census figures, Dr. Webb concludes that the main reason for the contrast was "* * * that age distributions derived from continuous registrations in the 13 cities were weighted by the younger and more mobile persons, while age distributions derived from the 1-day quarterly census were weighted by the older and less mobile persons" (loc. cit., p. 31).

The youth of recent interstate migrants has made them a highly employable group, in striking contrast to homeless persons who move only within one local area. The ages of greatest employability, as indicated by a number of studies by the Bureau of Labor Statistics,[41] appear to lie between 21 and 45 years. Nearly one-half of the local homeless in 6 cities who registered with the Federal transient bureaus were more than 45 years of age.[42] At the same time, less than 15 percent of the unattached migrants, and less than 20 percent of the heads of migrant families registered with the same bureaus in 13 cities were over 45 years of age.[43] The lack of older workers among these "Federal transients" made them highly employable. More than 70 percent of the unattached persons and nearly four-fifths of the heads of families among these migrants of the depression period were more than 20 years, and less than 45 years of age.[44]

Table 4 shows the distribution of ages among migrants to Chicago in the prosperity, depression, and recovery periods, as compared with the age distribution of the whole working population in 1930. The ages of this Chicago group of interstate migrants compared favorably both with those of the entire working population and with those of the "Federal transients." Three-fifths of the working population were from 21 to 45 years of age, and these were the ages of a little more than 70 percent of the "Federal transients." But among the Chicago immigrants of all periods since 1922, 77.2 percent were aged from 21 to 45 years at the time of migration. Moreover, an increasing proportion of Chicago immigrants have recently fallen within the ages of greatest employability: 78.7 percent of the most recent Chicago immigrants (1934–36) were 20 and less than 45 years of age.[45]

TABLE 4.—*Percentage of interstate migrants, 1923–36, of specified ages at termination of last job cited outside States, in Chicago employment office registrations, by periods of migration, compared with percentages of all workers, 1930, by age groups*

Age of termination of last job cited outside State	Year of termination of last job cited outside State				All gainful workers, 1930
	Total 1923–36	1923–29	1930–33	1934–36	
Number of cases	1, 134	421	351	362	(1)
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
All ages	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0
Less than 20 years	10. 6	9. 5	10. 0	12. 4	9. 6
20 to 24 years	21. 2	16. 6	21. 1	26. 5	14. 6
25 to 29 years	17. 3	17. 1	17. 9	16. 9	12. 8
30 to 34 years	14. 7	19. 7	13. 7	9. 9	11. 4
35 to 39 years	12. 9	14. 3	11. 1	13. 0	11. 5
40 to 44 years	10. 8	9. 3	10. 8	12. 4	10. 0
45 to 49 years	6. 7	7. 1	7. 7	5. 3	8. 8
50 years and older	5. 5	5. 9	7. 1	3. 6	21. 2
Age unknown	. 3	. 5	. 6	----------	. 1

[1] Total 48,829,920.

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[41] Cf. Monthly Labor Review, November 1932, pp. 1009–1010; op. cit., p. 1010; op. cit., February 1937, p. 326; U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bull. No. 620, p. 37; idem, Bull. No. 623, p. 87.

An exception was found in the department stores of Springfield, Mass., where Dr. Hewes revealed that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the employees were over 45 years of age. Considerably more than half of this older group had been hired before they reached 45, but since the largest number of them had been hired at ages from 40 to 44, it was concluded that there was "abundant evidence of lack of prejudice on the part of retail-store managers against the hiring of older persons (Monthly Labor Review, October 1932, pp. 774–778.

[42] Local homeless over 45 years of age ranged from 43 to 49 percent of all local homeless between October 1934 and April 1935 (Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., table 2C, p. 101).

[43] Loc. cit., tables 2A, 2B.

[44] Idem.

[45] In California farm camp, studied by the Resettlement Administration, there was a much larger proportion of workers under 20 years of age (26.2 percent among whites and 30 percent among Mexican families). The ages of greatest employability in California agriculture are probably somewhat different than in industry. Nine-tenths of the workers in the white families among these California migrant families were aged from 15 to 59 years, and 84 percent of the Mexican families were 15 and less than 60 years of age.

Migrant workers are not only heavily concentrated in the most employable ages, but by actual tests they have proven to be an extremely employable group of workers. One such test is the judgment of interviewers as to the applicant's physical ability and expressed willingness to perform work. By this test, more than nine-tenths of the workers registered with the Federal transient bureaus were employable.[46] Another test is the actual success of migrant workers in obtaining jobs in private industry. Table 5 shows that the most recent migrants to Chicago were more successful in obtaining private employment through the public employment offices than the migrants of 1923–29 who had become local residents. Nonrelief placements had been secured by 24 percent of the Chicago migrants of 1934–36 who registered at the employment offices, but by only 7 percent of the migrants of 1923–29. This superior employability of recent migrants cannot be attributed entirely to a more favorable age distribution. Within each of the age groups shown in table 5, placements in nonrelief jobs were obtained by large proportions of recent migrants than of those who had settled before 1930. Other unpublished tabulations show that the preference of private employers extended both to the single and the married groups of recent migrants.[47] Despite this demonstration of employability in private industry, the recent migrant to Chicago remained unplaced by the employment offices more frequently than the more permanent worker. This was due to the fact that the more permanent residents of Chicago were given preference in assignment to relief work. In consequence, 9 percent of the recent migrants, as compared with 34 percent of the earlier settlers, secured placement on relief work after registering at the public employment offices of Chicago.[48]

TABLE 5.—*Numbers of interstate migrants, 1923–36, placed in relief and nonrelief jobs by Chicago employment offices, by age and period of migration (1923–29, 1930–33, 1934–36)*

Years of termination of last job reported outside Illinois	Disposition of applicant to December 1936			
	Total number	Relief placement	Nonrelief placement	No placement
	All ages			
Total, 1923–36	1,134	255	167	[1] 712
1923–29	421	143	28	[2] 250
1930–33	351	80	53	218
1934–36	362	32	86	[2] 244
	Under 20 years of age			
Total, 1923–36	48	1	16	31
1923–29	1	0	0	1
1930–33	8	0	2	6
1934–36	39	1	14	[2] 24
	20 to 29 years of age			
Total, 1923–36	348	42	63	243
1923–29	60	13	6	41
1930–33	129	19	21	89
1934–36	159	10	36	113

[1] Including 1 worker whose placement status was not reported.
[2] Including 2 workers whose placement status was not reported.

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[46] Cf. Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., p. 44.

[47] Thus among single workers nonrelief jobs were obtained by 24 percent of the workers who had migrated after 1933, but by only 10 percent of those who migrated before 1930. Among married workers nonrelief jobs were obtained by 24 percent of the recent migrants, but by only 4.4 percent of those who settled before 1930.

[48] Further tabulations of records already secured by the Bureau of Labor Statistics will show comparisons of placements as between migrants and the purely local workers who reported no previous jobs outside the city in which they were registered. Such data is available from samples taken in Chicago and 20 other centers.

TABLE 5.—*Numbers of interstate migrants, 1923–36, placed in relief and nonrelief jobs by Chicago employment offices, by age and period of migration (1923–29, 1930–33, 1934–36)*—Continued

Years of termination of last job reported outside Illinois	Disposition of applicant to December 1936			
	Total number	Relief placement	Nonrelief placement	No placement
	30 to 39 years of age			
Total, 1923–36	330	86	47	197
1923–29	146	54	10	82
1930–33	96	25	17	54
1934–36	88	7	20	61
	40 to 49 years of age			
Total, 1923–36	265	75	34	[2] 156
1923–29	133	42	10	[2] 81
1930–33	72	21	10	41
1934–36	60	12	14	34
	50 years and older			
Total, 1923–36	139	51	7	81
1923–29	79	34	2	43
1930–33	44	15	3	26
1934–36	16	2	2	12
	Age unknown			
Total, 1923–36	4	0	0	4
1923–29	2	0	0	2
1930–33	2	0	0	2
1934–36	0	0	0	0

[2] Including 2 workers whose placement status was not reported.

CHAPTER III. RELOCATION OF WORKERS

Throughout history the most fundamental type of migration has been the movement of peoples in search of permanent locations which promised to furnish more favorable economic opportunities. Moving sometimes as conquering nations, sometimes as nomadic tribes or again as single families or individuals, men have recurrently sought to escape from residence in areas that supported life inadequately and to establish new homes where the resources or the economic organization seemed more favorable.

The migrant workers to be described in the next four chapters of this report are those who have relocated within the United States in response to such basic shifts in opportunity. Their migration will be discussed in terms of the more important causes of "job relocation." The workers themselves, whether they arrive from abroad or from another State will be called removal migrants, to distinguish them from those constant migrants who move within each year from job to job in response to recurrent fluctuations in agriculture or industry. The term "migratory labor" is sometimes restricted to refer solely to those individuals who are constantly moving. (See chs. IX, X, XI.) Such a definition excludes a major fraction of those workers who move across State lines and it obscures a major portion of the problem of human migration. A worker who enters a new community is no less a migrant because he moves infrequently and hopes to find permanent residence. Constant migrants and removal migrants are merged in the stream of migration at any one time, and while in the process of migration both types face all the problems of homelessness. But while the flow of constant migrants is composed of persons who continue to move from job to job, the flow of removal migrants is made up of a changing group of individuals who either find permanent settlement or join the stream of continual migrants.

TABLE 6.—*Numbers and percentages of the population of continental United States living outside State of birth in 1930, by race and nativity*

Race and nativity	Numbers of persons in millions		Percent of total population
	Living outside State of birth	Total	
Total	39.6	122.8	32.2
Natives	25.4	108.6	20.7
White	22.3	95.5	23.5
Negro	3.0	11.7	25.3
Other [1]	0.1	1.4	7.1
Foreign born	14.2	14.2	[2] 100.0

[1] Including Indians, Mexicans, and Orientals.
[2] Equals 11.6 percent of total population.

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1930, vol. II, tables 15–17.

For three centuries the North American continent has attracted settlers from abroad. This foreign immigration has been followed by a vast tide of westward movement within the country as the European immigrant and his descendants found increasing opportunities toward the interior and the Pacific coast. By 1890 the frontier had been passed, in the sense that no area with rich known resources was left unpopulated, and by 1930 the deliberate restriction of immigration had cut down the number of new settlers from abroad to less than 250,000 a year. But the tradition of movement is still part of the American scene, ready to serve the needs of the Nation as new resources develop and as old resources are exhausted locally. Nearly one-third of the people of the United States were living, as recently as the census of 1930, in States in which they had not been born (table 6). All of these 40,000,000 people had migrated across State lines at least once during their lives and some of them had moved many times. The American worker has thus been more accustomed than the worker of most other nations to move in search of greater opportunity.[49]

In 1930 foreign-born persons numbered 14,000,000 or 11.6 percent of the total population. To what extent the foreign-born may have continued to move from State to State after arrival there is no way of telling. But in addition to these foreign immigrants, more than 25,000,000, or one-fifth of the native-born population of 1930 had moved from the various States where they were born. Native-born Indians, Mexicans, and Orientals had moved least frequently across State lines. More than one-quarter of the Negroes and almost a quarter of the native whites had been interstate migrants at some time since birth (table 6).

The volume of migration during any fixed period, as for example, 1920–30, can only be estimated roughly because of the paucity of the materials now available.[50] The minimum domestic migration across State lines in the decade of the 1920's is measured by a net exodus of 2.8 million persons from 31 States. The remaining 17 States and the District of Columbia gained population by migration. Their aggregate net gain was equivalent to the 2.8 millions which the 31 States lost plus the 3.1 millions of net foreign immigrants during that decade.[51]

These are estimates of net interstate shift of population. It is known that there was also some flow out of States of net gain and into States of net loss. The total number of migrant individuals was therefore greatly in excess of the net shift of population, but no accurate estimate of this gross migration is possible. The best estimate we can formulate at this time is that more than

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[49] Cf. Carter Goodrich and others, Migration and Economic Opportunity, 1936, p. 504.
[50] A relatively slight addition to the census of population would furnish much more reliable information.
[51] See appendix A, for the method of computing these estimates.

9 million persons moved into one or more States during the decade, 1920–30. Approximately one-half of these were immigrants from abroad (4.3 millions). The remainder were domestic interstate migrants (4.6 millions).[52]

Reduced to an annual average, these estimates mean that job relocation during the 1920's probably caused 460,000 persons to move from one State to another each year while an average of 430,000 persons were being attracted annually from abroad. Not all of these 890,000 annual migrants were workers. On the other hand, this estimate probably understates the gross volume of migration by a wide margin, and in any case an unusually large proportion of migrants are concentrated in the most employable ages.[53] It is, therefore, probably not an exaggeration to state that there were at least this number of migrants among the gainfully employed. If this assumption is correct, interstate relocation of both domestic and foreign workers involved an average of 2 percent of the gainfully employed each year from 1920 to 1930 and those workers who relocated from one State to another each year of the decade averaged about 1 percent of the gainfully employed.[54]

For the period since 1930, even the limited data from the census are lacking as a basis for estimating the volume of interstate migration. Apparently, a large increase in domestic migration has occurred, but the native migrant has, to a great extent, taken the place of the foreign immigrant in providing flexibility to the population.[55] In view of the declining number of foreign immigrants, the aggregate annual number of new arrivals in the various States may have been no greater since 1930 than during the previous decade.

The most comprehensive data now available show an annual rate of removal from State to State during the past 7 years that at least equals the average rate of the 1920's. Preliminary tabulations of 111,275 public employment office records from 19 cities show that 12 percent of these workers reported a specific job across the State line at some time during the years 1930–36.[56]

The detailed results given in table 7 show that in all but 4 of the 19 cities covered, the registrants became interstate migrants at an average annual rate of more than 1 percent. One percent, it will be recalled, was the estimated average rate of interstate migration among the gainfully employed of the twenties. In all but 5 of these cities the rate was less than 2 percent per year. Thus, in most of the cities studied, the average proportion of domestic interstate migrants was between 1 and 2 times the corresponding proportion of the 1920's but it was less than the combined former rate of migrancy among domestic and foreign workers.[57]

Much of the migration in the United States since 1930 has been affected by conditions of general business depression. During depression and prosperity alike, workers are induced to relocate by the push away from former homes and the pull toward new areas. Repulsion and attraction are continually present in any dynamic society but these forces operate somewhat differently in years of depression than in years of general prosperity.

The push away from home becomes more intense during depression, as the search for work proves futile, as relief becomes inaccessible and as the stigma of failure haunts the idle worker. Hence the migration of unemployed workers increases as employment declines. The recent trend of travel by these distressed migrants may be illustrated by statistics of accidents to railway trespassers. Three-fifths of the migrants who received aid under the Federal transient program in 13 cities had traveled by "riding the rods." [58]

In the absence of comprehensive counts of trespassers prior to May 1935, it was necessary to find another indicator of the number of railway trespassers.

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[52] See Appendix A.

[53] Cf. supra.

[54] Average number of the gainfully employed, 44.4 millions.

[55] Cf. supra.

[56] Cf. supra and appendix A.

[57] Foreign immigrants averaged 42,750 per year from 1930 through 1936, less than one-tenth of the average annual rate of the 1920's. The negligible number of workers whose last job outside the State of registration was in a foreign country were included with the other migrants shown in table 7. In the Chicago sample, the only one completely tabulated, this number was 11 out of the ttoal of 713.

[58] Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., chart opposite p. 68. Measures of railway trespassers indicate the volume of travel by those who do not pay their fares, not the number of migrants. Highway travel is not measured and this omission largely excludes the travel by family groups (cf. appendix A).

The trend of nonfatal accidents to railway trespassers have been found to measure with fair accuracy the trend of illegal train-riding by those migrants who are most likely to be in need of immediate relief.[59]

TABLE 7.—*Numbers and percentages of workers terminating jobs outside States of registration during period, 1930–36,*[1] *as shown by samples of records of public employment offices in 19 cities*

City	Number of workers		Percent interstate migrants, 1930–36	
	In sample	Reporting job outside State, 1930–36	Total period	Per year
Newark	4, 879	139	2. 8	0. 40
St. Louis	8, 793	509	5. 8	. 83
Birmingham	6, 659	396	5. 9	. 84
Akron	4, 670	342	7. 3	1. 04
Chicago	9, 263	713	7. 7	1. 10
New Orleans	7, 818	659	8. 4	1. 20
Springfield	5, 660	489	8. 6	1. 23
Oklahoma City	4, 581	414	9. 0	1. 29
Baton Rouge	5, 189	481	9. 3	1. 33
Memphis	5, 572	638	11. 5	1. 64
Oakland	4, 808	578	12. 0	1. 71
Kansas City	6, 179	755	12. 2	1. 74
Bridgeport	5, 950	751	12. 6	1. 80
San Bernardino	5, 153	681	13. 2	1. 89
Fresno	6, 940	1, 186	17. 1	2. 44
Portland	4, 692	870	18. 5	2. 64
Seattle	3, 581	690	19. 3	2. 76
Denver	5, 285	1, 178	22. 3	3. 19
Los Angeles	5, 572	1, 766	31. 7	4. 53

[1] Samples taken by U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, December 1936, with the cooperation of the U. S. Employment Service and the indicated State employment services (cf. appendix A).

[2] Excluding workers whose last job cited outside New Jersey was located in New York City. These "migrants" from New York City equaled 5.1 percent of the sample and their inclusion would raise the aggregate proportion of interstate migrants to 7.9 percent. The former New York City workers have been excluded because of the possibility that they retained their former homes after changing their place of work

Plate 5 suggests that illegal train riding declined gradually during the prosperous years, 1923 to 1929, increased by 45 percent as the depression deepened, from 1929 to 1933 and decreased sharply with the greater availability of local relief and the beginning of recovery in 1934. The evidence of plate 5 that the depression phase of migration is passing finds support from recent observations in the field.[60] Indeed, plate 5 indicates that the volume of travel by distressed migrants is now no greater than in the 1920's. The upward trend of highway travel, not reflected in plate 5, would suggest, however, that the depression phase of migration has not wholly disappeared.

The push away from unfavorable areas also gives a somewhat different direction to depression migration than the direction which characterizes prosperity. The very areas within West Virginia, Kentucky, the Middle Western States, and the Great Plains which had repelled workers during the prosperous twenties, appeared relatively favorable to the unemployed after 1930.[61] These areas of poor long-range opportunity attracted the depression migrant who was in need of security rather than advancement. The higher wage levels of the industrialized areas proved useless to the worker who could find neither work nor relief[62] while the poorer areas at least offered the prospect of cheap subsistence on abandoned farms and assistance from relatives or friends.

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[59] Accidents to railway trespassers have been reported to the Interstate Commerce Commission since 1890. A high degree of correspondence is shown in Plate 4 between the trends of trespasser evictions and of nonfatal accidents to trespassers for the period May 1935 to December 1936, when both series were available for the United States as a whole. The Interstate Commerce Commission is now collecting further data, at the request of the Secretary of Labor, to indicate how far these accidents involve interstate migrants (cf. Appendix A).

[60] An average of 25 to 30 riders per train has been recently reported on the most heavily traveled lines of the Southwest, as compared with more than 100 such illegal riders in 1932. (U. S. Children's Bureau, Field Reports, 1936–37).

[61] Cf. Carter Goodrich, B. W. Allen, and Marion Hayes, Migration and Planes of Living, 1935, especially p. 79.

The forces of attraction change even more than the forces of repulsion as business conditions fluctuate between prosperity and depression. During prosperity, many of the workers who relocate are attracted by the positive expectation of finding jobs in specific developing areas. Immigration from abroad and the migration of skilled workers increases as employment improves and declines when no area within the country offers a good prospect of furnishing employment. The number of foreign immigrants rose from 309,556 in 1922 to 706,896 in 1924[63] as employment improved but fell from 279,678 in 1929 to 23,068 in 1933, as the depression deepened.[64] Similarly, a study of interlodge transfers of machinists, now in preparation by the staff of the Social Security Board,[65] reveals that skilled workmen move across State lines more frequently during periods of good employment than during depression. (Table 8.) Interstate transfers which averaged 3.1 percent of the estimated union membership[66] in the good years, 1925–29, fell to 1.4 percent in the most depressed year, 1932, and rose again to 2 percent of an enlarged membership during the last 2 years of increased employment.

TABLE 8.—*Interstate and total inter-lodge transfers among members of the International Association of Machinists, 1920–36*

Year	Number of inter-lodge transfers		Voting strength of union[1]	Ratios of transfers to voting strength	
	Interstate	Total		Interstate	Total
1920	24, 636	49, 833	330, 800	7. 4	14. 8
1921	12, 076	22, 800	273, 600	4. 4	8. 3
1922	9, 093	17, 041	180, 900	5. 0	9. 5
1923	7, 735	14, 270	76, 400	10. 1	18. 7
1924	3, 556	6, 646	71, 700	5. 0	9. 3
1925	2, 779	4, 949	71, 400	3. 9	6. 9
1926	2, 383	4, 451	71, 400	3. 3	6. 2
1927	2, 236	3, 933	72, 300	3. 1	5. 4
1928	1, 925	3, 596	74, 500	2. 6	4. 8
1929	1, 991	3, 865	77, 000	2. 6	5. 0
1930	1, 601	2, 841	78, 000	2. 1	3. 6
1931	1, 493	2, 708	77, 600	1. 9	3. 5
1932	1, 012	1, 764	70, 700	1. 4	2. 5
1933	1, 124	1, 876	65, 000	1. 8	2. 9
1934	1, 676	4, 717	82, 000	2. 0	5. 8
1935	1, 727	3, 853	92, 500	1. 9	4. 2
1936[2]	2, 300	4, 485	113, 700	2. 0	4. 0
Annual averages:					
1920–29	6, 841	13, 138	130, 000	5. 3	10. 1
1930–36	1, 477	3, 018	82, 800	1. 8	3. 6
1920–24	11, 419	22, 118	186, 700	6. 1	11. 8
1925–29	2, 263	4, 159	73, 300	3. 1	5. 7
1930–34	1, 381	2, 781	74, 700	1. 8	3. 7

[1] Number of members for whom per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor was paid by the International Association of Machinists.

[2] Estimated from records covering 9 months.

Source: Division of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board.

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[62] Cf. Harold F. Dorn and Frank Lorimer, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1936, p. 285.

[63] After 1924, immigration was decreased by deliberate restriction. (Cf. U. S. Department of Labor, Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1931, pp. 278–279.)

[64] U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization. (Cf. Statistical Abstract, 1936, p. 95.)

[65] Division of Research and Statistics. These records of the International Association of Machinists are available continuously for the period since 1888. The analysis now in preparation is the first of a series of studies of migration from trade-union records. Although some 50 international unions require that interlodge transfers be recorded centrally, no previous attempt to use these records for studies of migration appears to have been made.

[66] Membership estimated from voting strength at conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Since these are not accurate figures of membership in any one year, the year-to-year changes in these ratios must be regarded with caution.

The higher ratios of 1920–24 were probably due to the relocation of machine-shop work at the close of the Great War.

There are few areas of positive attraction during depression. Relatively attractive is the security of an old home, a warm climate, or an area reputed to grant relief freely. Migration to the poorest counties of West Virginia and Kentucky illustrate the return to former homes.[67] The consistent gains of population by Florida, Louisiana, New Mexico, Arizona, and California from among those aided by the Federal transient program, gains which were especially pronounced in winter months,[68] illustrate the search of the homeless for a warm climate. The corresponding flow of Federal transients into Ohio probably illustrates the attraction of higher relief standards.[69] However, the mass of the migration of the depression appears to have been a somewhat futile wandering in search of work without any very definite direction. Twenty-three of the forty-eight States showed alternating gains and losses of both unattached and family group of "Federal transients" during the period September 1934 to June 1935.[70]

To obtain a clearer picture of the characteristic origins and destinations of migrants we must resort to census records covering the decade 1920–30. In this period the directions of relocation were more pronounced than they appear to have been during the last 6 years. This is partly because the forces of attraction are more prominent in years of prosperity, partly because the information available from the census, though slight, is more comprehensive than for years not yet covered by a census of population, and partly because any 10-year period gives the net effect of relocation a greater chance to stand out from random movements of migrant workers than is possible during shorter periods of time. Plate 6 shows the States which gained or lost population as a result of the migration of the 1920's, together with the extent of these net changes. A still clearer picture of the most important directions taken by specific native white workers is shown for the same period by plate 8.[71]

With the passing of the depression many of the migration tendencies of the prosperity period are now reappearing more clearly. Hence the patterns of interstate relocation of workers during the 1920's are fundamental to any study of the problems of migration today. Four of the five causes of relocation to be discussed in subsequent chapters of this report are revealed by the interstate shifts of population as shown by plates 6 and 8: (1) Industrialization, (2) development and decline of particular areas, (3) tenancy, (4) health. The fifth cause, drought, did not appear prominently until after 1930.

The movement from farm to industrial areas was the most important form of interstate relocation during the 1920's. The desertion of farm areas is illustrated by the net exodus shown in plate 6 from the following 26 of the 31 States which suffered a net loss of population:

Georgia
South Carolina
Virginia
Arkansas
Kentucky
Iowa
Alabama
Tennessee
Minnesota
Mississippi
Kansas
Nebraska
North Dakota
Montana
Missouri
Idaho
Oklahoma
South Dakota
Utah
Louisiana
New Mexico
Vermont
Colorado
North Carolina
Wisconsin
Wyoming

More than nine-tenths (92.8 percent) of the net interstate outflow of population during the 1920's left these 26 States, each of which had more than the average proportion of their gainful population engaged in agriculture at the opening of the decade.[72] The attraction of industrial areas is illustrated by the net inflow as shown by plate 6, into the following 10 of the 17 States which obtained a net gain of population:

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[67] Goodrich, Migration and Planes of Living, op. cit., pp. 78–79. West Virginia and Kentucky were States which lost population rather than gained from movements of those migrants who received aid under the Federal transient program (cf. Webb, Transient Unemployed, op. cit., pp. 79–87). However, those who succeeded in returning home would not be classed as transients. The counties of greatest gain, as shown by Dr. Goodrich, were generally the counties with the highest percentages of resident relief in the entire United States. The return home may be illustrated by the net inflow of all transients to New Hampshire, and similar inflows of the unattached transients to Wisconsin and of family groups of transients to Virginia (Webb, loc. cit.). These were States of net loss during the 1920's (ch. plate 6).

[68] Cf. Webb, loc. cit., and pp. 8–10.

[69] Webb, op. cit., p. 81, note 1.

[70] Webb, op. cit., pp. 79–87.

[71] Reproduced by permission of C. W. Thornthwaite from Internal Migration in the United States, 1934, plate VI. D.

New York
Michigan
Illinois
New Jersey
Ohio
Connecticut
Massachusetts
Indiana
Rhode Island
Maryland

More than half (55.6 percent) of the net inflow of population into the 17 States and the District of Columbia went to these 10 industrial States.[73] Each of them had more than the average proportion of their gainful population in manufacturing and trade at the close of the decade.[74] The character of this migration from farm to industry will be outlined in chapter IV.

Second only to the movement from farms to cities during the 1920's was the movement out of declining areas and into newly developed areas. Apart from the 26 distinctly agricultural States, there were just 5 States which lost population through the migration of that decade (plate 6):

Pennsylvania
West Virginia
Maine
Delaware
New Hampshire

All 5 of these States are in the eastern and less rapidly developing section of the country. Pennsylvania and West Virginia contain well-known "problem areas" where population presses on depleted natural resources. Maine and New Hampshire are located in the declining industrial area of New England. Among the States gaining population during the 1920's, California was outstanding, as can be seen from plate 8. That State alone received one-quarter of the total net inflow across State lines. Apart from the highly industrialized States, 7 States and the District of Columbia gained population as a result of the relocation of workers during the twenties (plate 6):

California
Florida
Texas
Oregon
Washington
Arizona
District of Columbia
Nevada

Together, these States obtained 47.8 percent of the net interstate and foreign inflow of population. Six of these eight areas are located in the most newly developed section of the country, the far West. Florida was also a rapidly developing area, the Florida boom having occurred during the twenties. Migration to the District of Columbia is obviously related closely to the growth of the activities of the Federal Government. The character of this relocation out of the declining areas and into the developing areas will be described more fully in chapter V.

One factor in the current break-down of tenancy, as described in chapter VII, can also be appreciated by noticing the relocation trends of the 1920's. Every State of the southeastern Cotton Belt where farm tenancy is now crumbling lost population through migration during the twenties. Indeed, half of the net interstate outflow of peoples from 31 States occurred in just six States where cotton tenancy predominates:[75]

Georgia
South Carolina
Arkansas
Alabama
Tennessee
Mississippi

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[72] In 1920, 26.3 percent of the gainfully employed of continental United States were occupied in agriculture, forestry, and fishing. Of the States of net inflow only Florida, Texas, Oregon, and Arizona had a larger proportion occupied in this agricultural group. (Cf. Census of Population, 1920, tables 13, 14.) These four States were developing areas, discussed below.

[73] In 1930, 44.8 percent of the gainfully employed of continental United States were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industry or in trade. (Fifteenth Census, 1930, Unemployment, vol. I, pp. 54–55.) In addition to the 10 States listed, California had 46.1 percent of its gainful population engaged in manufacturing and trade, but since less than the average proportion were engaged in manufacturing alone California is discussed as a case of a developing area rather than as a case of industrial attraction. Of the 31 States of net outflow, only Pennsylvania and New Hampshire had more than the average proportion of their gainful population in manufacturing and trade. These States are listed below as under the cases of deciding areas.

[74] The first 5 States listed obtained 52.2 percent of the total net inflow from other States and from abroad.

[75] Compare p. 51 and plate 6.

This special dispersion of workers from one group of the agricultural States suggests that the region of cotton tenancy is heavily overpopulated as compared with present economic opportunities.

The search for improved health appears, in some cases, to be a more important motive for migration than the search for improved economic opportunities. Many of those who move to restore health are nevertheless workers who depend upon finding a job in the new communities. Prominent among the States which are famous for climates favorable to health are California, Arizona, Nevada, and Colorado. Plate 6 shows that the first 3 of these 4 States gained in population as a result of the migration of the 1920's. The health factor as a motive for relocation of workers across State lines is discussed briefly in chapter VIII.

CHAPTER IV. RELOCATION FROM FARM TO CITY

Removal from farm to industry has been the dominant migratory trend in the United States not only in recent years but throughout the twentieth century. Briefly interrupted during the recent depression, this drift has been resumed since 1933. The worker who shifted from agriculture to industrial employment generally moved at the same time from a rural to an urban area, and much of this relocation involved migration across State lines. This type of migration has been a natural response to the attraction of expanding industry and to the pressure of population against restricted opportunity in agriculture. By means of this migration American workers have generally improved their own earnings while providing the labor supply necessary for our rapid industrial development.

In the decade before 1920 industrialization had already drawn more workers into manufacturing industry than the number which remained in agriculture.[76] By 1920 the money earnings of farm labor had risen to an estimated average of $810 per year, but industrial wage earners were then earning an average of $1,489 per year.[77] After 1920 the contrast between agriculture and industry became even more striking. During the next 6 years the industrial workers' buying power increased by 17 percent.[78] At the same time the farm laborer's buying power declined,[79] and the farm operator was faced with a fall of 12 percent in the average purchasing power of each unit of agricultural produce.[80] Although this loss in unit buying power was partially offset by the production of more physical units per acre, the following contemporary observation by a leading agricultural authority was undoubtedly apt:

"The outward signs of this rapidly increasing well-being of the already well-to-do and of the somewhat improved condition of the city working classes are evident to farm people the moment they enter a city's gates. It is small wonder that they are discontented.[81]

Migration to the city was one important outlet for this discontent. In 10 years, 1920 through 1929, there was a net movement from farms to urban areas, interstate and intrastate, of 6.3 million persons. The total farm population declined by 1.4 millions, in spite of a natural increase from births in excess of deaths on farms of 4.9 millions.[82] With the drastic curtailment of industrial

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[76] Census of Population, 1920, vol. IV, p. 34:

	Millions of gainfully occupied persons	
	1910	1920
Manufacturing and mechanical industry	10.6	12.8
Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry	12.7	11.0

[77] Paul H. Douglas, Real Wages in the United States, 1890–1926, Houghton, Mifflin, 1930, table 147.

[78] Douglas, loc. cit., derived from index of real earnings of employed workers in all industries, including farm labor.

[79] Douglas, op. cit., table 63 (cf. pp. 65–69, 188–189).

[80] U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Index Numbers of Prices Farmers Pay for Commodities Purchased, mimeographical release, 1928.

[81] John D. Black, Agriculture Now?, Journal of Farm Economics, April 1927, p. 161.

[82] U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Farm Population Estimates, January 1, 1937, mimeographed release, June 24, 1937, tables 2 and 3.

employment after 1929, farm work became relatively more attractive than before because it promised at least a chance to obtain subsistence. The net exodus from farms dwindled from the average of 630,000 persons a year in the 1920's to a mere 20,000 in 1931 (table 9). In 1932, at the bottom of the depression, a real increase in the numbers moving from cities back to farms occurred and the migratory drift of 25 years standing was temporarily reversed. According to the latest estimates, the "back to the farm" movement proved to have been much less extensive than had been supposed at the time. In 1932 there was a net relocation from cities to farms of about 266,000 persons, but at the first signs of business recovery the numbers moving from cities to farms declined sharply. Since 1932 the net farm-to-city movement has been resumed at a rising rate, which was averaged nearly 400,000 persons per year or about three-fifths of the net relocation during the 1920's. By 1936 the net relocation away from farms rose to 447,000.

TABLE 9.—*Numbers of persons moving to and from United States farms, as related to estimated changes in the total farm population*[1]

Type of change	Thousands of persons						
	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Migration:							
City[2] to farm	1,611	1,546	1,777	944	700	825	719
Farm to city[2]	1,823	1,566	1,511	1,225	1,051	1,211	1,166
Net migration:							
To farms	--------	--------	266	--------	--------	--------	--------
From farms	212	20	--------	281	351	386	447
Excess of births over deaths	398	407	418	395	405	394	367
Allowances[3]	142	87	38	−37	−23	--------	--------
Net change in farm population	+328	+474	+722	+77	+31	+8	−80
Estimated total farm population, Jan. 1	30,169	30,497	30,971	31,693	31,770	31,801	[4] 31,809

[1] Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Farm Population Estimates, Jan. 1, 1937, release of June 24, 1937.

[2] Including towns and villages.

[3] Allowances due to (*a*) changes to or from farming without change of residence, and (*b*) changes in interpretation of census instructions. It is not possible to separate the effects of these two factors.

[4] Estimated farm population, Jan. 1, 1937: 31,729,000.

No direct information is available to show what part of the farm-city migration was interstate in character. In some cases, as in Illinois, movements over long distances from rural to urban areas may take place within a single State rather than across State lines. However, chapter III has shown that the movement from farm to city was a major influence behind the interstate relocation which did occur in the decade of the 1920's. Some industrial communities such as Cincinnati are located close to depressed agricultural communities in other States and in fact more than one-tenth of the residents of Cincinnati in 1935 were white persons who had migrated at various times in the past from the upland areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia. Most of these mountain white farmers evidently migrated to obtain industrial work and not to obtain relief. Four-fifths of them had arrived before the depression when Cincinnati's superior relief facilities might have begun to outweigh the attraction of work.[83] A forthcoming study of 1,134 applicants at public employment offices who migrated to Chicago from 1923 to 1936 will show that 10.9 percent of the group had been engaged in agriculture, forestry, or fishing immediately before coming to Illinois. Many other Chicago immigrants doubtless had been engaging in farming at some time in the past, although not immediately before coming to Illinois.[84]

Interstate removal has been a necessary incident of the shift from restricted agricultural opportunity in the South and West to the growing industrial opportunities of the Northeast. There is no doubt that this job relocation of both the commercial and the self-sufficient farm workers was to improve the position of the interstate migrants themselves. Dr. Goodrich, who has pushed the analysis of this migration into a study of individual counties, concludes that during the twenties:

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[83] Data obtained from a special census of Hamilton County, Ohio, April 1935, by Grace G. Leybourne, through the courtesy of the city manager and the regional department of economic security. Miss Leybourne is preparing a report of her analysis of a special sample of mountain white migrants found in this Cincinnati census (cf., supra, p. 25).

[84] Cf., supra.

"In general, the poorer regions gave up population to the richer ones and within sections it was the more prosperous communities—largely urban and industrial—which drew people from the surrounding areas. If even the best of the agricultural counties usually gave up part of their population surplus, they at least lost in smaller proportions than the less-favored ones." [85]

In bettering themselves, the removal migrants of the twenties were increasing the earning level of the country as a whole. By moving to areas where their labor was in better demand they took a necessary step to correct partially the maldistribution of population, as compared to resources, which the changing economic structure had produced. This point has been neatly illustrated by Professor Douglas in connection with his calculations of real wages. He found that the change in real earnings of all workers would appear differently if the migration from farm to city were considered than if this shifting were left out of account. Indeed, a 2.5-percent increase, as compared with a total rise of 16.5 percent, in the real buying power of all workers between 1920 and 1926, was attributed by Douglas to the transfer of labor from the farms to the cities.[87] This calculation measures the effect of transfer exclusively within the group of hired workers during the first 6 years of the decade. It is probable that real earnings were increased by at least 5 percent during the whole decade as a result of the transfer of both farm operators and farm laborers from agricultural to urban employments.[88]

No claim is made that migration is the only solution to the maldistribution of population or that migration completely solved the problem in the 1920's.[89] In particular, this report presents no defense for the depressed condition of agriculture in that period. Even if nothing further could have been done to restore agricultural opportunity, a good case could doubtless be made for "moving industry to the people rather than by the moving of people to industry." [90] However, it is clear that the migration from farms to cities worked haltingly in a desirable economic direction in view of the relative conditions and locations of the two forms of employment. Lacking specific data, we must suppose that the same judgment should be made as to the continued interstate migration from farm to city which has been resumed, with the industrial recovery, since 1933.

CHAPTER V. RELOCATION FROM DECLINING TO DEVELOPING AREAS

The relocation of workers from farms to urban communities was a necessary adjustment to the general shift of economic activity from agricultural to industrial work. Migration may be necessary, however, without a change of work when a given type of production is moved from one area to another. Much interstate migration is a result of such job relocation. For example, nearly half of the 559 interstate migrants recently studied in Chicago reported jobs after entering Illinois within the same industrial groups as before relocation. Such industrial stability was remarkable in view of the importance of the movement from farms to Chicago industries (table 10). These 559 workers moved at various dates from 1923 to 1936. More than half of the 82 who moved within the last 3 years and who reported the character of their jobs before and after moving had work of the same general character in Illinois as before migration.[91]

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[85] Op. cit., pp. 4–5.

[87] Douglas, op. cit., calculations for 1920–26 from tables 146 and 147 on the method suggested for the period 1914–26 on p. 395.

[88] No exact calculations are available for the whole decade, 1920–30, but Douglas shows that a 6-percent increase in real earnings was attributable to such a transfer during the 11-year period 1914–26 (op. cit., p. 395). The calculation given by Douglas also necessarily omits the effect of migration of farm operators. Moreover, 5 of these 11 years fell in the wartime period, when the contrast between earnings in agriculture and in industry were less marked than during the 1920's.

[89] As to the shortcomings of migration, see chs. XII, XIII.

[90] Cf. Goodrich, op. cit., p. 8.

[91] From sample of 1,134 workers registered at public-employment offices in Chicago who reported jobs outside the State of Illinois. (Cf., supra, pp. 6–7.)

TABLE 10.—*Employment and industrial status after migration of interstate migrants, 1923–36, reporting industry of last job outside State before registering at Chicago employment offices, by periods of migration: 1923–29, 1930–33, 1934–36*

Job status and nature of industry of first job after migration	Years of termination of last job cited outside State			
	Total, 1923–36	1923–29	1930–33	1934–36
Total: Assigned industry before migration [1]	988	370	313	305
No job reported after migration	377	42	126	209
Reported jobs after migration	611	328	187	96
Industry not assigned	52	15	23	14
Assigned industry after migration	559	313	164	82
Same industrial group [2] as before migration	259	137	79	43
Different industrial group [2] than before migration	300	176	85	39

[1] Excluding 146 cases of undefined or unassigned industry (e. g. relief work) of last job cited outside State.

[2] Industrial groups as follows: I. Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing; II. Manufacturing, Mining; III. Construction; IV. Distribution; V. Public Utilities, Transportation; VI. Service.

The reasons for the shifting of a given type of work from one State to another are too numerous to permit a complete catalog in this preliminary report. Three somewhat different examples of job relocation will be presented in this chapter to indicate the variety of influences at work: (1) The current shift of economic activity from densely settled to more sparsely settled areas; (2) the general case of the migration of industry; and (3) the special case of shifting sources of power. The particular reasons for job relocation range from the westward movement, which is as old as white settlement on this continent, to artificial and temporary stimulants to plant removal. But, whatever the reasons, once the relocation of jobs has occurred, a corresponding migration of workers is socially desirable. The danger is not that there should be migration but rather that the actual migration may insufficient, with the result that stranded populations develop in the areas which are either declining or which are developing too slowly to provide an adequate living for their increasing population.

The available information as to migration in response to changes in the location of work is even less complete than the data regarding migration generally. Budget limitations have prevented any special investigation of such important factors as local wage and tax preferences which may have forced unnecessary migration across State lines. The effect of the development of new areas and the decline of the older areas of production upon interstate migration is reasonably clear. Other types of shifts of work opportunities can only be suggested in this preliminary report.

Interstate shift of general economic activity

More than one-third of the net interstate shift of population during the 1920's consisted of a reallocation of workers from the more densely settled to the more sparsely settled areas of the United States. The main trend of this movement was westward, as may be seen graphically from plate 8. The westward movement of population, which was accompanied by the whole development of North America, did not end with the close of the nineteenth century. It not only continued but actually increased in absolute volume during the decade, 1920 to 1930.[82]

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[82] Cf. Thornthwaite, Internal Migration in the United States, op. cit., plate VI. Each successive decade since 1890 shows an increasing width of arrows pointing in westward direction. Because plate 8 is based on birth-residence data rather than age-group data, and because it shows only net relocations of more than 10,000, it does not reveal the entire interstate movement, especially that into Oregon, Washington, and Arizona (cf. appendix A).

Migration from declining to developing areas doubtless affected the population of many States. However, it appears to have been the chief factor which explains the inflow of workers to seven States and the exodus from five States during the 1920's:

Developing areas:
- California
- Florida
- Texas
- Oregon
- Washington
- Arizona
- Nevada

Declining areas:
- Pennsylvania
- West Virginia
- Maine
- Delaware
- New Hampshire

Although the seven States listed in the first column all received net additions to their population by migration, this inflow cannot be explained as part of the farm to city movement, discussed in chapter V. The proportion of the gainful population in manufacturing industry of each of these States was smaller than the national average proportion, even at the end of the decade. Likewise, the exodus from distinctly agricultural areas fails to explain the outflow of migrants from the five States listed in the second column. The proportion of the gainful population on the farms of each of these five States was less than the national average proportion, even at the beginning of the decade.

The attraction of rapidly developing communities does largely explain the migration of the 1920's to the seven States just cited. Each of these States was located in an area of relatively sparse settlement which was developing rapidly.[93] Each of these States, except Florida, was located in the far West, the last area to be developed within the United States. Florida, although an Eastern State of early settlement, was nevertheless a new area in the sense that its climatic resources were discovered and developed extensively only in the present century.

The migration to these rapidly developing areas was a response to the shift of both agriculture and industry into new areas rather than the result of a shift from one type of job to the other. In six of the seven developing States, excluding Florida, farm population increased during the 1920's in face of the country-wide decline,[94] and in California, Washington, and Arizona the value of farm property was actually greater in 1930 than it had been in 1920.[95] At the same time opportunities for industrial workers were increasing in these same States. For example, the number of wage earners employed in manufacturing in the Pacific Coast States and in Texas and Arizona increased from 8 to 24 percent between 1925 and 1929, while in the country as a whole manufacturing employment increased by an average of only 5 percent.[96] As to Florida, the increased opportunities in service, construction, and commercial employments were reflected in the doubling of the urban population of the State during the decade 1920–30 as compared with an increase of slightly more than one-quarter in the urban population of the country as a whole.[97]

The decline or less-than-average increase in the development of the East goes far to explain the emigration from the five States listed above which lost population by migration against the general trend. Pennsylvania presents a case of stranded coal-mining areas, to be discussed presently in some detail. West Virginia emigration was an attempt of submarginal farmers to escape from the pressure of a rapidly increasing population upon inadequate natural resources.[98] Maine and New Hampshire are New England States which have suffered from the competition of the West and South. The farm population of

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[93] California, for example, had 22 persons per square mile and Oregon had 8.2 persons in 1920, as compared with a national average of 35.5 persons at that time (cf. U. S. Statistical Abstract, 1936, p. 3).

[94] Cf. U. S. Statistical Abstract, 1936, p. 8.

[95] Loc. cit., p. 576.

[96] Loc. cit., pp. 760–764.

[97] Loc. cit., p. 7.

[98] Cf. Carter Goodrich and others, Migration and Economic Opportunity, 1936, ch. II. The case of eastern Kentucky and Tennessee is shown by Goodrich to be similar to that of West Virginia. Kentucky and Tennessee were listed in ch. III (p. 53) as cases of emigration from farm regions, but West Virginia was omitted from this list for the technical reason that the importance of coal mining in West Virginia holds down the percentage of farm workers among the gainfully occupied of that State.

Maine and New Hampshire, for example, declined by 15 percent between 1920 and 1930 as compared with a decline of 4 percent in the United States as a whole.[99] Moreover, the number of wage earners engaged in the manufacturing industries of Maine and New Hampshire decreased by 21 percent from 1919 to 1929, as compared with a national decline of 2 percent.[1] The relatively small exodus from Delaware was probably the result of the deflection of the chemical industry at the close of the Great War.[2]

Migration of industry—plant relocation

When job opportunities shift from one region to another the worker in the declining industry must migrate if he is to avoid complete or partial unemployment. Knowledge as to the extent and reasons for job relocation is therefore vital to any consideration of interstate migration. Yet the existing data as regards industrial relocation is meager and knowledge as to the actual response of workers to the shifting of employment is even less satisfactory.[3]

The most striking but the least significant form of job relocation is the outright relocation of plants. Unfortunately, most of the available data as to the shift of job opportunities relates only to the removal of specific plants from one area to another. Plant relocation occurs when a single concern completely shuts down an establishment in one area and replaces it in another area. This is but one of the means of shifting the available jobs in a given industry. The concern may also set up one or more branches and move, amoebalike, from the home plant into the branches. Further, the movement may be the net result of the actions of many establishments; those in one community may decline or cease production while wholly independent concerns in a distant community may establish new plants or expand employment in plants already established. All three of these changes cause a migration of jobs. In each case, the workers in the declining area are faced with the necessity of migration unless they find new work in the same area, or succeed in subsisting on savings or relief.

The need for more extensive information on the migration of jobs from State to State is made particularly evident by the case of the well-known movement of the cotton-textile industry from New England to the South. During the 10 years, 1923 to 1933, the New England States lost approximately 100,000 cotton textile jobs while the southern States gained 38,000.[4] Yet there was practically no outright relocation of plants from North to South, at least in the last half of this period.[5] Apparently the southward movement of textiles occurred by the establishment and growth of new concerns and of branches in the southern States and not by the outright relocation of plants. The most dramatic recent example of loss of textiles by New England was a case of shut-down, not relocation. The Amoskeag Manufacturing Co. operated the largest single textile plant in the world in Manchester, N. H., until September 1935 when operations ceased. The former Amoskeag workers, 11,000 in number, have been faced with an acute problem of finding alternative jobs. But the Amoskeag concern never established a southern plant. Other concerns had already expanded capacity in the South and the combined action of the southern mills and of the Amoskeag had the effect of shifting the workers' jobs.

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[99] Statistical Abstract, op cit., p. 8.

[1] U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1930, vol. III, p. 17. A similar decline of 19 percent in the number of manufacturing wage earners occurred in New England as a whole. In the New England States outside of Maine and New Hampshire the decline in manufacturing appears to have been offset by an increase in the number engaged in agriculture or trade or both.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] The forthcoming reports of the National Research Project, Works Progress Administration, should provide a valuable addition to our knowledge of these subjects. In one of the small communities recently studied, for example, about one-third of the former employees of an abandoned factory remained local residents 8 years after the shut-down, another one-third appears to have migrated within the State, while the remaining one-third migrated across State lines or died.

[4] U. S. Senate, Conditions and Problems of the Cotton Textile Industry, Report of Cabinet Committee, S. Doc. No. 126, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, p. 27.

[5] Cf. Daniel B. Creamer, Is Industry Decentralizing? University of Pennsylvania, 1935.

The only comprehensive data as regards industrial relocation relate to the outright movement of plants by a single management. As might be expected, the volume of such relocation has been small. In all manufacturing industry, an average of 261 plants were relocated each year between 1927 and 1933, and this relocation resulted in a shift of 12,933 jobs per year. The rate of relocation remained fairly constant throughout the 6-year period (table 11). Plant relocation thus shifted an average of less than two one-hundredths of 1 percent of all jobs in manufacturing industry.[6] One-sixth of the jobs shifted by plant relocations, a total of 11,070 jobs in manufacturing industry, crossed not only State but regional[7] lines during the 6-year period, 1927–33.

TABLE 11.—*Relocation of manufacturing plants and of employment, during biennial periods, 1927 to 1933*[1]

Period	Plants relocated		Jobs shifted by plant relocation	
	Number	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of total
1927 to 29	655	0.31	30,284	0.34
1929 to 31	490	.28	25,305	.39
1931 to 33	421	.30	22,013	.36

[1] Adapted from previously unpublished data of the U. S. Census of Manufactures, as compiled by Daniel B. Creamer, Is Industry Decentralizing?, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935. Relocations in the lumber industry and within the limits of cities were not included. Intrastate relocations are included.

A special compilation by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries shows that a total of 147 plants moved out of the State of Massachusetts during the 7-year period, 1930–36 and that Massachusetts thereby lost an average of 2,000 jobs a year from manufacturing industry (table 12). Two-thirds of these jobs went to other States in New England, one-quarter went to the Middle Atlantic States and one-tenth shifted to the East North Central region. The shift to the South by plant relocation was negligible.[8] Vermont also has recently achieved small increases in employment by relocation. Manufacturing plants which relocated in that State during the 2 years, 1935–36, were recently employing 1,746 workers. Plants which had come from Massachusetts employed about 1,000 of these workers.[9]

TABLE 12.—*Migration of manufacturing establishments and employment from Massachusetts,*[1] *1930 to 1936*

Year	Number of establishments migrating	Average number of wage earners employed
1930	16	977
1931	19	2,528
1932	23	2,175
1933	19	1,169
1934	27	3,372
1935	23	1,782
1936	20	2,366
Total	147	14.369

[1] Adapted from data compiled by Roswell F. Phelps, director, Division of Statistics, Department of Labor and Industries, State of Massachusetts.

Source: Records of Annual Census of Manufactures in Massachusetts, March 1937.

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[6] Mr. Creamer's tabulation of census data took no account of State lines. A complete retabulation of the data would be required to secure information as to interstate relocation.
[7] Regions as defined by the U. S. Census of Manufactures.
[8] Three factories including textile mill with aggregate employment at the time of relocation of 232 workers relocated in the South during the 7-year period.
[9] Adapted from data compiled by Howard E. Armstrong, commissioner of industries, of the State of Vermont, March 1937. Source, records of Annual Census of Manufactures in Vermont.

Migration of industry-wage differentials

Among the many reasons for the relocation of jobs across State lines and hence of the migration of workers, the existence of wage differentials between States is of particular interest. The migration of the cotton-textile industry from New England to the South is generally attributed to the competitive advantage of the lower wage levels of the South.[10] This differential rose to a maximum in 1924, at which time hourly earnings of textile workers averaged 64 percent more in New England than in the South Atlantic States.[11] There was a sharp decrease in this differential at the time of the introduction of the Cotton Textile Code under the National Recovery Administration, from 38.5 percent in July 1935 to 15.9 percent in the following month.

Wage differentials have been increasing since the nullification of National Recovery Administration codes and job opportunities have been shifting to those establishments which have cut wages by more than the average or advanced them by less than the average of their respective industries.[12]

TABLE 13.—*Establishments in cotton-garment industry reporting changes in hourly earnings and employment to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, May 1935 to May 1936*

Change in average hourly earnings, 1935 to 1936	Number of establishments			Percent of change in employment [2]
	Northern States	Southern States [1]	Total	
Decrease of—				
Less than 2.5 percent	------------	------------	23	9.5
2.5 to 7.4 percent	------------	------------	29	−3.5
Less than 7.5 percent	45	7	52	------------
7.5 to 22.4 percent	65	23	88	+5.2
22.5 to 37.5 percent	15	11	26	+9.5
More than 37.5 percent	2	9	11	+34.2
Total	127	50	177	+2.6

[1] Including Maryland and Missouri.
[2] Establishments in both regions.

The cotton garment industry provides the most striking illustration of the current migration of job opportunities because of widening wage differentials. The 23 reporting establishments which maintained wages or decreased them by less than 2½ percent dropped 9.5 percent of their workers while, at the other extreme, the 11 establishments which cut average hourly earnings by more than 37½ percent were able to increase the number of man-hours worked by 34 percent. Moreover, in this case the shift in employment was definitely interstate in character. Wage cuts, and especially the extreme wage cuts which were associated with increasing employment, occurred much more frequently in the southern than in the northern States, as can be seen from table 13.

Interstate migration of job opportunities to take advantage of lower wages is further illustrated by the case of the shoe industry. In this case the migration is not from North to South, but from established communities, especially in Massachusetts, to smaller communities in Maine, New Hampshire, Missouri, and other areas. The industry is especially mobile because the machinery is owned, not by the shoe manufacturers but by one of two machine manufacturers who lease the equipment on a royalty basis.[13] Shoe manufacturers are therefore not tied to particular localities by investments in expensive machinery.

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[10] Cf. Claudius T. Murchison, King Cotton Is Sick, University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Lower taxes in the South also increased this competitive advantage. New England retained the finer grades of textiles because the more skilled labor in that area could be used with advantage in making the finer grades even when paid the higher wage rates of the North.

[11] Weighted average of hourly earnings in 17 leading occupations as computed by A. F. Hinrichs and Ruth Clem, Historical Review of Wage Rates and Wage Differentials in the Cotton Textile Industry, Monthly Labor Review, May 1935, p. 4.

[12] Loc. cit. The six industries selected for intensive study were: Cotton garment, silk and rayon textile, brick and tile, cotton textile, sawmills, and hardware.

Between 1923 and 1929 Massachusetts employment in the boot-and-shoe industry fell from 38 percent of the total for the country as a whole to 26.8 percent while substantial percentage gains occurred in New York, Missouri, Illinois, New Hampshire, and Wisconsin.[14] Since 1930, Massachusetts has continued to lose heavily to other New England States. This may be seen from the inadequate data on plant relocations alone. More than half of the 7,800 job opportunities in Massachusetts plants which relocated out of that State between 1930 and 1936 were in plants making shoes or shoemaking supplies. More than 3,000 of these jobs went to Maine and more than 2,000 moved to New Hampshire.[15] In the case of shoes, the wage differential between large and small localities allowed by the N. R. A. code appears to have stimulated migration, inasmuch as the largest movement out of Massachusetts towns occurred in 1934.[16] Since shoe production in Massachusetts is located in highly specialized communities, the loss of plants must apply a heavy pressure toward the migration of workers.

Migration of industry—Artificial stimulants

Artificial stimulation of plant relocation across State lines appears to have become a fairly common practice in recent years. The failure of the Congress to make funds available for this investigation made it impossible to collect data on this subject systematically, but instances have been cited recently with increasing frequency. As early as 1925 a midwestern community gave an immigrating shoe plant a $100,000 subscription for the erection of a factory, plus a 10-year rebate of taxes, license, and water fees.[17] Frequent reports have been published during the current year as to inducements offered by communities in Middle Atlantic and southern States to encourage the removal of garment, hosiery, paper, and shoe establishments.[18] Considerable sums for the erection of factories for immigrating plants have apparently been subscribed, sometimes by weekly deductions from the workers' pay. Other attractions frequently offered, according to these reports, are long-term rebates of taxes, heat, and water, and purported guaranties of cheap labor and even of the absence of labor trouble. Some communities have paid the immigrating plant a cash bonus of from $10,000 to $20,000.

An accompaniment of the movement has been the development of private decentralizing agents, who offer to relocate debilitated industrial plants without expense,[19] to places of cheap labor and no labor trouble, and to collect fees from the communities receiving the plants. The Governor of one southern State publicly urged his municipalities to offer every possible concession to bring in outside plants and invited a private agency to assist. The Governor of another southern State has warned the municipalities in his State to beware of such agencies and to investigate carefully the previous status of outside plants proposing to immigrate.[20]

One alleged result of this artificially induced migration of plants has been the perpetuation and even the further lowering of already low wage scales in the communities of immigration. In one State, at least, the wages recently paid by some incoming plants were considerably below the security wage of the Works Progress Administration.

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[13] Works Progress Administration, National Research Project, Reemployment Opportunities and Recent Changes in the Boot and Shoe Industry. Unpublished report prepared by Alfred Schwartzenfeld, special research section, New York City, March 1937, p. 3.

[14] Cf. E. N. Hoover, Jr., The Location of the Shoe Industry in the United States, Quarterly Journal of Economics, February 1933, p. 265.

[15] Adapted from data compiled for this report by Roswell F. Phelps, director of statistics, Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, from records of the Massachusetts Annual Census of Manufactures.

[16] What the framers of the code apparently overlooked was the fact that a lower wage scale in country districts must inevitably result in destroying industry in the great show cities, since manufacturers in such centers cannot continue to operate in competition with those who settle in rural communities. (Gleason Leonard Archer, chairman, Governor's committee on the shoe industry, The Shoe Industry in Massachusetts, April 11, 1935, p. 5.)

[17] Findings of the National Labor Relations Board in trial of the Brown Shoe Co., Inc., St. Louis, Mo., regarding the discharge of 3 workers, allegedly because of joining the union.

[18] By Thomas L. Stokes in a series of 17 signed and syndicated articles of the Scripps-Howard press, January 4 to 22, 1937, on the subject of Migration of Industries to the South. The articles were based on a 3 weeks' tour of inspection.

[19] From the advertising letter of 1 such agency.

[20] Undesirable Establishments, an editorial in North Carolina Labor and Industry, monthly bulletin of the North Carolina Department of Labor, Raleigh, N. C., vol. III, No. 11, November 1936, p. 4.

Shifting sources of power—a case of stranded communities

Pennsylvania has been noticed earlier in this report as a highly industrialized State which lost population by the migration of the 1920's, contrary to the general trend of that decade.[21] The net emigration from Pennsylvania is estimated to have been 89,000, but this loss of population was the result of a very large movement in both directions. Actually, more than half a million persons left the State in the same decade when more than 400,000 persons were entering the State.[22] The emigration from Pennsylvania cannot be attributed to the exodus from farms, because only 8 percent of the gainful workers of that State were engaged in agriculture at the beginning of the decade.[23] Nor can this exodus be attributed to a decline of employment in manufacturing industry. On the contrary, the growth of Pennsylvania manufactures was undoubtedly responsible for the large volume of immigration to that State.

Half a million persons left Pennsylvania during the 1920's largely because the Nation was obtaining its power and heat less from Pennsylvania coal and more from oil, from other coal fields, and from water resources. Much more power was consumed at the end of the decade than at the beginning.[24] Part of these increased requirements were met by increased efficiency in the use of power which reduced by at least 10 percent the fuel required for each unit of power developed.[25] This still left an increasing demand for all fuels combined, but the use of coal failed to increase because of the substitution of oil, natural gas, and water power. While coal supplied four-fifths of our power at the beginning of the decade it supplied hardly more than three-fifths at the end.[26]

Pennsylvania supplied a decreasing proportion of the coal which was produced, partly because the older seams in Pennsylvania became more difficult to work and thus suffered in competition with the newer seams in West Virginia,

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[21] Supra, p. 69.

[22] The following calculation of gross migration is necessarily incomplete but gives some clue to the movement in both directions. It is obtained by applying ratios of gross to net migration from birth-residence data to net migration from the age group data for native whites and Negroes (cf. appendix A):

	Entering Pennsylvania	Leaving Pennsylvania	Net migration
Native whites	162,000	490,000	−328,000
Negroes	120,000	18,000	+102,000
Foreign-born (net only)	137,000		+137,000
Total	419,000	508,000	−89,000

[23] Statistical Abstract, 1936, op. cit., p. 8.

[24] Thus manufacturing industry used one-third more horsepower and the railroads carried one-fifth more ton-miles of freight in 1929 than in 1919 (cf. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1936, pp. 773, 380). These requirements were drastically reduced as the depression set in after 1929, but the migration of 1920–30 was not affected by these later changes.

[25] Cf. E. Dana Durand, American Industry and Commerce, Ginn, 1930, pp. 215–218.

[26] Cf. Statistical Abstract, op. cit., pp. 356–716, 724, and Durand, op. cit., p. 219, note. Using Durand's conversion factors, the power produced in millions of tons of coal equivalents was as follows:

	1916–20	1926–30
Coal	626	595
Oil	86	211
Natural gas	35	77
Water	[a] 43	[b] 75
Total	790	958

[a] November 1921.

[b] January 1930.

Ohio, and Kentucky,[27] and partly because the operators in these newer areas obtained the competitive advantage of lower wage rates by depriving the workers of ordinary civil liberties.[28] While Pennsylvania produced an average of 261,000,000 tons of coal each year in the period 1916–20, she produced an average of only 214,000,000 tons a year in the period 1926–30.[29] Finally, the increased use of power at the mines reduced somewhat the labor required to obtain each ton of coal.[30] As a result of all these factors, the number of coal miners attached to the Pennsylvania industry fell by 13 percent from 302,000 in 1919 to 264,000 in 1929.[31] From the deserted coal towns of western Pennsylvania also went the increasing numbers of youths who could not find employment in this declining industry, the dependents of miners and many of those who had lived by serving the needs of the industry and its workers.

The opposite side of the shift in power production is to be found in the oil fields of the West.[32] Two and one-half times as much petroleum was produced at the end of the twenties as at the beginning.[33] This discovery of and demand for oil attracted migrants from all over the country to the boom towns of Texas, Oklahoma, and California. The population of Oklahoma City and of Tulsa doubled between 1920 and 1930,[34] a rate of increase far greater than could have been produced by natural increase or even by migration within the State.

More than simple removal is involved in the development of oil fields, however. Perpetual migration is induced by the unstable character of the industry. The labor of prospecting is followed by feverish drilling as soon as a discovery is made. "Within a year or two the limits of the pool have been traced and drilling sharply declines. * * * During the period of intensive drilling activity, population increases tremendously and housing pressure is very great. The period of rapid population growth continues for a couple of years after drilling has reached a maximum and then population begins to decline, frequently at an accelerated rate because of oil discoveries elsewhere." [35] Thus the population of Seminole County, Okla., increased moderately to 23,000 until 1925 when the first well was completed, rose to 58,000 in 3 years of intensive drilling and to a maximum of 79,000 by 1930, 2 years after new drilling had begun to decline.[36]

A study of public employment-office records in Oklahoma City has been undertaken specifically for this investigation to close some of the very serious gaps in our information concerning interstate migrants in oil production.[37] We know that the mushroom growth of oil communities, frequently outside of urban centers, must attract workers from a distance to provide buildings and other community services as well as to conduct the actual drilling.[38] We know that some oil-field workers move only once, that some frequently follow the locations of new drilling and that others work in oil fields as part of a more extensive work pattern. The extreme mobility of some workers of this latter class is illustrated by plate 9, which shows the actual routes in 1933 and 1934 of 35 migratory-casual workers in oil and gas surveyed by the Works Progress Administration.[39] Heretofore we have had little clue as to the proportion of this oil-field migration which is interstate in character or as to the proportion of the migrants into oil communities who are directly employed by the petroleum industry. The preliminary finding that 15.8 percent of the job seekers in Oklahoma City reported employment on a specific job outside Oklahoma is therefore interesting.

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[27] Cf. National Bureau of Economic Research, Recent Economic Changes, McGraw-Hill, 1929, p. 440, and Statistical Abstract, op. cit., p. 716.

[28] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 454, 1927. Cf. Isador Lubin, Miner's Wages and the Cost of Coal, 1924.

[29] Anthracite and bituminous (Statistical Abstract, op. cit., p. 716).

[30] Cf. Durand, op. cit., p. 433.

[31] U. S. Census of Mines and Quarries, 1930, vol. I, table 5.

[32] Also at the sites of dam construction (cf. supra, p. 181).

[33] Statistical Abstract, op. cit., p. 723.

[34] Statistical Abstract, op. cit., p. 22.

[35] C. W. Thornthwaite, Internal Migration in the United States, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934, p. 46.

[36] Cf. Thornthwaite, op. cit., fig. 3, p. 48.

[37] Cf. George W. Stocking, The American Petroleum Industry in H. T. Warshaw (ed.). Representative Industries in the United States, Holt, 1928, pp. 548–50.

[38] John N. Webb, The Migratory-Casual Worker, Research Monograph VII, Works Progress Administration, 1937. Reproduced with permission. The workers studied received aid after the migration reported, under the Federal Transient Program.

[39] Cf. supra, pp. 6–7.

The fact that 9.0 percent of these workers had entered Oklahoma within the last 7 years shows that migration into that State is continuing in considerable volume at the very time when thousands of drought refugees were being forced to leave. However, the data available suggest that migration within the State of Oklahoma has been somewhat greater than the volume of immigration to that State. Further analysis of these records is expected to show age, marital status, and former work of the migrants in comparison with the more stable workers in the particular industry and in other employments.

CHAPTER VI. RELOCATION OF DROUGHT REFUGEES

Recent droughts have forced more than 200,000 persons to migrate from the 10 States of the Great Plains in the attempt to relocate in other sections of the country. Special attention will be given to this flight of drought refugees, not only because of its present importance but also because it illustrates in a striking manner the general necessity for the movement of workers across State lines.

Drought conditions

The Great Plains consist of a semi-arid region which covers the western portions of 6 States:

North Dakota
South Dakota
Nebraska
Kansas
Oklahoma
Texas

and the eastern portions of 4 States:[40]

Montana
Wyoming
Colorado
New Mexico

No other region of the United States, except the Cotton Belt, is so dependent upon agriculture. An average of 40 percent of the population live on farms. Even the urban communities of this region are closely dependent upon the success of local farming and grazing.[41] Agriculture, in turn, is closely dependent upon rainfall. Although most of the soil is exceptionally fertile, the normal rainfall is scanty, averaging around 20 inches per year, the lower limit of moisture required for cultivated crops.[42] Small differences in the amount and the timing of rainfall and in the temperature during the period of rainfall thus determine whether the crops of the Great Plains will succeed or fail.[43]

Rainfall on the Great Plains has been subnormal during 5 of the past 7 years—1930, 1931, 1933, 1934, 1936.[44] Two of these years, 1934 and 1936, were seasons of intense drought. Plate 11 (p. 11) shows the average deficiency from the normal, low level of rainfall in this region during the 6-year period, 1930–35. The two centers of the most severe drought stand out clearly from plate 11: (1) A northern center concentrating at the juncture of the Dakotas, Montana, and Wyoming, and (2) a southern center concentrating at the juncture of 5 States—Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Kansas.[45] These two areas of most intense drought distress are both located squarely within the region of the Great Plains. To a less marked degree, the droughts of 1934 and 1936 affected a much broader area,[46] but in both years the farmers of the Great Plains suffered most.

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[40] Cf. C. W. Thornthwaite in Goodrich, Migration and Economic Opportunity, op. cit., fig. 40.

[41] Cf. Conrad Taeuber and Carl C. Taylor, The People of the Drought States, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Series V, Bulletin No. 2, 1937, p. 6.

[42] Thornthwaite in Goodrich, op. cit., pp. 205–7. Temperature is also naturally a limiting factor upon agriculture. The northern portion of the region has a short frost-free season while throughout the region the beneficial effect of existing rainfall in the summer is often diminished by hot, drying winds.

[43] Cf. Thornthwaite loc. cit., and F. D. Cronin, H. W. Beers, Areas of Intense Drought Distress, 1930–36, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Series V. Bulletin No. 1, p. 4.

[44] Cronin and Beers, loc. cit.

[45] Cronin and Beers have mapped a combined index of drought intensity, using as constituent series certain measures of rainfall, crop conditions, pasture conditions, changes in the number of cattle, and amounts of Federal aid per capita (loc. cit., pp. 29–30). The broad result of the combined index is very similar to that shown by deficiency in rainfall, table above, as mapped in plate 11. Plate 11 represents the first constituent series of the combined index and is reproduced with permission of the authors.

Much of the land value itself, in addition to the immediate harvest, has been destroyed by drought. Billions of tons of valuable top soil, loosened by previous cultivation and no longer held together by the usual moisture, have been piled into dunes and scattered by the wind as far as the Atlantic Ocean.[47] At least 15 percent of the whole area of the Great Plains has been severely damaged by wind erosion and the economic value of more than 1 percent of the total area has been permanently destroyed.[48] The greatest destruction by wind has occurred in (1) a northern area, chiefly in the Dakotas, and in (2) a southern area known as the Dust Bowl. These areas of greatest erosion are the regions of highest wind velocity and they also conform roughly to the two areas of greatest drought intensity previously mentioned. The southern Dust Bowl is an elliptically shaped area covering the Panhandles of Texas and Oklahoma and the small adjacent portions of Kansas and Colorado.[49] A recent survey of this Dust Bowl has revealed that 8.7 million acres or 53.4 percent of the area surveyed has been seriously eroded, mostly by wind. "This situation is very discouraging," report the soil conservation experts, "but when it is considered that another 43.5 percent of the area is affected by slight erosion, also caused mostly by wind, the situation becomes alarming." [50] The same survey presents the following picture of the Dust Bowl in recent months:

"The conditions around numerous farmsteads are pathetic. A common farm scene is one with high sand drifts filling yards, banked high against buildings, and partly or wholly covering farm machinery, wood piles, tanks, troughs, scrubs, and young trees. In the fields nearby may be seen the stretches of land, bare, unproductive subsoil, and sand drifts piled along fence rows, across farm roads, and around Russian thistles and other plants * * * illness has greatly increased, especially diseases of the mucous membranes and respiratory organs (and much of this) noticeable increase in sickness seems to be directly attributable to the dust-laden air * * * the scenes are dismal to the passerby; to the resident they are demoralizing." [51]

The exodus

To escape these drought conditions, more than 200,000 persons have migrated out of the Great Plains region since 1929. An analysis of school census returns from counties in the Great Plains has indicated that about 150,000 persons left the region from 1930 through 1935.[52] Since 1935 the exodus from the drought States has increased in volume. During the 15 months, January 1936 through March 1937, a total of 57,226 persons "in need of manual employment" entered the single State of California in cars bearing license plates of the 10 States of the Great Plains.[53] The estimated emigration of 200,000 persons during the past 7 years is merely the combination of the two figures just cited. The figure of 57,226 persons, for the period since 1935, is a gross understatement because it excludes all those who moved to other States than California, those who entered California by railroad and those who obtained license plates in other States after leaving the Great Plains but before crossing the California border.[54] While more than 200,000 persons have moved out of the Great Plains States entirely, it is certain that many other persons who remained within the general region migrated across State lines as a result of the drought.[55]

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[46] See map of officially designated drought counties, 1934 and 1936, Cronin and Beers, op. cit., fig. 1, p. 3. In 1934, the drought area covered portions of all but Oregon of the States west of the Mississippi River as well as portions of Wisconsin and Illinois. In 1936, the area west of the Great Plains was relatively free from drought but the east south central area from the Appalachians to the Mississippi River was affected. In both 1934 and 1936 the drought was intense in portions of 5 States outside the Great Plains—Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas.

[47] Cf. Charles E. Kellogg, Soil Blowing and Dust Storms, U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publications,* No. 221, March 1935.

[48] Estimate from reconnaissance survey of the Soil Conservation Service conducted before the dust storms of 1935 and 1936, and quoted by Thornthwaite in Goodrich, op. cit., p. 240. "It is a common observation that, under conditions which have recently prevailed in the (Dust Bowl) area, soils have been seriously damaged by the winds of a single blow season." (Arthur H. Toel, Soil Conservation Reconnaissance Survey of the Southern Great Plains Wind-Erosion Area, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Technical Bulletin No. 556, January 1937, p. 29.)

[49] Thornthwaite in Goodrich, op. cit., p. 238.

[50] U. S. Department of Agriculture, Technical Bulletin No. 558, loc. cit.

[51] Loc. cit., p. 2. Cf. E. G. Brown, S. Gottlieb, and R. L. Loybourn, Dust Storms and Their Possible Effects on Health, U. S. Public Health Service Reports, vol. 50, No. 40, reprint no. 1707, 1935.

[52] Loc. cit., p. 224.

[53] Revised border counts furnished by Edward J. Rowell, Resettlement Administration, San Francisco. (Cf. supra, table 11 and Monthly Labor Review, February 1936, pp. 312–318 and December 1936, pp. 1355–63.

The origin of most of the recent migrants from the Great Plains appears to have been in the two areas of greatest drought distress. Those drought refugees who moved into California came largely from the States of the southern Dust Bowl, while those who moved to the Pacific Northwest came principally from the northern area of greatest drought intensity. Thus the 78,491 persons who were counted upon entering California from the States of the Great Plains, June 1935 through March 1937, were divided as follows: [56]

Oklahoma	35,899	New Mexico	4,812
Texas	14,420	Montana	1,920
Kansas	6,959	South Dakota	1,707
Nebraska	5,162	North Dakota	1,550
Colorado	4,845	Wyoming	1,217

The 3 most important States in the southern Dust Bowl—Oklahoma, Texas, and Kansas—provided 73 percent of the migrants to California from the Great Plains. Oklahoma, the State most severely affected by wind erosion, accounted for 48 percent of these California immigrants from the Great Plains and for 24 percent of all the immigrants to California who were counted, excluding returning Californians.[57] A much smaller sample of 182 families entering rural Washington from the Great Plains at various dates from 1932 to 1936 shows the following division by States of origin: [58]

North Dakota	38	Kansas	14
Montana	33	Nebraska	10
South Dakota	30	Wyoming	10
Oklahoma	26	Texas	6
Colorado	14	New Mexico	1

Over half of these emigrants came from the northern area of greatest distress, Montana and the two Dakotas, but one-quarter came from the three important States of the southern Dust Bowl, and one-seventh came from the single State of Oklahoma. The proportion of the Washington immigrants who came from the southern Dust Bowl was surprisingly large, considering the distance from that area to the State of Washington.

The chief destination of drought refugees has been the Pacific coast area, where rapid agricultural development,[59] and relative freedom from drought [60] combined to give promise of new opportunities. Of the estimated total of 200,000 emigrants from the Great Plains since 1929, 78,491 were actually counted upon entering California in 21 months since June 1935,[61] so that number of drought immigrants to California during the whole 7-year period certainly exceeded 100,000. Of the remaining 100,000 persons or less, perhaps 60,000 entered Idaho and the Pacific Northwest, leaving not more than 40,000 persons who went to all other States. Of those who migrated eastward about 12,000 went to eastern Minnesota, to Wisconsin, and to Michigan.[62] On the Pacific coast, and doubtless also in some sections of Idaho, Texas, and Arizona, these drought refugees have provided a major fraction of all interstate migrants. Information from California is most comprehensive. The 78,491 immigrants from the 10 States of the Great Plains, June 1935 to March 1937, formed 54.4 percent of the total of 144,224 persons "in need of manual employment," other than returning Californians, who entered that State by car in that 21-month period.[63] In Oregon and in Washington two studies of smaller numbers have indicated that approximately two-fifths of the families of recent immigrants who settled in rural areas had come from the States of the Great Plains.[64] The proportion of Pacific coast immigrants who came from the Great Plains drought area would have been still larger in each of these cases if account could have been taken of those who stopped in Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and Arizona for any length of time before entering the Pacific Coast States where they were counted.[65]

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[54] Much larger numbers of California immigrants from drought States have been published by Taylor, Vasey, and Rowell (Monthly Labor Review, loc. cit.). These larger numbers result from a definition of the drought area to include all of the States which lie between the Mississippi River and the States of the Pacific coast. These drought States correspond with the officially designated drought area of 1934, except that Oregon was excluded by Taylor, Vasey, and Rowell. From this larger list of drought States the total number of migrants by highway to California from January 1936 through March 1937, was 89,859.

[55] Thus about one-third of a group of 144 families who abandoned farms in Tripp County, S. Dak., between 1930 and 1934 moved into the neighboring State of Nebraska, one of the States of the Great Plains. (George W. Hill, Rural Migration and Farm Abandonment, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research Statistics and Finance, Series II. Bulletin No. 6, June 1935. Cf. Taeuber and Taylor, op. cit., p. 47.)

[56] Revised border counts furnished by Edward J. Rowell.

[57] Drought alone does not account adequately for the heavy migration from Oklahoma to California. Reports of field observers suggest that a considerable proportion of these Oklahoma emigrants were displaced cotton tenants from the eastern section of the State where drought conditions were not severe. (See fig. 14 and Cronin and Beers, op. cit., fig. 8, p. 35.) To explain this concentrated emigration, account should probably be taken of: (1) Previous low economic level; (2) habitual mobility of tenants; (3) drought; (4) the general tendency toward displacement of cotton tenants (cf. ch. VII); and (5) lack of adequate local relief (cf. ch. XVI).

[58] Paul H. Landis, Rural Immigrants to Washington State, 1932–36, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Series in Population, No. 2, Pullman, Wash., July 1936, p. 7.

[59] Cf. supra, pp. 56, 71.

[60] Cronin and Beers, op. cit., fig. 1, p. 3.

Permanent relocation or constant migration

The hope of those who left the drought-stricken areas was to find new permanent locations where they could earn a living. Unlike their ancestors, however, they could not find any open frontier with lands waiting to be developed by individual initiative. Since the Pacific coast region was the most open for development and the least affected by drought, the drought refugees flocked to that area. The resulting pressure of new immigrants for farm lands, already largely occupied, and the need for employment by the resident farmers of the far West was therefore very heavy. The number of immigrant families who arrived in rural Oregon during the single year 1935–36, for example, has been estimated to have been equal to 2.5 percent of the total number of farms in that State the previous year.[66]

The pressure of drought migrants upon such new locations for permanent settlement as existed is further illustrated by reports of the United States Reclamation Service. During the 3 years 1934–36, 624 familes have been settled on the irrigated lands of 5 reclamation projects. For these 624 openings a total of 7,750 applications were received. 12 applicants for each farm available. Only those drought farmers who had been most successful could hope to qualify, because of the need for sufficient capital to operate the newly reclaimed land. Yet table 14 shows that 42.5 percent of the actual settlers came from the drought States in the period 1934–36, as compared with only 6.9 percent of the settlers of the 1920's on these same projects. Reports from project managers also verify strongly the opinion that drought conditions, more than depression conditions, have been responsible for the extensive recent interest in filing applications for this new land.[67]

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[61] Revised border counts furnished by Edward J. Rowell (cf. supra, note). From the broader list of 19 drought States a total of 111,266 persons entered California during this 21-month period.

[62] Field directors of the U. S. Resettlement Administration estimated recently that 15,000 drought families had entered Washington. Oregon, and Idaho, and that 3,000 drought families had gone to Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. (New York Times, January 17, 1937. Cf. U. S. Resettlement Administration, A Survey of Current Migration of Settlers From Drought Areas Into Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, Portland, Oreg, September 1936.) The estimates in the text, except for California, take no account of unattached persons but assume an average of 4 persons per family. By comparison it may be noted that the California border counts revealed an average of 5 persons in each entering car (Monthly Labor Review, December 1936, op. cit., pp. 6–7) and that a recent Oregon sample of these drought refugees revealed an average of 3.92 persons per family (Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, Circular of Information, No. 155, June 1936, p. 5).

[63] From the 19 officially designated drought States of 1934 (excluding Oregon) 124,592 persons were counted. This number was 86.4 percent of the total immigrants by highway other than those returning in cars with California license plates.

[64] Oregon: L. R. Breithaupt and C. S. Hoffman, Preliminary Information Concerning Immigration Into Rural Districts in Oregon, January 1933 to June 1936, Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, Circular of Information, No. 157, Corvallis, Oreg., August 1936, p. 2. Washington: Paul H. Landis, Rural Immigrants to Washington State, 1932–36, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Series in Population, No. 2, Pullman, Wash., July 1936, p. 7.

[65] Cf. Taeuber and Taylor, op. cit., p. 46.

[66] L. R. Breithaupt and C. S. Hoffman, Preliminary Information Concerning Immigration Into Rural Districts in Oregon, January 1933 to June 1936, Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, Circular of Information, No. 157, August 1936.

TABLE 14.—*District of origin of new settlers on five irrigation projects*[1] *of the Reclamation Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, by periods of settlement, 1920–29, 1930–33, 1934–36*

District of origin	Number of new settlers			Percentage of new settlers		
	1920–29[2]	1930–33	1934–36	1920–29	1939–33	1934–36
Total	473	577	624	100.0	100.0	100.0
Intrastate	382	362	265	80.8	62.8	42.5
Great Plains States[3]	33	59	232	6.9	10.2	37.2
Other States	58	156	127	12.3	27.0	20.3

[1] Yakima (Kittitas division), Klamath, Shoshone, Riverton, Vale.

[2] Or from opening of the project.

[3] Colorado, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Wyoming (except for Shoshone, located in Wyoming).

While few of the drought refugees were able to locate on Government lands, those who moved to the Northwest seem to have been relatively successful in relocating. Many still possessed personal savings accumulated in previous years. According to reports from the regional office of the Resettlement Administration, approximately one-fourth of the drought migrants to Idaho, Oregon, and Washington had retained sufficient savings to lease or make a down payment on a farm. Another one-quarter had sufficient savings to enable them to get located with the help of relatives or friends. About half of these drought families were without funds. Those who arrived without funds were especially fortunate to find in 1936 local shortages of seasonal workers in the sugar-beet fields of Idaho, and in the hop fields, orchards, and wheat fields of Oregon and Washington. Additional labor was temporarily needed in some areas to save the crops. Consequently, some of the drought migrants were able to earn something soon after their arrival.[68]

Even in the Northwest many drought refugees faced great difficulties in establishing themselves. Aid from the local communities was generally unavailable for persons who had not established local residence,[69] and aid from the Resettlement and Works Progress Administrations was available for only a fraction of those who arrived without funds.[70] A recent study of families who had moved to Washington during the years 1932 to 1936 showed that 18 percent of 180 families from drought States were considered unsuccessful in their adopted communities, and that 24 percent of 191 families were reported as "transients" in the communities where they were studied.[71]

The drought refugees who moved to California, largely from the southern drought area, seem to have been much less fortunate than the northern drought migrants. Fewer of the southern drought migrants appear to have acquired significant amounts of savings, and in California it was especially difficult to become an independent farm operator.[72] All observers are agreed that the majority of drought refugees who have moved to California have become migrant agricultural laborers, in spite of the fact that more than one-third of them seem to have been farm operators or farm tenants, and less than one-fifth seem to have been farm laborers before migration.[73] The regional office of the

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[67] Data furnished by special inquiry for this report by the Reclamation Service at the request of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

[68] Data furnished by the Information Division, U. S. Resettlement Administration.

[69] See ch. XVI.

[70] Information Division, U. S. Resettlement Administration.

[71] Paul H. Landis, op. cit., tables 14, 15.

[72] Cf. infra. Large capital investments are required in that State since intensive farming is carried on upon irrigated land. (Cf. Taylor, Historical Background, op. cit., and infra, pp. 137, 148.)

[73] Field study of 213 white families in California farm camps, 1935, by Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey. Data furnished in advance of publication by Edward J. Rowell, regional labor advisor, Resettlement Administration, San Francisco, one-quarter of the families had entered California from a drought State for the first time in 1933 or 1934.

Resettlement Administration has estimated that more than half of the 50,000 agricultural laborers in California who constantly seek to eke out a living by moving from job to job are persons who have been driven from other States by the recent droughts.

Since permanent relocation has often been unobtainable, thousands of the former farm operators from the drought area have been forced to continue to wander from job to job in search of work. The yhave thus become constant migrants, the type described in chapters IX to XI of this report. A major fraction of the present floating labor supply of the far West has been recruited from the ranks of drought refugees. This appears to be true even in the Northwest, where drought migrants were most fortunate. The Yakima Valley of Washington, for example, is a farming area which has met its need for seasonal labor for many years from among the habitual migrants of the Pacific coast region. Yet 23 percent of the 252 migrant workers studied in that valley in 1935–36 reported that they had resided in one of the drought States 1 year before interview.[74]

Later chapters of this report (XII, XIII) will show how slight is the employment and how low are the annual earnings that may now be obtained by drought refugees who migrate constantly from job to job on the Pacific coast. Nevertheless, even the drought refugees who have failed to settle permanently in any one new location are probably in better circumstances, both temporarily and permanently, than they would be in their former homes on the Great Plains. The best information now available indicates that large-scale interstate emigration from the Great Plains is still necessary to correct the previous oversettlement of this area.

Need for continued migration

Droughts on the Great Plains are not new. Prior to the recent series of dry years intense drought prevailed in at least part of the area in 1889, 1890, 1901, 1910, and 1917. Indeed, since 1889 the region has averaged almost 1 dry year in every 4.[75] But although ample rainfall has been followed by drought throughout the recorded history of the area, no regular rhythm appears in this climatic cycle. Our present knowledge is not sufficient to make possible any reliable forecast of the years which will enable crops to be grown. All that can now be said is that taking the 26 years, 1910 to 1936, as a whole the climate of the northern Great Plains appears to have been drier and that of the southern Great Plains actually more humid than it is logical to expect over any long period unless a permanent change in climate is in progress.[76]

Each succession of relatively humid years has in the past stimulated an expansion of agriculture accompanied either by a flood of immigration or a stoppage of the previous outflow. Each series of dry years has led to the departure of a tide of refugees from the area.[77] The last of these waves of misguided expansion occurred during the 1920's at the end of the longest period of favorable climate in this region which has been recorded.[78] The development of dry farming methods after 1905, the ruin of cattlemen in the depression of 1920–22 and the development of power machinery adapted to the conditions of the Great Plains all set the stage for a large-scale conversion of grazing land into the production of cultivated crops. Thus while the value of farm land and equipment was falling in the regions of established cultivation, they rose rapidly in the counties of the Great Plains from 1924–29.[79] The population of the Great Plains States as a whole increased by only 0.4 percent from 6,093,862 to 6,117,300 during the whole decade 1920–30. Since these States have a very high rate of natural population increase, it is clear that there was a net emigration from the Great Plains States as a whole during the 1920's of something like 100,000 persons per year.[80] Despite this heavy emigration from the Great Plains States as a whole, there appears to have been a considerable movement into those particular portions of these States whose dry farming was being extended. Natural increase, together with this local immigration, more than doubled the population of 25 counties of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Texas which were located on the high portion of the Great Plains. These 25 counties gained 197,045 persons.[81] From this very area, drought refugees are now pouring to other sections of the country.

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[74] Paul H. Landis and Melvin S. Brooks, Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Washington, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Series in Farm Labor, No. 1, Pullman, Wash., December 1936, p. 32. Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, in addition to the States of the Great Plains, were considered drought States for this purpose. (Cf. infra, pp. 162–164.)

[75] Cronin and Beers, op. cit., p. 4.

[76] Thornthwaite in Goodrich, op. cit., pp. 219, 227.

[77] Cf. Cronin and Beers, loc. cit. This cycle of climate and migration was observed as early as 1896 by the Chief Hydrographer of the U. S. Geological Survey (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Yearbook, 1896, p. 168).

[78] Cf. Cronin and Beers, op. cit., p. 6, Thornthwaite, op. cit., plate II, and pp. 222–223.

[79] Thornthwaite, op. cit., pp. 214–17.

[80] Taeuber and Taylor, op. cit., pp. 25–27.

Very large returns may occasionally be obtained from crop cultivation on the Great Plains given the lucky coincidence of favorable weather, low costs and high prices. Arable farming is extremely speculative, however. Thus the average net income per 640-acre wheat farm in Sheridan County, Kans., was $20,472 in 1920, but the average net annual income for the remaining 20 years of the period 1912 to 1934 was less than $35. This was a period when climatic conditions were probably more favorable than the average.[82] One result of this extremely speculative economy is a highly unstable farm population. Two-thirds of the farmers of western Kansas in 1895 had moved away by 1905 and three-fifths of those farming in that area in 1905, in 1915 and in 1920 had moved away at the end of a 10-year period.

It is evident that emigration from the Great Plains is by no means new. In fact, there was less emigration from western Kansas between 1926 and 1935 than in any previous period. Only half of those residing there in 1925 moved away during the next 10 years.[83] Another result of unstable crop yields on the Great Plains is a threat to the stability of all American agriculture. In drought years this region not only provides no marketable crops but even draws crops from other areas for cattle feeding. However, one authority believes that in occasional years of heavy yields the region is capable of providing such large surpluses of wheat from the expanded acreage as to depress the price throughout the country. "It is not to be expected that the area could ever have an abundant crop in a year of general shortage." [84]

The present plight of the Great Plains is not simply the result of the vagaries of climate. It is the direct result of overgrazing and an unwise plowing up of land unfitted for crop culture. As long as the land was used for moderate grazing the cover of native grass held the soil. Little wind erosion occurred in what is now called the Dust Bowl during the dry years, 1893 to 1895.[85] The dry-farming methods which converted this region from grazing to crop production necessitated constant, deep plowing to conserve moisture. But this very process destroyed the cover of native vegetation and left the bare top soil loose and dry—ready for the wind to carry it away or pile in dunes during years of drought. In addition, the conversion of land from pasture to plow promoted over-grazing in the area because the numbers of livestock were not reduced proportionately to the reduction of their range.[86] The resulting destruction of the land has made the Great Plains area even less able to support its present population than in the past.

Emigration from the drought area is still increasing in volume and further large volume of such migration is to be expected. From the 10 States of the Great Plains 32,277 persons in need of manual employment went to California by highway during the last half of 1936 as compared with 21,317 persons in the last half of 1935. During the first quarter of 1937 there were 10,688 immigrants to California from this area as compared with 7,207 during the corresponding months of the previous year.[87] The Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station reports similar increases in that State. In fact, the rural immigrants to Oregon, mostly from drought States, are believed to have been as numerous during the single year 1936 as during the 3 years immediately preceding, 1933–35.[88]

A much larger flood of drought migration is being held back only by loans and grants from the Resettlement Administration. These have recently totalled $10,000 a day from the Lincoln, Nebr., office alone. In the Dakotas, three-fourths of the farm population, 150,000 families or about 600,000 persons, are subsisting on such aid.[89] Field observers in the Dakotas report that the farmers of the Dakotas are now generally torn between the hope of a crop next year if they can subsist on a $20-a-month grant[90] and the desire to accumulate enough to tide their families over for 1 year so they can move to the Pacific coast.[91] As reserves are exhausted each succeeding year of drought is likely to shake loose from the land increasing numbers of farmers.

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[81] Thornthwaite, op. cit., plate I and p. 216.

[82] Thornthwaite, op. cit., pp. 232–234.

[83] James C. Malin, The Turn-over of Farm Population in Kansas, Kansas Historical Quarterly, November 1935, pp. 339–372. (Cf. Taeuber and Taylor, op. cit., p. 34.)

[84] Thornthwaite, op. cit., p. 236.

[85] U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 556, op. cit., p. 14.

[86] Cf. Thornthwaite, op. cit., pp. 214–215, 236–240, and U. S. Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 559, op. cit., pp. 21–23, 49.

[87] Revised border counts furnished by Edward J. Rowell (cf. supra, p. 100).

[88] L. R. Breithaupt, Bulletin No. 164, op. cit.

Cessation of this drought migration is more to be feared than its continuation. The most recent technical report on the southern Dust Bowl by the Soil Conservation Service contains the recommendation that over 4,000,000 acres, or 52 percent of the area surveyed, should be returned to a permanent cover of native vegetation, and converted from cultivation to light grazing.[92] One authority connected with the same service believes that almost the whole of the Great Plains area should be returned to grazing. Such a complete conversion of the economy of the area would result in the displacement of nearly 900,000 people, or 210,000 families. While this displacement is believed to be too great to contemplate in the near future, a further migration of some 59,000 families beyond that which had taken place by 1935 was recommended as the minimum emigration required to allow this land to be used safely.[93] The complete conversion just cited would require emigration from the Great Plains at the present rate for more than a decade, and even the minimum recommended conversion would require that more people leave the area than have already done so since the beginning of the recent droughts.

Unguided migration on the initiative of the migrants themselves is still our chief reliance for the clearing of this area. The Resettlement Administration has taken the responsibility of relocating a population of 2,732 families living on areas of the land-utilization projects on the Great Plains, this number representing about one-quarter of the population of all land-utilization projects of that agency. But while a total of more than 50,000 families have moved out of the Great Plains, the Resettlement Administration has been able to move only 1,464 families from this area up to the present time.[94] Much larger amounts of guidance and aid will obviously be required if the Great Plains are to be cleared to the minimum extent recommended by the soil experts.

Unless greater control is exercised in the future than in the past, it may indeed be difficult to prevent a new wave of immigration onto the Great Plains. Already there are signs of a local disposition to resume cultivation according to former methods whenever a rain revives hope for a crop.[95] The past history of the area suggests that there may soon be a new group of settlers coming in to take the places of those who have recently left as soon as a favorable period of weather begins. Some immigrants actually arrived between 1930 and 1935, even in the most distressed portions of the drought area.[96]

CHAPTER VII. RELOCATION OF DISPLACED FARM TENANTS

Farm tenancy in the United States appears to be in a decaying stage. The displacement of farm tenants has already forced substantial numbers of workers to migrate across State lines and the present group of tenant farmers is one of the largest reservoirs of possible future migrants.

Until recently there was little evidence of a collapse of farm tenancy. Indeed the institution grew tremendously during the half century after 1880 when information from the census as regards farm tenancy first became available. As early as 1880 there were more than 1,000,000 farm tenants. In spite of the homestead acts, 25.5 percent of all farm operators had failed to acquire ownership of the land they cultivated. During the next 20 years, 1880 to 1900, the number of tenants doubled and thereafter the number rose more slowly to a total of 2.7 millions in

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[89] New York Times, loc. cit.

[90] Mr. Ward. New York Times, loc. cit.

[91] Cf. Paul H. Landis, Rural Immigrants, op. cit., p. 1.

[92] U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 556, op. cit., pp. 53, 56.

[93] Thornthwaite, op. cit., pp. 243–245.

[94] The Resettlement Administration has plans under way for the removal of the remaining 1,268 families in this area, for which responsibility has been assumed. Resettlement Administration. Management Division. Family Selection Section. unpublished report, Families Residing on Land Utilization Projects, table I, analysis showing move status, May 1, 1937. Regions VII, X, XII.

[95] Cf. loc. cit., pp. 240, note 20, 245, note 26.

[96] Cf. Taeuber and Taylor, op. cit., pp. 55–57.

1930. Because the number of owner-operators of farms declined from 1900 to 1930 the proportion of tenants among all farm operators increased sharply to a peak figure of 42.4 percent in 1930.[97] For many years this increase in farm tenancy was regarded as a hopeful sign. The fact that the tenants were relatively young and the fact that they were found largely in areas where farm values had risen most rapidly or where plantations had been operated formerly with slaves were often cited as evidence that tenancy represented an upward step on the agricultural ladder.[98]

The continual increase in farm tenancy could no longer be treated as an evidence of improvement after agriculture underwent the deflation of the 1920's and still less could tenancy be treated optimistically during the collapse of 1930-32. Gross farm income shrank by 70 percent from 1919 to 1932,[99] and the dollar value of farm land and buildings was only half as great in 1935 as in 1920.[1] In the face of this shrinkage the mortgage debts of farm owners increased by $500,000,000 from 1920 to 1925 and were greater in 1930 than 10 years before.[2] Many of those who remained as farm owners were consequently left with nothing more than the semblance of ownership.[3] Under these circumstances farm tenants often consisted of former owners who had fallen down the agricultural ladder. The number of farm tenants increased by 210,000 in the decade 1920-30 as the number of owner-operators fell by 455,000.

While tenants were being recruited from the ranks of former owners during the depression, other tenants were being displaced into the ranks of wage labor or of unemployed workers. No data are available to show how many tenants were displaced, but in the Southeast, at least, the pressure was applied all the way down. Displaced owners became tenants. The more fortunate group of share tenants lost their stock and equipment and thus became croppers. Thousands of croppers became casual farm laborers.[4] After 1932 these trends may have been reversed to some extent by the recovery. During the latest period for which information is available, 1930-35, the number of tenants failed to keep pace with the number of owners. For the first time in half a century the census showed a slight decline in the proportion of tenants from 42.4 percent of all operators in 1930 to 42.1 percent in 1935. The absolute number of tenants continued to increase at the rate of 40,000 a year, however.

The declining relative importance of farm tenancy since 1930 has been largely due to the displacement of tenants from the cotton belt.[5] In this area the majority of tenants are the poorest type—the sharecropper.[6] The cropper has no tools or equipment and usually works for half the crop under close supervision of the landlord. The tenant is bound to the plantation by the fact that he usually depends upon the landlord from week to week for his supply of food and necessities, the value of this "furnish" being deducted from the proceeds of the crop after harvest. The lease, however, usually lasts for only 1 year, and the tenant has no interest in maintenance or improvement of the farm since he acquires no rights to the value of such work.[7] Although tenancy arose in the Old South as a substitute for Negro slavery, the 1,000,000 tenants in the Cotton Belt today are divided almost equally between whites and Negroes.[8] Cotton tenancy has also spread to Texas and Oklahoma, where there are 400,000 tenants, mostly whites, working under arrangements somewhat more favorable to the tenant than sharecropping.[9]

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[97] U. S. Census publications. See President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, Statistical Supplement, 1937, tables IV, V, pp. 96-97.

[98] Cf. C. L. Stewart, Land Tenure in the United States With Special Reference to Illinois, University of Illinois, 1918, and U. S. Bureau of the Census, Plantation Farming in the United States, 1916.

[99] U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics (cf. Statistical Abstract, op. cit., p. 601).

[1] U. S. Census of Agriculture (cf. Statistical Abstract, op. cit., p. 576).

[2] Loc. cit., p. 589.

[3] President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, op. cit., p. 3. Cf. Statistical Abstract, op. cit., pp. 584, 589.

[4] Cf. T. J. Woofter, Jr., Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, monograph V, 1937, p. 119.

[5] Testimony of L. C. Gray, U. S. Congress, House Hearing Before Committee on Agriculture on H. R. 8 (farm tenancy), 75th Cong., 1st sess., 1937, p. 67.

[6] U. S. Census Publications, cf. Statistical Abstract, 1936, pp. 586-587. States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana.

[7] President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, op. cit., pp. 48-49. Charles S. Johnson, E. R. Embree, W. W. Alexander, The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, 1935, ch. I.

[8] Statistical Abstract, loc. cit., a larger proportion of the Negroes are croppers however: 57 percent or 323,544 in the 7 leading Cotton States as compared with 44 percent or 220,229 among the whites.

[9] Loc. cit.

Depression and crop restriction have been most frequently noted as causes of the displacement of cotton tenants. As the wholesale price of cotton fell from 27 cents (1923–25) to 6 cents (1932)[10] many landlords did not have the money to feed their farmer tenants and therefore terminated their leases.[11] Increased returns to cotton growers, as cotton rose to 12 cents in 1934 and 1935,[12] eased this particular pressure but the improvement in the income of plantation owners was accomplished in part by crop restriction which brought new difficulties to the tenants and former tenants. Agreement is lacking as to the exact effects of the crop control program upon cotton workers. Some authorities contend that the major displacement occurred before crop control was introduced,[13] others believe that thousands of share croppers were displaced when cotton (and tobacco) acreage was curtailed.[14] In support of the latter view, it has been pointed out that the period 1930–33, before the control program, was one of heavy production in the face of falling prices, when production on shares was most advantageous to the planter.[15] The fact that the proportion of displaced tenants among those on relief rolls increased between 1933 and 1935[16] may also suggest that crop restrictions, together with other influences, have been at work to displace tenants since the depression.

Depression and crop restriction are not the only forces operating to break down the institution of tenancy. A still greater potential force is the introduction of improved farming methods. Any labor-saving devices which are applied to cotton production will cause a very great displacement in the eastern cotton area because that region is already filled with underemployed labor sufficient to supply locally all normal peak needs.[17] Slavery and its successor, the tenant system, have formerly held the rapidly increasing population of the Old South close to the plantation so that sufficient workers were available in each locality to meet the heavy seasonal demands for labor. As a result, the Old South has a surplus of farm labor. The Cotton Belt is therefore especially vulnerable to labor displacement which may create a large number of landless, migratory workers.

Labor-saving methods have already been introduced into cotton raising and a much more extensive development of this kind is in prospect. The first step was the substitution of tractors for mules, an improvement capable of reducing the cost of cotton cultivation from $14.20 to as little as $5.20 per acre.[18] Mechanical equipment, together with larger farm units, enable a family to cultivate 100 to 150 acres of cotton in the West in contrast to 10 to 20 acres in the Southeast.[19] Displacement will result in the Southeast whether that region adopts the new methods or not, as the reduction of costs in the West improves the competitive position of that area.[20] The second step is the introduction of check-row planting, a simple method which makes cotton-chopping a speedy mechanical operation and thus eliminates a large part of the need for labor except during the cotton-picking season.[21] If the third step is now taken, the development of a successful mechanical cotton picker, a still further part of the demand for cotton tenants and laborers in the Old South may be eliminated. Displacement may not wait for the cotton picker, however. Methods already in use in certain areas now eliminate most of the labor of cotton raising except in the picking season. Under these conditions it is questionable whether the plantation owner will find it profitable to maintain a stable working force during the entire year. If not, the system of cotton tenancy is doomed and an untold number of tenants of the Old South will find themselves converted into migratory wage laborers or displaced from agriculture altogether.

Some evidence as to the actual displacement of tenants and of their interstate migration is available, but it is too fragmentary to justify close estimates of the number of workers affected. A careful study of census materials for 170 cotton-raising counties of the Southeast revealed that the number of Negro croppers decreased by 18 percent and that the number of white croppers decreased by 7.6 percent from 1930 to 1935 (table 15). It is believed that the data for white tenants may have been disturbed by movements between urban and rural areas but that the percentage for Negroes represents accurately the true rate of displacement. At this rate there may have been a net displacement of 40,000 of the cropper group alone from all cotton-raising areas between 1930 and 1935.[22] This estimate is supported in a general way by the finding that 20,000 families on the relief rolls of the eastern Cotton Belt in June 1935 were unemployed former tenants. These families constituted 37 percent of the relief load of this area.[23]

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[10] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, cf. Statistical Abstract, 1936, p. 301.

[11] Testimony of Lawrence Westbrook, W. P. A., at House hearings, op. cit. (1935), p. 337.

[12] Statistical Abstract, loc. cit.

[13] Cf. Lawrence Westbrook, hearings (1935), op. cit., p. 338.

[14] Testimony of Gardner Jackson, Hearings (1937), op. cit., p. 213; Johnson, Embree, and Alexander, op. cit., ch. IV.

[15] See Fred C. Frey and T. Lynn Smith, The Influence of the A. A. A. Program Upon Tenant, Cropper, and Laborer, Rural Sociology, December 1936, pp. 490–491.

[16] T. J. Woofter, Jr., op. cit., p. 159. Dr. Woofter did not draw the conclusion that this increase reflected the effect of the A. A. A. program.

[17] Paul S. Taylor, Migratory Farm Labor in the United States, Monthly Labor Review, March 1937, p. 540.

[18] P. H. Stephens, Mechanization of Cotton Farms, Journal of Farm Economics, January 1931, pp. 27–36.

[19] Johnson, Embree, and Alexander, op. cit., p. 42.

[20] Cf. infra, pp. 151, 160, for data on expanding cotton acreage in California.

[21] Cf. Paul S. Taylor, loc. cit.

Direct evidence of the rising tide of migration among tenants is also available. Nearly a million tenant farmers, 34.2 percent of all farm tenants, had occupied the farms they tilled in 1935 for only 1 year.[24] Some of these former cotton tenants have migrated across State lines and have become an important factor in the seasonal agriculture of Florida. About one-third of all the citrus workers in the more important Florida areas have been found to be interstate migrants from the cotton States of the Southeast and most of these who were interviewed proved to have been recent sharecroppers.[25] Many of these Florida workers are dividing their time between Florida fruits and vegetables in the winter and cotton work in other States during the summer.

TABLE 15.—*Changes in the number of tenants and croppers, 1930–35, by race, in 170 cotton-raising counties of the Southeast* [1]

State	Increase or decrease in tenants, 1930–35				Increase or decrease in croppers, 1930–35			
	White		Negro		White		Negro	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Alabama	5,845	25.3	−2,942	−20.8	−2,617	−13.5	86	−0.6
Arkansas	2,547	21.6	−2,272	−14.5	−2,196	−18.4	−2,610	−8.2
Georgia	2,762	23.5	−651	−11.0	−3,978	−24.5	−4,473	−27.6
Louisiana	896	.8	−3,817	−21.6	−712	−7.3	845	4.0
Mississippi	2,380	15.2	−9,670	−30.2	−2,092	−11.8	−211	−.3
North Carolina	1,121	13.4	−959	−15.5	−498	−9.6	−940	−13.7
Oklahoma	174	6.3	−2	−2.1	−503	−51.3	−63	−64.9
South Carolina	1,574	23.6	−823	−12.5	−1,158	−17.3	−1,350	−11.2
Tennessee	1,128	16.3	−24	−.4	−67	−.9	152	1.8
Texas	1,539	4.0	−1,604	−17.0	−7,831	−32.4	−5,825	−34.8
Total	19,966	14.7	−22,764	−19.1	−21,652	−18.2	−14,561	−7.6

[1] Fred C. Frey and T. Lynn Smith, The Influence of the A. A. A. Cotton Program Upon Tenant, Cropper, and Laborer, Rural Sociology, December 1936, p. 499.

Not attractive earnings, but displacement from their former stable work in agriculture, appears to explain the increased volume of migration in this area. The condition of these Florida workers has been summarized as follows: "Depression or drought have dislodged them, and they have dropped into the ranks of migratory laborers completely, or they follow the crops seasonally in order to supplement a meager income at home." [26] These Florida groups may be only the beginning of the migration of dislodged tenants. Their tenure was undermined by the depression so that any future technical change in farming finds them highly subject to displacement from their former homes.[27]

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[22] Half of the 1,000,000 tenants in the 7 leading cotton-raising States are croppers (President's committee, op. cit., p. 38, and Statistical Abstract, 1936, pp. 585–7), Statistics for croppers, white and colored, for North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

[23] T. J. Woofter, Jr., op. cit., p. 161.

[24] President's committee, op. cit., p. 19.

[25] Preliminary results of studies by the Resettlement Administration, made available for this report. (Cf. infra, p. 170.)

[26] Op. cit., p. 542.

CHAPTER VIII. RELOCATION FOR HEALTH

The types of relocation which have been described heretofore are those which occur primarily in response to changes in the various demands for labor. Such emphasis on the economic causes of migration appears to be justified. Inquiries as to the motives of migrants usually show that a large proportion of them move in order to secure employment.

A somewhat different cause of removal exists, however, among many workers who have migrated to Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, California, and Florida.[28] This is the belief that the health of the worker or of someone in his family would be improved by the change of location. Even among such cases the search for employment is often an evident motive. The family has usually moved at the time when work was not available at home. But the search for health controls at least the direction of migration among these health seekers, and it is thus a factor worthy of attention.

Migration to the Southwest and to Colorado in search of relief for tuberculosis in the dry climates of those areas is not a new movement. In 1922, 83 percent of all those living in Phoenix, Ariz., were reported to be recent arrivals and most of them were believed to be tubercular persons from the East and North.[29] In 1928 an estimate of 10,000 tubercular migrants was made for the four States of Arizona, California, Colorado, and Texas.[30]

Recent investigations of the United States Children's Bureau have revealed that this type of migration is still of great importance in the Southwest and that it involves workers who are dependent on their earnings or on relief after their arrival. Indeed, many of the roving families who are seeking bits of work in the Southwest today were found to have at least one member of the family suffering from a disease which the family had confidently expected to be cured if only they moved to the much-advertised climate where they were when observed.

In Arizona the relief authorities of Phoenix and Prescott report carefully that large numbers of families apply for assistance and that practically every welfare organization in those cities sponsors some home or boarding house to care for nonresident tubercular persons.[31] The Pima County Welfare Board, with headquarters in Tucson, a city of approximately 13,000, reports that 370 migrant families or single persons were given care in that county during the year 1936 because of illness. A study made in Phoenix by the Maricopa County Welfare Board shows that 101 families from a total of 686 applying for relief in 1935 came to that city because of some member of the family who was suffering from tuberculosis.

The migrants in search of health in New Mexico, although perhaps not as numerous as in Arizona, create an acute problem. Records of the New Mexico Relief and Security Administration show that in the 6-month period ending December 30, 1936, 119 applications for aid were received from persons suffering from tuberculosis or other diseases; 64 of these were from families and 55 from single men. All the applicants had been in the State less than 1 year. Some of them had had maintenance resources when they arrived but had exhausted them at the time of the application for relief.

Colorado also presents the problem of health seekers. Denver has long had a reputation as a health center for sufferers from tuberculosis, and two large hospitals are adjacent to the city. Health seekers and families of health seekers concentrate in this area largely because of the location of these hospitals—the Government hospital at Fitzsimons and the National Jewish Hospital. Many families follow patients of these hospitals into the State. Usually these families apply to the Bureau of Public Welfare for assistance. In many cases, private persons and agencies are said to have assisted these families to remain in Denver more than a year.

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[27] The break-down of tenancy, as well as drought, may be responsible for part of the heavy migration from Oklahoma. There were 130,661 tenants in Oklahoma in 1935, or 61 percent of all farm operators (Statistical Abstract, op. cit., p. 587). A large number of the interstate migrants appear to have come from the cotton-raising portion of the State which was least affected by the drought (cf. supra, p. 102, note).

[28] As to Florida, see infra, p. 168.

[29] Jessamine G. Whitney, A Report of the Indigent Migratory Consumptive in Certain Cities of the Southwest, U. S. Public Health Service, 1923.

[30] Cf. J. G. Whitney, The Tubercular Migrant, Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1929, pp. 249–257.

[31] The following portion of this section is based on field reports of the U. S. Children's Bureau, 1936–37.

The existence of this removal of workers to seek health makes especially pressing the lack of adequate medical services for persons who cannot conform to the local requirements regarding residence.[32]

CHAPTER IX. SEASONAL MIGRATION

Seasonal migration occurs in response to a series of peak demands for labor, first in one locality, then in another, followed in each case by slack employment.[33] If long periods of unemployment are to be avoided, continued migration of workers from place to place will be required to meet these demands efficiently. The alternatives to migration are the stabilizing of labor requirements by the individual employer, the dovetailing of complementary seasonal work within a given locality, or unemployment.

Seasonal fluctuations are especially sharp in agriculture. Weather conditions require that planting and harvesting be concentrated within two brief seasons of the year. The hiring of migrant workers is nevertheless avoided on most one-family farms. Peak labor requirements are met by intensive work on the crops by all members of the family, followed by more leisure and work on household, maintenance, and improvement tasks during the slack season. Thus in Iowa where family farms predominate, only 27 percent of those engaged in agriculture in 1930 were hired laborers paid in cash.[34] When farming becomes large-scaled and commercialized, as in California, these peak requirements are met by the temporary employment of seasonal workers. In the latter State, 57 percent of all those engaged in agriculture during 1930 were wage earners.[35]

If the farms are situated in populous regions, moderate increases of work during harvest may still be met by local hired labor. The case is different when orchard, vineyard, or truck crops are grown at points away from the centers of other work. Such crops require comparatively little labor until harvest when they must be moved speedily to avoid spoilage. Again, the States of Iowa and California illustrate the contrast between diversified field crops and specialized fruit and vegetable produce. In Iowa, three-fourths (77.4 percent) of the hired farm laborers in 1930 lived on the farms they worked, while in California less than half of such workers (43.5 percent) were local residents.[36] The sheer production requirements of much of the farming of the far West make these areas dependent on nonresident labor.

Some branches of industry also are compelled to depend upon migratory labor because weather conditions force a concentration of operations in certain seasons. The canning industry has a brief season of concentrated work in each place, as the crops ripen. Construction tends to concentrate its demands for labor in warm seasons and shipping is heavy when crops are available and ports are free from ice. These examples will be developed in greater detail in chapter XI of this report.

Market requirements often make an area dependent on migratory labor, quite apart from the necessities of production. One of the most striking examples of such market requirements is to be found in the raising of carrots and peas in southern California. These crops are planted in that area so as to ripen during two brief periods of the winter and early spring. Southern California growers deliberately concentrate their harvest of carrots and peas in the season when the highest prices can be obtained. The climate of southern California allows the growing of carrots and peas in any season, but they are actually harvested only during a few months of the year when the market cannot be supplied by most competing areas. A heavy demand for outside labor in this brief harvest season is the result.[37]

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[32] Cf. infra, ch. XIV.

[33] In the preparation of chs. IX, X, XI, considerable use was made of a digest by Philip Taft, written for the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Board.

[34] U. S. Census, 1930.

[35] Loc. cit.

[36] Loc. cit. Edward J. Rowell, regional labor adviser of the U. S. Resettlement Administration has developed the foregoing argument in an unpublished study generously made available for this report: A Report on the Background and Problems Affecting Farm Labor in California.

In industry, also, market requirements often determine the fluctuation from feverish activity at the peak to idleness or migration during slack seasons. The decline in employment between peak and slack seasons in the automobile industry averaged about 30 percent in the years from 1923 to 1934.[38] Such fluctuations of employment occur because more can be sold at some seasons than at others, although automobiles, like most other industrial products, can be manufactured at any time of the year.

Seasonal migrations of workers, which arise from such fundamental patterns of industry and agriculture can be avoided only if equally fundamental changes are made in the organization of industry itself. One alternative is the dovetailing of complementary seasons of work by different employments in the same locality. The classic illustration, now becoming obsolete, is the use of the same truck drivers for the hauling of coal in winter and ice in summer. Such dovetailing is easily arranged when two or more kinds of seasonal work are controlled by the same employer, but it is largely fortuitous if different employers manage the various seasonal industries.

Examples of such dovetailing of seasonal work by resident workers can be found, however. The San Joaquin Valley of California grows a wide variety of fruits and vegetables and these crops have considerable differences in their peak seasons. Some, but not all, of the labor can thus be furnished by workers who have fixed homes but who shift from the tending of one crop to another as the seasons change.[39]

Technical developments may also eliminate migration by eliminating the need for the labor itself. This has happened in the western Wheat Belt. Formerly as many as 250,000 men followed the harvest of wheat from Texas to Canada. This movement provided the most important example of migratory labor to be found in the American literature. Today the migratory worker is almost unknown in the wheat fields. The combine harvester now cuts and threshes the grain in a single mechanical operation: 5 men can now do the harvesting which formerly required the work of 320, and the wheat fields are, therefore, no longer dependent on migratory labor to meet peak demands.[40] A similar development is impending in the cotton fields of the Southwest.[41]

If labor requirements fluctuate severely within a given area, the only alternative to migration is an unused pool of labor. The existence of such immobile but unemployed labor raises at once the problem of maintenance of the worker throughout the year. Maintenance may be provided privately, by the property owner who uses the worker's services, or publicly, in the form of relief. The cotton plantation of the Southeast illustrates private maintenance as a method of retaining immobile supplies of labor in spite of severe fluctuations of labor requirements.[42] The system of cotton tenancy insured that sufficient workers would be maintained on the land through slack seasons to handle the peak requirements of cotton chopping and cotton picking. Such a system succeeds in avoiding the problems of habitual migration only to face the opposite problems of inefficient use of labor. The resulting low annual average of productivity has made the provision of good annual earnings difficult if not impossible. Moreover, the fixing upon the land of all the workers required for peak operations has left the Southeast so filled with underemployed labor that the region is especially vulnerable to the consequences of labor-saving improvements.[43]

The case of beet sugar workers in 1935 is one illustration of the large amounts of relief needed when the residence of workers is stabilized under conditions of low wage rates and brief seasonal employment. As many as 30,000 workers have been recruited in past years from long distances for the field operations of beet-raising in Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, Minnesota, and Michigan. The beet-sugar companies have encouraged these workers to settle[44] in areas where a maximum of 100 days of employment in the beet fields is available each year.[45] Thus 72 percent of 946 families studied by the Children's Bureau in 1935 had not moved at all during the year before interview and only 3 percent remained in the class of constant interstate migrants.[46] By settling, these beet workers avoided many of the problems of migration. But only 27 percent of all the families interviewed reported any nonagricultural earnings during the year and some of these earnings were from work related to the beet industry such as from boarding other beet workers or work in beet-sugar factories. Nearly two-thirds of the 382 families reporting had thus been forced to depend on public relief at some time during the year.[47]

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[37] Information supplied by Dr. Paul S. Taylor, University of California. Cf. California State Relief Administration, Survey of Agricultural Labor Requirements, 1935, p. 229.

[38] Cf. N. A. Tolles, Wages, Hours, and Annual Earnings in the Motor Vehicle Industry, 1934, Monthly Labor Review, March 1936, p. 539. Seasonal fluctuations have been somewhat decreased since 1934 by the introduction of new models at an earlier date (ibid.).

[39] Information from Dr. Taylor.

[40] Cf. Paul S. Taylor, Migratory Farm Labor in the United States, Monthly Labor Review, March 1937, pp. 538–539.

[41] Cf. supra, pp. 125–126, and Taylor, loc. cit.

[42] Cf. Taylor, loc. cit

[43] Cf. Ibid., supra, pp. 125–127.

CHAPTER X. SEASONAL MIGRATION IN AGRICULTURE

No attempt can be made in this report to describe completely the numerous overlapping patterns of migration by workers who habitually move across State lines. It is evident from field reports, however, that California, the Southwest, the Pacific Northwest, and the eastern seaboard are four of the most important regions in which agricultural migrants congregate. Accordingly, the reasons for migration, typical routes, and the extent of interstate migration, as far as these are known, are described for each of these areas.[48] Intrastate movements will be mentioned frequently, both because the proportion of migration across State lines is not known and because intrastate migration raises very similar problems to those arising from migration between States. No one knows the aggregate numbers of migratory farm workers. One leading authority has estimated recently that there are between 250,000 and 300,000.[49] Whatever the number, it appears to be increasing.

The California need for migration

The greatest and most incessant seasonal migration in this country centers in California. This migration is based on the sharp seasonal fluctuations in labor requirements for the harvesting of fruits, vegetables, and cotton.

California agriculture is now dominated by the intensive production of specialized crops for distant markets. This was made possible by a varied and favorable climate, by irrigation and by the refrigerator car which has linked California to the fresh-produce markets of the entire country.[50] These crops are highly specialized in certain areas and each one involves one or two short seasons of intensive work. Each month of the year is a month of concentrated, if not maximum, activity for some crop in some portion of the State and in every month some crop is able to dispense entirely with the use of hired labor.[51] In 1935, for example, lettuce work required 17,640 laborers in the Imperial Valley during January and February but only 1,360 laborers from May to August. Farther north in the Salinas district about 12,000 lettuce workers were used in May, June, and October but no hired labor was used at all from December through March.[52] Peas employed 10,000 workers in central and northern districts during April and May but no hired labor in July and August while in the Imperial Valley about 3,000 were needed in November.[53] The cotton crop of the San Joaquin Valley used 4.200 workers for chopping in May, no hired labor in July and August but 19,000 workers for picking in October.[54]

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[44] Taylor, op. cit., p. 544.

[45] Information concerning the year 1935 derived from a forthcoming report of a study by the U. S. Children's Bureau (cf. supra, p. —).

[46] It is important to note that the California area was not studied in 1935.

[47] The need for relief is obviously related to size of earnings during employment as well as to the length of employment, but the product of a short season of work will rarely furnish maintenance for the year. Relief is often necessary for workers who do migrate if their wages are low or if they are unsuccessful in piecing together jobs which will provide earnings for the major portion of a year.

[48] The personal characteristics of these migrants have been treated in ch. II, while some sample information as to employment and earnings will be given in chs. XII and XIII.

[49] Taylor, op. cit., Monthly Labor Review, March 1937, p. 546.

[50] Paul S. Taylor, Migratory Farm Labor in the United States, op. cit., p. 545 and Edward J. Rowell, unpublished study, op. cit. By 1929, 41 percent of all improved land in California was irrigated and 78 percent of the value of its agricultural produce was derived from intensive crops. (U. S. Census and U. S. Department of Agriculture, Statistical Bulletin.)

[51] Cf. Agricultural Labor Requirements in California, op. cit.

[52] Loc. cit., pp. 176, 222.

[53] Loc. cit., p. 228.

California agriculture depends utterly upon large numbers of nonresident workers and thousands of California's workers must move if they are to obtain earnings during as much as half of the year. The peak seasons, just illustrated, tend to coincide on all farms in each locality since each district specializes on those particular crops harvested in those particular seasons which will bring the highest cash return. The individual farmer can usually bring the crop to maturity without hired labor and the large-scale farms which dominate the State[55] usually need to hire no labor from outside the county until harvesttime. But during the few days or few weeks of harvest a single county will require thousands of hired workers who cannot be supported there from work available the rest of the year. At least 41,000 workers from outside the respective counties of their employment were required to harvest California's principal crops in 1935. This was one-fifth of the total labor requirement for these crops during the peak month of September in that year (table 16).

TABLE 16.—*Estimated number of total and nonresident agricultural laborers required to perform major crop operations, in 33 California counties, by months, 1935*[1]

Month	Numbers of laborers hired		Percentage of peak-month labor requirement		Percentage of nonresidents among all laborers
	All laborers	Nonresident	All laborers	Nonresident	
January	46, 448	13, 004	23	26	28
February	48, 973	16, 829	25	34	34
March	61, 316	13, 319	31	27	22
April	79, 982	19, 407	40	39	24
May	126, 160	38, 513	64	78	31
June	125, 717	30, 634	63	62	24
July	140, 461	35, 366	71	71	25
August	158, 530	41, 053	80	82	26
September	198, 349	41, 258	100	83	21
October	182. 531	49, 551	92	100	27
November	85, 624	17, 744	43	35	21
December	46, 833	7, 620	24	15	16

[1] Adapted from: California State Relief Administration, Survey of Agricultural Labor Requirements in California, 1935, pp. 24–27. "Nonresident laborers" are those not living permanently in the county of employment.

Some migrants, with good fortune, are able to obtain work during 8 or even 10 months of the year within California by shifting from crop to crop and moving rapidly from district to district so as to catch the peak of each harvest.[56] However, it is absolutely impossible for many migrants to obtain regular employment from agriculture within the State. The total number of laborers required from December to February is less than one-quarter of those required in September, as is shown for the year 1935 by table 16. The nonresidents actually employed in December were only 15 percent as numerous as those employed in October of that year. Actually the work periods available are even less continuous than those suggested by table 16, because a single labor force cannot handle all the crops whose labor requirements are shown. The vast extent of the area prevents complete mobility. It is over 500 miles by air and longer by road from Imperial County, where lettuce is harvested in February, to Sacramento County, where asparagus work is at its height in April.[57] Moreover, employers have definite preferences which preclude the free transfer of workers between crops. Thus cotton picking employs whole families while melon picking employs only men.[58] Many employers also have a preference as between the various available races.[59] Thus, apart from the imperfections of recruitment,[60] the organization of California agriculture forces the employment of two or three times as many individual migrants as the maximum number which can obtain work at any one time.[61] There are now believed to be from 150,000 to 175,000 migrants competing for jobs which number about 50,000 in months of maximum employment.[62]

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[54] Loc. cit., p. 238.

[55] Farms of 500 acres or more accounted for only 7.3 percent of the number of farms but for 74.5 percent of the land in farms in California in 1930 (United States Census of Agriculture, 1930).

[56] Information from Dr. Paul S. Taylor, University of California. Cf. ch. XII.

[57] Cf. Agricultural Labor Requirements, op. cit., pp. 216, 222.

The need for migratory labor will not be eliminated. Indeed, the need appears now to be increasing. Some reduction in the number of lettuce workers is being made by the installation of the Vesey system of handling the crop.[63] Cross cultivation is eliminating much of the need of hand labor for cotton chopping in the spring.[64] But cotton picking is still a hand operation and cotton production is expanding at a phenomenal rate on newly developed land. In a single year the California acreage increased 60 percent from the stabilized level of 225,000 acres in 1935 to 368,000 acres in 1936, and a further large increase of over 50,000 acres is forecast during the present year.[65] The increased acreage, already put into production, should require some 12,000 additional workers in the peak season and the further increases now planned should require about 7,000 more. Certainly more than half of these additional workers, or at least 10,000 of these workers will be migrants.[66]

The mechanical cotton-picker, when perfected, may release again onto the labor market most of the workers now being drawn into this cotton crop. However, mechanization will be slow to eliminate the peak-season needs for harvesting the orchard and truck crops which are the principal basis of the need for migratory labor in California.[67]

Routes of migration[68]

The majority of migratory workers in California probably remain within the State during the entire year. However, the entire Pacific coast, together with Arizona, is a common labor market, and this market is connected with that of Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas by intermittent migrations of labor. Some indication of the extent of this constant migration of seasonal workers across the California border is furnished by actual counts of persons "in need of manual employment" who entered the State during the year 1936. Those who entered in cars bearing California licenses numbered 12,839, one-eighth of the 97,662 immigrants by highway. Since there was no advantage in securing a California license without entering the State, all of these persons can be safely counted as seasonal, interstate migrants. A large proportion of the 6,685 persons whose cars bore Oregon and Washington licenses, and at least some of the 15,633 persons whose cars bore Texas and Arizona licenses were also interstate seasonal migrants.[69]

Agricultural workers are known to migrate seasonally from Imperial Valley, on the Mexican border, as far as the Wenatchee Valley of Washington, less than a hundred miles from the Canadian border. There is also an interchange of workers between California and the apple districts of Oregon and the pea fields of Idaho. One-quarter of the California workers who were returning to

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[58] U. S. Children's Bureau field reports.

[59] Edward J. Rowell, unpublished study, op. cit.

[60] Cf. ch. XII.

[61] This number has been augmented and the work available for industrial laborers has been decreased by the inflow of drought migrants. Cf. ch. VI.

[62] Cf. Paul S. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 545–546, and California State Relief Administration, Migratory Labor in California, July 1936, p. 47.

[63] U. S. Children's Bureau field reports, 1937.

[64] Paul S. Taylor, op. cit., p. 540.

[65] U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1937. Cf. Los Angeles County Chamber of Commerce, Annual Review of Southern California Crops for 1936, January 1937.

[66] Cf. Agricultural Labor Requirements in California, op. cit., pp. 238–239.

[67] Opinion of Dr. Paul S. Taylor, University of California.

[68] Except as otherwise noted, the information in this section was furnished by Dr. Taylor. Cf. also Taylor, op. cit., pp. 545–546, and Agricultural Labor Requirements, op. cit.

[69] Revised border counts furnished by Edward J. Rowell. Cf. Monthly Labor Review, December 1936, p. 5. California license plates are more expensive than those of surrounding States. Some of the Oregon and Washington cars and many of the Texas and Arizona cars brought in drought refugees rather than constant seasonal migrants.

California entered from these districts by way of the northern border during the year 1935–36. Nearly one-fifth of these returning Californians entered through Nevada, which suggests that they had been harvesting beets in Montana, and beets or melons in Colorado. The dominant movement between California and other States in 1935–36 was across the Arizona border to and from the lettuce, melon, and cotton harvests of the Salt River Valley, and the cotton and vegetable harvests of Texas.

Within California the migratory laborers, both interstate and intrastate, follow an almost infinite variety of routes in their attempt to piece together as much employment as possible from the various crops. The most heavily traveled route stretches from the Imperial Valley, in the extreme southeastern part of the State, to the San Joaquin Valley, in the center, and further to the Sacramento Valley, in the north. Agricultural work is relatively scarce during the winter months, even in California (table 16). This winter work concentrates in the Imperial Valley. As the harvests of lettuce and peas begin to diminish in March, and again after the Imperial Valley melon season ends in June, the greatest numbers of migratory workers move northward across the Techachapi Mountains to thin the apricots and peaches of Tulare, Kings, and Fresno Counties of the San Joaquin Valley, and of Yolo and Sacramento Counties, farther to the north. Work may also be found in the asparagus and pea fields of the Sacramento Valley. The picking of apricots and peaches lasts until August.

From July to October the grape harvest rises to a great peak, drawing into Fresno and the Central San Joaquin Valleys most of the laborers who have been scattered throughout other parts of the State during the orchard fruit season. During this grape harvest, in September or October, the cotton harvest begins in the southern portion of the San Joaquin Valley and moves northward along the west side of the valley with the opening of the cotton bolls. As the grape harvest wanes, some of the migratory workers return southward to work in the citrus and walnut groves of San Bernardino, Riverside, and Santa Barbara. Others return after the first cotton picking to reach the November and December pea harvests of the Imperial Valley. Still other migratory workers finish the cotton picking and thus stay in the San Joaquin Valley until December. Of those who finish cotton, some wait until March or April for the opening of the pea harvest of the Central Coast region, while other workers first journey south to Imperial Valley for work in lettuce and late peas from December until perhaps February. This completes the annual cycle and the migratory workers are ready to go north again, 350 miles or more, to the work in fruits, mentioned at the beginning, or to the lettuce and pea harvest of the coastal region as it moves northward through the counties of San Luis Obispo, Monterey, Alameda, and San Mateo.

Even the complex patterns just described are subject to many variations, as the seasons vary and as between various groups of workers. Some workers move within smaller areas, as for example, the fruit workers who work through eight counties of the Sacramento and San Francisco Bay regions. Other migratory workers combine a southern segment of the California cycle with the cotton and vegetable work of Arizona and Texas or combine a route through Northern and Central California with journeys to the orchards of the Pacific Northwest.[70]

Southwest

The relationship of California to other States as a center for the work of seasonal migrants is suggested by plate 5. This map, reproduced from a recent study by the Works Progress Administration, shows the actual routes in 1933 and 1934 of 100 migratory-casual workers in agriculture who were reached by the Federal Transient Program.[71] The dominance of California routes, as already described, is clearly suggested. However, it is also clear that seasonal farm work for migrants is by no means confined to California. The nature of seasonal migration in other leading areas is therefore suggested briefly in the following portion of this chapter.

Seasonal fluctuations in the labor requirements for harvesting cotton, winter vegetables, and citrus fruit compel the use of seasonal labor in the Southwest. Like California, these are States of relatively sparse population, so that much of this agriculture must depend upon migratory labor rather than on pools of resident labor.

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[70] Cf. infra, pp. 159, 162, 164.

[71] John N. Webb, The Migratory-Casual Worker, Research Monograph VII, Division of Social Research and Statistics, Works Progress Administration 1937.

Texas has the largest numbers of these southwestern migrants, but since Texas, like California, is exceptionally extensive in size, most of the volume of seasonal migration remains intrastate. The principal interchange of labor within Texas is between the cotton areas of the lower Rio Grande, Corpus Christi, Austin, Waco, and Lubbock and the winter garden area of the upper Rio Grande around Crystal City. The harvesting of all Texas cotton requires perhaps 40,000 nonresident workers.[72] In the Coastal Bend area alone, 20,000 migrants are needed for cotton, and at least half of these go into the vegetable district for work during the winter.[73] Onions are there transplanted by hand in November and December, spinach is picked from December to February, and onions are harvested in April and May.[74] From May to July the routes are less distinct, but about July 1 these migrants begin picking cotton in the lower Rio Grande area. They follow the ripening cotton first northeastward along the Coastal Bend and then northwestward to the Lubbock Basin and the Texas Panhandle. Cotton-picking in this northern portion of Texas lasts until November when work for migrants has begun again in the winter vegetable district.

Several interstate routes also enter and leave Texas, depending largely on the harvest conditions of the particular year. Texas cotton pickers have often entered Oklahoma on their northward swing, but the recent droughts have reversed this flow.[75] In extremely good years the Texas cotton pickers have been recruited to help labor harvest bumper cotton crops to the east, as in 1925 when they went to the Mississippi Delta, and as in 1936 when they went to the Arkansas Delta.[76] These migrations to the old plantation country, when a share tenant is available for every 15 or 20 acres, are exceptional.[76] Also sporadic are the migrations of Texas cotton pickers to the strawberry fields of Arkansas and the similar movement of northern berry pickers to Texas cotton fields after the season in Arkansas.[77] Some migrants also probably combine seasonal work in Texas, Arizona, and California.[78] Finally, workers have been recruited in Texas for work on sugar beets in Colorado, Montana, Michigan, Minnesota, and Iowa in years when the beet harvests required more labor than was available locally. It is possible to combine the sugar-beet season from May to November with the winter vegetable season of Texas. In the past even the canneries of Alaska have drawn workers from Texas.[79]

Arizona and New Mexico use fewer migratory workers than Texas but a larger proportion of these are interstate migrants. The Arizona cotton area is expanding rapidly on newly irrigated land and this State now requires 18,000 men, women, and children for picking. At least two-thirds of these, or over 12,000 must be brought in annually from outside the State.[80] The interchange is largely with California and Texas. From New Mexico go 1,400 to 1,500 workers each spring, in family groups, to the beet fields of Colorado and Wyoming and as many or more families come to New Mexico from neighboring States to pick cotton and to pull broom corn.[81]

Throughout the Southwest, exclusive of California, the interstate movement of recent years has consisted more largely of removal migrants than of constant seasonal workers. From 1930 to 1934 this area was flooded with depression migrants from all sections of the country.[82] Since 1934 drought migrants have been pouring westward from Oklahoma, Kansas, and East

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[72] Information submitted by Dr. Taylor.

[73] U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936.

[74] Cf. Paul S. Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States; Dimmit County, Southern Texas, pp. 322–324.

[75] U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936.

[76] Information furnished by Dr. Paul S. Taylor, University of California.

[77] Arkansas Emergency Relief Administration, A Survey of Fruit and Berry Farms and Farmers and Transient Labor in the Berry Fields, August 14, 1934. Cf. Taylor, A Migratory Farm Labor in the United States. Op. cit., pp. 541–542.

[78] Cf. supra, p. 154.

[79] Taylor, loc. cit., p. 543, and statement submitted.

[80] Estimates of the Cotton Growers' Association reported by agents of the U. S. Children's Bureau, 1936.

[81] U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936.

[82] Cf. supra, p 49.

Texas.[83] Health seekers among various types of workers are also continually entering Arizona and New Mexico from all parts of the country.[84] These drought migrants and health migrants often merge with the constant seasonal migrants. Drought migrants seek work on the crops on their way to California and both drought and health migrants are forced to join the stream of seasonal migrants until they succeed in finding a source of income which will permit a stable residence.[85]

Pacific Northwest

The harvesting of apples, hops, berries, and wheat in Washington and Oregon require the services of migrant laborers. The season of intensive labor for each of these crops is confined to the harvesting period and even if taken together these four overlapping harvests would provide only about 4 months of employment each year. Hence the agriculture of the Pacific Northwest is dependent upon migrant labor and a large proportion of the resulting movement is interstate.

The Wheat Belt of southwestern Washington and northwestern Oregon is less dependent upon migrants than are the other crops because wheat harvesting has long been mechanized by the combine.[86] However, some hundreds of unattached men from Idaho as well as other parts of Washington still find employment between July and September in this Grain Belt.[87]

Berries, especially raspberries, are picked by migratory families in the Puget Sound area of Washington and in the Willamette Valley of Oregon. This season also extends from July to September. The number of migrants employed in the Willamette Valley is not known, but in the Puget Sound region 2.000 to 3,000 of the 10,000 raspberry workers must be obtained from outside the local area.[88] Some of these berry pickers find part of their year's employment in California.[89]

Hops are grown extensively in the Yakima and Pierce Counties of Washington and in the Willamette Valley of Oregon.[90] Hop-raising involves one of the shortest and most intense periods of labor in agriculture. A moderate amount of labor is required from May to July for pruning, twining, and training vines,[91] but the peak of the hop-picking season lasts for only 3 weeks and during this period 10 times as much labor is required as at any previous period.[92] Hence a very large proportion of the hop pickers must be migrants. In the Yakima Valley alone, it has been estimated that more than 20,000 nonresident hop pickers were required in 1935 during the first 2 weeks of September, and this estimate did not allow for the extra workers required on account of labor turn-over.[93] Hop picking thus required 4 times as many migrants as the total number of resident farm laborers in the Yakima Valley. To the 20,000 migrants required in this valley must be added the requirements of the other hop-raising districts, Pierce County, Wash., and the Willamette Valley of Oregon.

Apples are most important among the orchard crops of Oregon and Washington. They are raised especially in the Yakima and Wenatchee Valleys of Washington and the Hood River Valley of Oregon. All orchard crops have heavy labor requirements at the time of thinning and picking as compared with the labor needed for pruning and cultivating.[94] In the Yakima Valley, over half the total labor expended on apples in 1935 and about one-third of that used for peaches and pears was provided by workers from outside the county.[95] The harvest of peaches and pears begins toward the end of August while that of apples begins in September and reaches its peak in October. Some of the hop pickers can thus be used for apple picking, but this labor is not wholly transferable. Whole families are engaged in picking hops while the harvesting of orchard fruits is suitable only for adults.[96]

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[83] Cf. supra, pp. 101–103.

[84] Cf. ch. VIII.

[85] U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936–37.

[86] Cf. supra, pp. 109–110.

[87] Marion Hathway, The Migrant Family, 1934, pp. 16–18.

[88] U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936.

[89] Cf. supra, p. 154.

[90] Hathway, op. cit., pp. 18–19.

[91] Cf. Paul H. Landis and Melvin S. Brooks, Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Wash., Pullman, December 1936, p. 29, note c.

[92] Loc. cit., pp. 27–30.

[93] Loc. cit., p. 30. A need for 5,000 nonresident workers for other crops was also estimated by Landis and Brooks. Cf. Fig 13, p. 28.

[94] For apples, cf. loc. cit., p. 12.

[95] Loc. cit., p. 22.

The Yakima Valley required over 5,000 workers from outside the area for apple picking.[97] It has been estimated that apple picking also employs 10,000 migrants in the Wenatchee Valley, 3,500 migrants in other districts of Washington[98] and 1,200 migrants in the Hood River and Rogin River Valleys of Oregon.[99]

There are certainly 20,000 migrant agricultural workers in the Pacific Northwest and probably many more. At least 5,000 are believed to be constant interstate migrants while more than 6,000 of these laborers appear to have come into these two States recently, principally from drought areas. An investigation in Yakima County during the 1935–36 season showed the following locations of 252 transients a year before the various dates of interview:[1]

	Percent
State of Washington (outside county)	38.1
Drought States	23.0
Oregon and California	18.7
Yakima County (in and out during year)	10.7
Other States	9.5
Total	100.0

Eastern region

Comparatively little information is available regarding the migrations of seasonal farm workers in the eastern portion of the United States. Few recent studies have been made and budget limitations upon the preparation of this report have prevented the collection of adequate information. The existence of some considerable migration in the Mississippi Valley, especially around Memphis, is suggested by fragmentary materials, but detailed information is lacking. In the remainder of the East, Florida appears to be one of the few States which makes use of migrant farm labor on a scale comparable with that of the West. In general the farms of the East are of the one-family or plantation types, and neither of these kinds of organization require many migrants. Moreover, many of the farms are located close to population centers so that they can draw temporary workers who can maintain a stable residence. Thus, although the berries of southern New Jersey require nonresident workers, the closeness of these areas to population centers allows the berry growers to use Italians and other workers whose homes remain in Philadelphia and Camden as well as Negroes who are permanently located in Delaware.[2]

Nevertheless, it is certain that migratory workers who have no permanent residence are used in some degree in the East as in the West. In years of large crops, such as 1934, the Arkansas berry fields have drawn thousands of workers from Texas and Oklahoma, from the Michigan fruit districts, and from the wheat districts of the Great Plains. Some of these workers are professional migrants who cover very extensive interstate routes, but no very large numbers appear to travel any well-defined route.

Florida is developing very rapidly as a center for seasonal migrants who harvest the citrus, berry, fruit, and truck crops.[3] Florida agriculture is organized in large-scale units rather than upon the one-family pattern. It is based largely on the raising of citrus fruits which are chiefly packed from December through May, and on winter vegetables which are timed for harvesting during the same period so as to command the better prices of the winter markets. The lack of any comparable volume from May through October makes necessary the use of a larger proportion of interstate migrants than in California. Depression and the disintegration of cotton tenancy have made available increasing numbers of migrants[4] and advantage has been taken of the abundant supplies of labor to introduce the practice of picking specific grades of citrus fruits only after orders have been received. This practice increases the number of migrant workers required and decreases the work available for each one.

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[96] Hathway, op. cit., pp. 35–37 and U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936.
[97] Landis and Brooks, op. cit., p. 20.
[98] Hathway, op. cit., pp. 18–19.
[99] U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936.
[1] Landis and Brooks, op. cit., p. 32.
[2] Cf. Taylor, op. cit., p. 541, and Children's Bureau Studies. For eastern canneries, cf. infra, pp. 190–193.
[3] The following data are taken from Taylor, op. cit., from field reports of the U. S. Children's Bureau, 1936–37, and from the preliminary findings of a study of Florida migrants which is being prepared for publication by the U. S. Resettlement Administration.

The seasonal agricultural crops in Florida which attract migratory labor imported from other States by the growers include garden vegetables, sugarcane, and strawberries, as well as citrus fruits.[5]

In the vegetable and sugarcane area, south and east of Lake Okeechobee, the importing of thousands of Negro field hands by truck from Georgia, South Carolina, and other States appears to be an established practice. Local Negro labor is reported to be available. The reasons for importation under these conditions are variously stated. Local labor is alleged by some persons not to work as hard as the imported labor. Others allege that local labor objects to the wages paid and, in the case of sugarcane, to the health hazards of the work. Vegetable raising is also developing rapidly in the southwestern portion of the State. Collier County is reported to have doubled its population within the last 2 years as a result of organized migration arranged by the truck-farm owners.

The planting in the strawberry district in Hillsborough County (near Tampa) is done mostly by all-year-round employees but migratory workers begin coming in late in October to tend the plants, and the picking season, which begins in December, attracts many more workers. This particular group of workers includes many families. The schools in this area are operated on a special schedule and are closed during the busiest picking season. The strawberry pickers include workers from other parts of Florida, quite extensively from the farming section around Tallahassee, and some from other States, especially nearby Georgia and Alabama. Many of these families apply for assistance at the end of the season to get back to their former homes.

The citrus fruit areas of Florida are bound on the west coast and through a central belt running diagonally from just north of Fort Myers in the southwest to Orlando in the northeast. Observations by agents of the Children's Bureau in this area have been supplemented by special studies conducted at Haines City and Winter Haven by the Resettlement Administration.[6] More than one-third of the 476 workers interviewed by agents of the Resettlement Administration in this area proved to be migrants who had crossed the Florida border within the previous year.

Half of the interstate migrants interviewed had come from Georgia and Alabama. The more detailed interviews suggest that most of these were workers who alternated Florida employment with cotton cropping or with the harvesting of peaches. Most of these Georgia and Alabama migrants traveled in family or kinship groups and retained connections at home who arranged for their work at home during the slack season in Florida.

One-seventh of the interstate migrants came from Arkansas and Mississippi. These also consisted largely of family groups but they were farm laborers who traveled to and from Florida with all of their meager possessions and who had no fixed home.

One-fifth of these citrus workers were from distant regions, from Texas to Canada, the largest number being from Michigan. These were the professional "fruit tramps" of the East who traveled a wide circuit from Florida for the fruit and vegetable harvests of the eastern coast, Michigan, Louisiana, and Texas.

In the cities that are primarily resort centers (Miami, Miami Beach, Palm Beach, and Daytona, etc.) the industry and business is built up entirely around the vacation tourist trade.[7] The opening of many of the stores, hotels, and restaurants in the fall for the winter season creates seasonal employment in the field of service jobs and with the influx of vacationists there is also some increase in the work opportunities in almost every line.

In November 1936 the district manager of the Florida State Employment Service in Miami reported a steady enrollment of nonresident persons with a rapid increase becoming apparent at that time. Those coming to the employment-service office were reported to be most unskilled workmen. The managers of several private-employment agencies in Miami also reported that they were registering large numbers of applicants from out of the State. The manager of one particular agency, furnishing service for clerical, hotel, salesmen, and domestic help, stated that 85 percent of the applications were from persons coming from out of town and a large proportion of these were from outside of Florida.

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[4] Cf. supra, pp. 129–130.

[5] U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936. All subsequent data in this chapter, except as noted.

[6] Preliminary results from a forthcoming study on Florida Migratory Workers.

[7] U. S. Children's Bureau, field reports, 1936.

The seasonal opportunities for service jobs at the larger hotels in the resort centers are lessened for newcomers by the fact that many of the hotels carry their same staff from year to year. Some of them operate in the north in the summer time and transfer their employees back and forth.

The problems arising from the large influx of people to Florida are not confined to the group coming in search of work opportunities. Even among the tourists are many persons and families in the marginal economic group. Not infrequently their financial resources are not sufficient to carry them. In some cases unexpected illness or accident drains their small margin of funds so as to make them dependent on outside aid. They then must join the ranks of those seeking employment, and if unable to find such they become dependent upon community resources.

Florida also attracts people, seasonally and permanently, for health reasons. Among this group are often found those in the marginal economic class needing medical care for which they are not able to meet the expense.[8]

CHAPTER XI. SEASONAL MIGRATION IN INDUSTRY

Seasonal migration appears much less frequently among industrial workers than among agricultural workers. Climatic conditions do not cause such severe fluctuations in manufacturing activities as in agriculture. Even when industrial activity is seasonal, as in cases of response to consumer demands, the workers are less apt to migrate. Most industrial operations are performed in rather diversified urban communities or in areas adjacent to cities, and the urban worker has a better chance to find alternative employment in the slack season without moving. Moreover, the higher level of industrial wages and the greater availability of public relief in urban areas give industrial workers a better chance than farm workers to secure maintenance through the slack season.

Nevertheless, seasonal migration does occur among industrial workers, as can be seen from plate 6. This plate, reproduced from a recent study of the Works Progress Administration, is illustrative of the actual movements in 1933 and 1934 of 37 migratory-casual workers in industry who received aid under the Federal transient program. It is apparent from the map that some industrial workers range over a very wide territory in the effort to find work.[9]

Exact information as to the seasonal patterns of industrial migrants is exceedingly fragmentary. Such migration appears most noticeably in the extractive industries, such as lumber; in industries closely related to agriculture, such as canning; and in industries profoundly affected by weather conditions, such as construction and fresh-water shipping. Illustrations from these industries are briefly described on this report. Adequate field investigation was impossible, because no funds were appropriated for the preparation of this study. Other definite suggestions of migration by industrial workers which could not be investigated at all because of the lack of funds appear in the automobile, chemical, metal-mining, printing, and sugar-refining industries.

Lumber

The American system of lumbering typically involves the cutting of all salable logs from a given tract at one time, after which the same operation is repeated in another place. This shift of operations from one place to another usually prevents the establishment of permanent living quarters for the loggers.[10] Sawmills have more stable locations than logging camps, because logs can be shipped in from a wide area. But even the sawmills have to be abandoned and new sites selected when all local timber is exhausted so that cost of shipping this raw material becomes prohibitive.

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[8] Cf. ch. VIII.

[9] The map reproduced aims to present only part of the migration of industrial workers. Those industrial migrants who moved largely within a local region are treated in a separate map (fig. 4) in John N. Webb, The Migratory-Casual Worker, op. cit., fig. 2.

Both logging and sawmill operations are subject to seasonal fluctuations. Bad weather makes logging difficult and expensive, thus limiting the receipt of logs at the sawmill. The decline in construction during the winter also reduces the demand for timber at that time. The logging camps of the State of Washington furnished two and one-half times as many man-days of employment in April and May 1935 as in January of that year.[11] In the pine-logging area of Oregon employment fluctuations are still more extreme, ranging from 44 percent of the yearly average in February to 150 percent in September. The average number of men required in February 1931 to 1936 was three and one-half times as great as the average number required in September of these years.[12]

Sawmill operations are affected less by seasonal variations because logs may be stored in summer against the lack of receipts in winter and finished lumber may be stored in winter against the seasonal upturn in demand. Yet storage is costly and a considerable fluctuation in sawmill employment remains, at best. The sawmills in western Oregon, which showed the least variation of any branch of lumbering in that State, still averaged 126 employees in July for every 100 men employed in January, during 1931–36.[13] Washington sawmills also have a well-defined slack season from December through February.[14]

Migration appears to be avoided by the lumber worker of the southeastern United States, in spite of the problems of shifting sites and seasonal operations. Stable residences are possible in this region because the Appalachian forests are located close to populous agricultural districts. The workers can dovetail agricultural and lumbering employment without losing a permanent residence. Local farmers, croppers, and laborers in the Southeast make the use of migrants unnecessary. By contrast, the forests of the Northwest are usually located away from other employments. A logger in the Pacific Northwest can rarely have both a stable residence and stable employment.[15]

Working and living conditions in logging camps tend to make the lumberjack a migrant, quite apart from fluctuations in the demand for his services. The work of timber cutting is extremely taxing, especially on the Pacific coast. The lumber camp is generally far from town and has usually been inhabited by unmarried men entirely. To escape this combination of heavy work and abnormal social relations, the men constantly quit camp to spend their money in town.[16] Accordingly, labor turn-over in lumbering has been high on the Pacific coast. Even the more stable sawmills have shown average annual turn-over rates of more than 200 percent in Oregon,[17] and in Washington.[18]

The traditional migrant who combined logging with wheat harvesting disappeared during the decade 1920–30, when the combine-harvester eliminated the peak demand for harvesting labor.[19] Some lumber workers now travel in trucks from permanent homes in the towns to the sawmills and logging sites. Permanent logging camps have been established by some companies and seasonal fluctuation in logging operations have been somewhat reduced. Married men have replaced some of the traditional unattached lumberjacks.[20] In view of these changes, the number of interstate migrants in lumbering cannot be accurately estimated without further investigation.

Lumbering remains a seasonal industry in spite of recent changes. In the exceptionally stable year 1936, 25 percent more man-days of employment were provided by Washington logging operations in May 1936 than in January.[21] Between 125,000 and 150,000 workers, in logging and sawmills together, are probably still migratory,[22] but how many move outside any one State cannot be reported without further investigation. Considerable numbers of lumber workers probably go to the towns and remain idle during slack seasons.[23] For these, the elimination of wheat harvesting has simply meant longer periods of idleness in place of interstate migration. The question as to what substitutes for wheat harvesting may have developed as a means of securing year-around subsistence is one which merits further inquiry.

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[10] Peter A. Stone, Economic Problems of the Lumber and Timber Products Industry, National Recovery Administration, Division of Review, Industry Study Section, p. 115–119.

[11] William S. Hopkins, Seasonal Unemployment in the State of Washington, report to the committee on social security, Social Science Research Council, September 1936, p. 69.

[12] Seasonal Employment and Unemployment Compensation in Oregon, report to the committee on social security, Social Science Research Council, September 15, 1936, p. 113.

[13] Loc. cit.

[14] Hopkins, op. cit.

[15] Cf. Peter A. Stone, loc. cit.

[16] Four L Bulletin, April 1922, p. 123; William H. Gibbons, Logging in the Douglas Fir Region, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bul. 711, 1918, pp. 11–15.

[17] Cf. Cloice B. Howd, Industrial Relations in the West Coast Lumber Industry, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bul. 349.

[18] Cf. Four L Bulletin, April 1922, p. 35.

[19] Cf. supra.

[20] Interviews of Philip Taft, investigator, with various forestry and lumber experts.

[21] Hopkins, op. cit., p. 69.

Construction

The construction industry is highly seasonal in all northern regions of the country because of the cold weather and in the southern regions because of the rainfall.[24] It is also highly sensitive to business fluctuations because of the unwillingness or inability of private interests to make large future commitments in times of depression. These factors make construction work highly unstable and frequently lead to unemployment rates of 40 to 50 percent even among highly skilled craftsmen such as carpenters, masons, and structural-iron workers.[25] Construction work is performed at the various sites where the product is to be used, and the locality which needs many workers one day may need none at all the next when the particular project is finished. Within large urban communities, the successive sites may all be within reach of the worker's home, but many of the largest projects are in isolated places which cannot support large numbers of workers permanently.

Because of these conditions, migration is common among the workers in some branches of the construction industry. Certain peculiarities of the migration problem within this industry will be described, but the situation can be outlined only in very general terms because of the lack of recent direct inquiry. The general impression given by the experts interviewed is that the migration of construction workers largely ceased during the depression. However, the construction industry itself was at low ebb and the former construction workers may have migrated in search of work as much as ever. With the present revival of construction activity the industry may require larger numbers of these mobile workers.

Bridge and dam construction

Structural-iron workers are known to be one of the most highly mobile groups of workers in the United States. Except in the erecting of urban buildings, practically all of them migrate. Bridges, dams, and flood-control projects are constructed in isolated places. Many skilled and unskilled workers from these congregate between jobs in a few important centers—Omaha, Kansas City, Chicago, St. Louis, New York—and are recruited there by the contractors. Others of these, as well as unskilled and random labor, stay at the site of their last job or migrate at random between jobs, flocking to definite sites when word of new projects goes around. Dredging, salvaging, and levee work, both private and public projects, also take men continuously along the coasts and up and down the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers.

Road construction is especially affected by weather conditions. Winter construction is difficult and expensive in the North but the winter season is satisfactory for road building in the South. The average season of road construction is believed to be approximately 6 months in the North and 8 months in the South. Very scant amounts of employment are furnished during other months. A worker is considered fortunate if he obtains 125 days of actual work a year in the North or 125 days in the South. The resulting migration of road-construction workers is illustrated by plate 7. This map, reproduced from Works Progress Administration, is illustrative of the actual routes in 1933–34 of 43 migratory-casual workers who received aid from the Federal Transient Service.[26] The movements shown are concentrated in the sparsely populated areas of the West. The trend of the routes between North and South is quite noticeable. The map also suggests that many of these workers alternated work in road construction with work of other types.

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[22] Consensus of opinion among forestry and lumber experts interviewed by Philip Taft. Note that the combined industry employed 539,772 workers in 1929, of which 162,000 were woodsmen and timbermen. (National Recovery Administration, Division of Review, Evidence Study No. 22, July 1935, p. 12.) The experts estimate that at least 75 percent of the latter class are still migrants.

[23] Cf. Marion Hathway, op. cit., p. 12.

[24] The assistance of various Government officials, trade-union officers, and contractors in the preparation of this material on the construction industry is gratefully acknowledged.

[25] National Recovery Administration, Division of Review, The Construction Industry, Evidence Study No. 7, June 1935.

[26] John N. Webb, The Migratory-Casual Worker, op. cit.

Expert opinion appears to be agreed that most road construction in recent years has been carried on with local rather than migratory labor, in spite of the high degree of seasonal fluctuation in this work. Improved transportation, together with technical changes and the recent depression have cut deeply into the ranks of the construction migrants. By automobile, a permanently settled worker can reach the construction project quickly. At the same time the use of power-driven trucks, steam shovels, scrapers, and graders has reduced the labor requirements for any given job of construction. The depression curtailed private-construction projects, and also fostered the attitude that local workers should be given preference over outsiders. This policy of using local labor as far as possible operated especially on the publicly financed construction projects which have been used to balance the lack of private construction. Such local labor has been abundant in most areas during recent years. Thus the workers on public-road-building projects have consisted mainly of farm persons recruited through the public-employment offices connected with the United States Employment Service. According to one opinion, road-construction workers were primarily local residents, even before the depression, because both Federal and State projects were planned from State line to State line. How many of these persons with local addresses may have been squatters or former migratory workers is not known.

Private railway construction has been done largely by the maintenance crews of the railways during the last 15 years in contrast to the earlier period when gangs of single men lived in migrating construction camps. The decline in the volume of such work has made it possible to do a larger part of the work with men who have stable living quarters. Special depression work done with the assistance of public funds has used local labor. Thus the electrification of the Pennsylvania Railroad line from New York to Washington on a Public Works Administration loan employed 13,554 residents of 6 States at various times. If work of this size had been done with private funds according to predepression methods, the entire pay roll might have been recruited from workers available in the vicinity of the railway shops who would have migrated along the line. The present increase of railway-construction work with the revival of traffic and the smoothing of roadbeds for faster trains may increase the requirements for migratory labor. Already these are signs of a revival of the shipment of men for railway work by private agencies in Chicago and Sacramento. Specialized railroad personnel such as electrical signal men continue to migrate, as in the past.

The erection of buildings is still characterized by strong seasonal fluctuations. The maximum number of building permits are issued in March or April. The work usually starts within a month after the permit is issued and is often timed for completion by the October moving day. There is very little specific data on the amount of migration which takes place in response to these fluctuations. Migration between jobs is reported to be customary among one-third of the 100,000 workers who are members of the 1,000 locals of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers International Union. This report is especially suggestive because it appears from other sources that trade-union members migrate less than do those outside the unions. Union-shop contractors recruit the principal part of their workers through the local unions, frequently with permission to bring in a certain percentage of workers from outside. The superintendents and foremen of open-shop contractors have migratory gangs of skilled and semiskilled workers following them from job to job. Common labor is sometimes picked up locally, but occasionally it also follows the superintendent from one locality to another. The superintendent of a new open-shop enterprise often sends foremen ahead to pick up workers, by advertising. Numerous contractors recruit at the site of the project by merely hanging out a notice of work at the site of construction.

New modes of building and living create new jobs for skilled workers in building construction. Only a few firms in the country are equipped to deal with compressed-air foundation work. Therefore, the sand hogs or compressed-air workers migrate habitually. Installation, inspection, and service men of air-conditioning and heat-regulation companies migrate for the same reason. The air-conditioning of one Federal building in Washington, D. C., for example, required 200 skilled workmen to be brought in from a distance. As the use of these new devices extends to a greater number of areas, local supplies of these specialized workers may be built up so that the need for this particular type of migrant may decrease.

The larger private contractors in all branches of the construction industry arrange to route a group of keymen from one project to another in widely separated sections of the country.[27] These highly skilled workers comprise less than 10 percent of the total numbers employed at all construction sites. The position of the keymen is rather unusual among migrant workers because they are assured of employment before they move. Each keyman is permanently attached to one of the large contracting concerns and he is thus usually able to secure employment for 8 or 9 months each year. Although migration from job to job is the normal procedure for these workers, most of them are able to maintain homes in a fixed location. They are away from home from one-third to one-half of the year.

The construction industry as a whole presents a striking example of the present lack of knowledge as to migration of labor. Many of the conditions on construction are those which usually attend migration and a high degree of mobility has characterized the workers in this industry in the past. No reliable data as to labor turn-over in the industry are available, however. Many challenging questions are presented aside from the questions of the absolute number of migrants. We do not know to what extent agricultural workers are able to supplement their income with work in construction. The existence of any habitual dovetailing appears to be unlikely. A seasoned construction worker, skilled or unskilled, is believed to confine himself to construction, but comprehensive data are lacking. In between construction jobs, the permanently attached construction worker must either wait around for new work nearby and thus suffer large amounts of lost time, or migrate to the sites of new construction projects elsewhere. Further investigation may throw light upon such questions and likewise may disclose the relationship between the alleged shortage of skilled construction labor and the current tendency to make private employment opportunities as well as relief dependent upon local residence status.

Canning

The canning of fruits, vegetables, and fish partakes of the same high degree of seasonality as does the harvesting of such products.[28] These perishable products are obtained only during a few months of the year and they must be cleared within a short space of time whether prepared for immediate market or preserved by canning. Many fruit and vegetable canneries shut down entirely after the local crop has been handled and the average working force in the slack season is perhaps no more than 10 percent of the peak-season numbers.[29] Salmon fishing along the Columbia River lasts for only about 2 months in midsummer.[30] In spite of longer seasons for other products and some dovetailing of seasons, the combined labor requirements of fruit, vegetable, and fish canneries in the State of Washington during the 4-year period, 1929–32, averaged 6½ times as many man-days in October as in March.[31]

Some of the larger canneries maintain stable employment for 8 or 9 months by working during slack seasons on nonperishable products or products which can be preserved in a partially prepared state, such as spaghetti, hominy, pickles, or pork and beans. The great majority, however, handle only one or two perishable products and operate at capacity for only a few weeks in the year.[32]

The labor requirements of many canneries are met by drawing on the local farming population, especially the wives and daughters of farm workers. The proximity of canneries to farms or to fishing towns makes such a labor force peculiarly available. In this case canning operations are dovetailed with household, farming, or fishing tasks. However, migratory workers also are used in canneries, because the extreme needs of the peak season cannot always be met from the local reservoir of labor. Also migratory workers are sometimes used, as in fish canneries of the Gulf States, because they are less independent and therefore more surely available to the company than local labor.[33]

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[27] In outside construction the keymen are composed of survey, supervising research and design engineers; inspectors and a few skilled construction workers. Inside construction uses installation and service men as keymen in addition to the above list.

[28] For fruit and vegetable canning, compare Ellen N. Matthews, Children in the Fruit and Vegetable Canneries, U. S. Children's Bureau, Publication No. 198, 1930.

For fish canning, compare Viola I. Paradise, Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in Oyster and Shrimp Canning Communities on the Gulf Coast, U. S. Children's Bureau, Publication No. 98, 1932.

[29] Matthews, op. cit., pp. 51–56.

[30] William S. Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 123–124.

[31] Hopkins, op. cit., p. 79.

[32] Matthews, op. cit., pp. 5, 179.

Closely akin to canneries are the packing sheds where fresh fruits and vegetables are prepared for shipment.[34] The packers, unlike most of the cannery workers, are very skilled workers. Hence they tend to be even more mobile than the field hands who work on the same crops. By following a single crop the packers are able to make the most of their specialized skill. The lettuce packers of the Pacific coast follow the crop between the Salinas Valley of the central coast region, the Imperial Valley of Southern California, and the Salt River Valley of Arizona. Melon packers move from the Imperial Valley to the Salt River Valley, north to Turlock, Calif., and west to the Arkansas Valley of Colorado. Some of these melon packers also go north to pack apples in Oregon and Washington instead of going west to Colorado. There is also an interchange of fruit and vegetable packers between Florida and the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Hazelhurst, Miss., and the winter garden area of Texas.

No comprehensive estimate can be made at this time as to the number of migrants engaged in canning or their relative importance in this very widely distributed industry. The following examples are intended simply as suggestive citations of a few authentic cases.

Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.—The practice of importing labor for the brief canning season appears to be well-established in the eastern States, although no recent studies are available. According to a study in 1925, these migrant workers usually consist of entire families, since much of the work in canneries is adapted to the use of women and children.[35] Both white and Negro families are used and both are generally recruited by a subcontractor or "row boss" of their own race.[36] The "row boss" is in charge of the labor camp where the migrant families live during the season and he supervises their work in the cannery itself. The cannery usually agrees to provide housing for the imported workers and to supply them water, fuel, and lumber for the construction of rudimentary furniture. The workers provide their own food, bedding, and cooking utensils.

In Delaware the white migrants are mainly Polish families from Baltimore and Italians from Philadelphia while the Negroes come from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, the vicinity of Norfolk, from Michigan, and from Baltimore and Philadelphia. The employment of young children was found to be common in 1925–26 and the children of migrant families lost several weeks of school as a result of this employment.

In Maryland, habitual migrants with no permanent homes were found as well as Negroes from Virginia and families of both races from other parts of Maryland. Some of the Negroes pick apples in Delaware before entering the canneries. Twenty-one percent of the workers studied were migratory, but only the Negro group were interstate migrants.[37] The children of both local and migratory families were employed. Ten percent of the 15,640 workers studied in 1925 were children under 16 years of age. Space in the labor camps was usually allotted by the cannery without regard to the number in the migrant family to be housed.[38]

Mississippi and Gulf States.—Oyster and shrimp canneries of Mississippi and the Gulf States are believed to employ from 3,000 to 3,500 migrants from the large eastern cities in normal years. Slavic families are preferred. These migrants were housed in 1921 in company camps constructed with a partition between each two families. Migrants were desired in preference to local help because their residence in these labor camps insured their availability to the companies.[39]

Pacific coast.—Many of the numerous canneries of the Pacific coast require migratory labor for canning just as the growers require such labor for the harvesting of fruits and vegetables.[40] However, no exact data concerning these workers are available. The fruit and vegetable canneries of Washington are known to hire migrants as well as local women and students[41] between school terms. Thousands of men leave the States of Washington, Oregon, and California each year to work for 2 to 5 months in the Alaska salmon canneries. Many of these men appear to dovetail this work in Alaska with employment in the fish-canning industry of Washington, as well as with agricultural work. Pacific fish-canning is the exception to the general rule that women are largely employed in canning plants. Salmon canning is also dovetailed with agricultural field work by many men, including about 2,500 Filipinos, 800 Japanese, and 250 Chinese among those employed by the Northwest Salmon Canners Association.[42]

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[33] Paradise, loc. cit.

[34] Information supplied by Dr. Paul S. Taylor, University of California. Compare sections on farm workers in the same States, ch. X.

[35] Matthews, op. cit., pp. 9–11.

[36] Ibid., p. 33.

[37] Ibid., pp. 95–97, 132.

[38] Ibid., pp. 93–98, 125–127.

[39] Paradise, op. cit., pp. 69–74.

[40] Information supplied by Dr. Paul S. Taylor.

[41] Hopkins, op. cit., p. 78 (?).

Shipping on the Great Lakes.

The labor requirements of all transportation agencies are subject to irregular fluctuations because of the variations in the volume of shipments and travel which they handle. Shipping on the Great Lakes is subject also to seasonal fluctuations, because the fresh-water ports along the Lakes are frozen during several of the winter months of each year. The Great Lakes steamers are thus unable to operate during the winter season, no matter what traffic may be available.

Seamen on the vessels of the Great Lakes have adapted themselves to the fact that the work is seasonal. Those who have the most secure stake in the trade, including the licensed officers[43] remain close to port and always on call. They are known to the carriers as "all-season employees," and are doubtless given preference in assignment to any work which is available. However, the carriers recognize that they require large additions to this stable working force, during the busy season of all years except those of severely reduced activity. Thus a second class of seamen is clearly recognized, the "seasonal men" who seek employment on the Lakes only during the busy season.

Many of these "seasonal men" have been accustomed to move from the Great Lakes to other sections of the country during slack periods only to return to such lake ports as Buffalo, Conneaut, Sandusky, and Lorrain at the beginning of the new season.[44] In view of the roving tradition of seamen, it seems probable that this seasonal migration continues today. The migrant seaman was recognized as a problem less than 2 years ago by the Lake Carriers' Association when that organization announced that its welfare plan was to be operated so as to replace the migrant by a more stable type of worker.[45] Further inquiry should reveal what progress may have been made toward stabilizing earnings in this highly seasonal and casual trade and what working patterns are typical of those seamen who continue to migrate.

CHAPTER XII. EMPLOYMENT AND INSECURITY OF MIGRANTS

The migration of workers, although necessary to our economy, is largely unguided. Often it is ill-directed. Lack of coordination in the labor market accentuates the underlying difficulty facing all migrants in their attempts to secure continuous employment. Existing social-security legislation fails to protect the interstate migrant, whose economic insecurity is even more acute than that of the resident worker. This chapter describes the methods used to recruit migrant workers, the irregularity of their employment and their present status under the unemployment compensation acts.

Recruitment

The assurance of a definite job before migration is of great importance to the migratory worker. Otherwise he will often be forced to wait for a long period after his journey to find a job or perhaps will find no work at all. Yet efficient methods of guiding migrants to actual jobs are largely lacking. Chance, rumor, posters, letters, advertisements, labor agents, fee-charging employment agencies, as well as public employment agencies, all play their various parts in influencing the flow of human migration, for good or ill.

Some employers have developed systematic methods of recruiting particular workers from a distance. Occasionally the worker migrates from place to place under a continuous contract, as do the keymen of large construction companies.[46] Seasonal workers sometimes return each year to the same employer and determine in advance, by letter, whether work will be available at a particular time. Workers who migrate for permanent relocation are sometimes advised by letters from friends in the new communities that specific jobs are available. Other agencies for assuring or purporting to assure a job before the worker migrates are company labor agents, labor contractors, private and public employment offices.

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[42] Ibid., pp. 75–77.

[43] H. E. Hoagland, Wage Bargaining on the Vessels of the Great Lakes, University of Illinois, 1917, pp. 95–97.

[44] Hoagland, loc. cit.

[45] Annual Report of the Lake Carriers' Association, 1935, pp. 21–23.

The western beet sugar refining companies have developed one of the most highly organized systems for recruiting migrants through labor agents. This service is performed by the refining companies for the beet growers. After advertising and distributing leaflets, the company agents go directly to the labor markets of the Midwest and Southwest to make definite arrangements for families to tend the beets. Families are then shipped, with transportation and food provided by the company, from as far as Los Angeles and El Paso to Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. The number of workers who are induced to migrate are nicely adjusted from year to year to the extremely variable labor requirements of the current beet crop. But the cost to the companies of such advance solicitation has been high. In 1920 it averaged $28 per worker.[47] Hence the companies have had a natural interest in encouraging permanent settlement in place of migration.[48] As a result the numbers of workers shipped by one large company fell from 12,043 in 1924 to 1,350 in 1933, although plantings were greater in the latter year. Meanwhile the number of Mexican families remaining in one area, that of northeastern Colorado, increased from 1,484 to 2,152 (table 17).[49]

TABLE 17.—*Comparison of sugar-beet acreage planted and number beet workers shipped by Great Western Sugar Co., with number Mexican beet-sugar families remaining in northeastern Colorado over the winter, 1921 to 1936* [1]

Year	Great Western Sugar Co.[2]		Number of Mexican beet families [4] remaining	Year	Great Western Sugar Co.[2]		Number of Mexican beet families [4] remaining
	Thousands of acres planted	Workers [3] shipped			Thousands of acres planted	Workers [3] shipped	
1921	246	6, 703	537	1929	318	12, 218	2, 429
1922	189	4, 619	771	1930	300	7, 560	2, 332
1923	216	8, 632	1, 006	1931	292	1, 328	2, 376
1924	271	12, 043	1, 484	1932	237	150	2, 146
1925	207	2, 254	1, 397	1933	293	1, 350	2, 152
1926	291	14, 538	1, 818	1934	272	1, 425	(5)
1927	296	10. 576	2, 084	1935	181	300	(5)
1928	266	5, 230	1, 591	1936	257	5, 800	(5)

[1] Adapted from Paul S. Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States, II, 1929, pp. 133, 139, and supplementary information furnished by C. V. Maddux, Great Western Sugar Co.

[2] Data relate to territory in Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Montana.

[3] Equivalent full fares paid, 2 children to 1 adult.

[4] Includes the following districts: Eaton, Greeley, Windsor, Fort Collins, Loveland, Longmont, Fort Lupton (1925–33), Sterling, Ovid, Brush, and Fort Morgan.

[5] Data not available.

Independent labor contractors and private employment agencies also offer to meet the migrant's pressing need for advance knowledge of where a job may be found. The labor contractor who moves from place to place with gangs of workers is fairly common in California, especially among Mexican and Filipino workers. Although he collects fees from workers, whose earnings are ill-suited to stand the charges, there is often a strong suggestion that he operates in the interests of the employers rather than of the migrants.[50] The fee-charging employment agency also engages in referring jobs to workers across State lines. A large business was formerly done in shipping railroad construction gangs to distant points from such labor markets as Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, and Sacramento. This business, which disappeared during the depression, now appears to be reviving.[51] So flagrant are the abuses of some of these agencies that it is questionable whether they provide any net service to migrants and to society in distributing labor intelligently. The primary interest of the private agency is to collect a fee. After paying the fee and perhaps his transportation as well, the worker is frequently alleged to find that the job has been misrepresented or previously filled or that it never existed.[52] Systems of fee-splitting with employers have also been known, whereby both agency and foreman have an interest in hiring and discharging as many workers as possible.[53]

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[46] Cf. supra.

[47] Cf. Paul S. Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States, The Valley of the South Platte, Colorado, University of California Press, 1929, pp. 129–135.

[48] The lack of work in the areas to which the migrants formerly went between the beet seasons, and the availability of local relief in certain years, were, doubtless, other factors which encouraged settlement.

[49] Cf. supra, pp. 142–143.

An earlier example of direct recruiting by employer was furnished by the case of the Mississippi and Gulf coast fish canneries. These canneries formerly sent labor agents to New York City and Baltimore and paid the fares of the workers hired. Return fares were paid only when the workers stayed through the canning season. (Viola Paradise, U. S. Children's Bureau, Bulletin No. 98, 1922, pp. 69–74.)

No recent investigation has been made as to the extent of these abuses of private agencies but specific instances are continually cited. Recent reports have been received, however, that gangs of Negro men and women have been driven in trucks from Georgia to Florida at a cost to the workers of $5 to $7 apiece. The truck driver in one instance admitted that he had made no specific arrangements to secure work for these men and the penniless and helpless Negroes were therefore held in the local jail until they could be dumped back across the State border.[54]

The present network of public employment offices, cooperating with the United States Employment Service, has begun to provide some systematic service to migrants. The Farm Placement Service, in particular, is developing the important and difficult work of balancing labor supplies with the fluctuating demands for labor in particular areas.[55] Most of these placements are informal; that is, they involve no registration of workers but rather the attempt to advise migratory workers on the highways and at the offices as to where work is or is not available. In some areas these methods appear to be effective. The Texas State Employment Service is reported to have made considerable headway in stabilizing agriculture labor during the past year.[56] The more formal and systematic assignment of a worker in one area to a specific job in another area is very undeveloped. Such interoffice placements constitute about 5 percent of all placements, and the major portion of these are within the separate States, rather than across State lines. Most of such interoffice placements face the opposition of each local community which fears that the imported workers may later become charges upon local relief funds. Consequently, the vast majority of placements of migrants occur after the worker has moved to the new area rather than before. Nonresidents who register at public employment offices appear generally to be assigned to private openings without prejudice.[57]

These systematic attempts to advise the migrant where he may find work, whether managed by employers, private agents, or public employment offices, appear to be exceptional. In general, the migrant appears to find work much as do resident workers, mainly by searching from one possible employer to another. A suggestive illustration of the methods used to find work has been furnished recently by the results of interviews with 468 farm laborers in the Yakima Valley, Washington. Four-fifths of the jobs secured by both residents and migrants were secured by asking at the place of employment and only 2 percent of the jobs were located through public or private agencies. Only one-seventh of the jobs appear to have been arranged in advance through the agency of the employer himself or through a previous employer, (table 18).[58]

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[50] Information from Paul S. Taylor and U. S. Children's Bureau, Field Reports, 1936–37. No systematic investigation of the practices of these contractors has been made recently.

[51] U. S. Children's Bureau, Field Reports, 1936–37. In 1936 families were also shipped by private employment agencies in Chicago to the Michigan beet fields, for the first time in several years.

[52] Letter of John B. Andrews, American Association for Labor Legislation.

[53] Cf. J. R. Commons and J. B. Andrews, Principles of Labor Legislation, 1936, p. 7; S. M. Harrison, Public Employment Agencies, 1929, p. 87.

[54] U. S. Children's Bureau, Field Reports, 1936.

[55] For an early description of methods of obtaining the required number of persons for seasonal work, without providing excessive supplies, see W. G. Ashton, Plan for Gathering and Distributing Harvest Hands in the Grain States, 1916, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 192, pp. 88, 91, 93.

[56] U. S. Children's Bureau, Field Reports, 1936.

[57] A sample tabulation has revealed that recent migrants to Chicago were actually placed more frequently, age-for-age, than the earlier migrants (cf. supra, table 5). Further tabulations by the Bureau of Labor Statistics will reveal whether this contrast also exists as between migrants and the purely local residents, and whether it exists in other communities (cf. supra, pp. 6–7).

TABLE 18.—*Percentage of all jobs located by specified methods in annual periods, 1934–36, by 252 migrant and 216 resident farm laborers interviewed in the Yakima Valley, Wash.*[1]

Method of locating job	Percent of 1,220 jobs by migrants	Percent of 1,006 jobs by residents
Worker asked at place of employment	79.3	79.7
Employer asked personally	14.1	15.4
Previous employer referred	.9	.9
Employment agencies:		
Public	1.8	1.5
Private	.2	----------
Other methods	2.5	----------
Method not available	1.2	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0

[1] Adapted from Paul H. Landis and Melvin S. Brooks, Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Wash., Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Series in Farm Labor, Bulletin No. 343, Pullman, Wash., December 1936, p. 45.

The pressure of excess numbers of migrants, seeking jobs wherever they may be fortunate enough to find them, is usually sufficient to provide adequate supplies of labor to areas of seasonal or of growing labor demand. Thus the heavy harvests during the past year in the Pacific Northwest which threatened to cause a labor shortage were adequately handled by migrants from the drought States. Although no provision appeared to be available for the support of these excellent workers, seeking new homes after the apple crop had been harvested.[59]

Where labor supplies are expected to be inadequate, employers resort to signposts, newspaper advertisements, and radio broadcasting. Plate 19 shows an example of such a signboard in California together with an even more informal attempt to guide bean pickers in Florida. Alluring advertisements, such as the following for cotton pickers in Arizona, appeared as far east as Kansas and Missouri during the past year:[60]

> Cotton pickers—Several thousand wanted. Cotton opening fast near Phoenix, Buckeye, Coolidge, Arizona. Big crop, heavy picking. Good prices. Come early for 4 or 5 months' work. Farm Labor Service, 28 West Jefferson, Phoenix.

In response to these appeals, many drought-stricken farmers, tenant farmers, and sharecroppers "pulled up stakes" and started west, some stopping for work in the cotton fields of Texas or New Mexico and many continuing later to California. The adult migrants who responded to these appeals generally earned from $2 to $2.50 per day during the season in Arizona. Radio broadcasting also has been used in California and Oregon during the past year to attract workers to the Oregon hop fields.

The difficulty with signposts, advertisements, and broadcasting, as with "grapevine news," is that pure chance determines whether there will be a balance between the number of migrants arriving for work and the number of workers who are needed. If the results are below expectations the crop spoils before it is harvested or it remains unharvested until after prices have declined. If the response is excessive, workers who are in dire need of income are left stranded and unemployed. The latter condition is more favorable to the immediate interests of the local employers. However, as social-minded citizens and as taxpayers, employers have sometimes acknowledged their responsibility to dissuade excess numbers of workers from migrating to areas where no work was available. Florida canning plants sent out word in 1935 and 1936 that the work was not sufficient to require outside labor. Michigan beet-sugar producers have also recently used the public employment service to inform workers at a great distance that no outside labor would be needed to handle the crop.[61]

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[58] The authors accept the previous findings of Marion Hathway that employment agencies exert a considerable influence in guiding migrants into the valley but show that they have little influence in assigning the worker to a specific job (Landis and Brooks, op. cit., p. 45, note). This view conforms with the statement given above (p. 202) that most of the farm placement work has been of the informal type.

[59] U. S. Children's Bureau, Field Reports, 1936.

[60] U. S. Children's Bureau, Field Reports, 1936–37.

Irregular employment

No recent study has compared the regularity of employment of migrants who settle in new communities with the employment records of stable residents. Budget limitations have prevented any new investigation of this subject by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Indirect evidence that these removal migrants face a greater risk of unemployment than do the residents is furnished by a study of southern whites who migranted to Cincinnati.[62] While 11 percent of the employable residents studied were out of work in April 1935, 17.1 percent of the employable migrants were idle at that time. These and other data suggest that migrants are the first to be laid off whether in temporary slack seasons or in times of permanent dismissal.

Somewhat greater information is available as regards the employment experience of migrants who move constantly from job to job, although even for these workers the available information is fragmentary. The seasonal migrant probably faces a more serious problem than the removal migrant who settles, because the seasonal migrant must attempt continually to secure adequate annual earnings by piecing together short and irregular bits of employment in different places. Experienced migrants are said to develop great skill in discovering where jobs are likely to be available at different times and in knowing when it is advantageous to quit a job in one place so as to be ready for the beginning of a new season somewhere else. This habit of quitting before one season's work is finished is, of course, annoying to the individual employer. In defense, some employers have adopted the practice of withholding part of the worker's earnings, to be paid only if the worker stays until the end of the season.[63]

By constant traveling from place to place, the seasonal and casual migrant seems to be able to average approximately half-time employment. This broad conclusion is supported by 5 recent fragmentary studies of very different groups. The average (mean) working time of 2,500 berry pickers, studied in Arkansas in 1934, was found to have fallen from 199 days in 1929 to 150 days in 1933. Counting 280 days as a full year's employment, this signifies a decline from 71 to 53 percent of full-time work.[64] A similar employment record was revealed by 775 migratory agricultural workers, largely intrastate migrants, who were studied by the California Emergency Relief Administration.[65] Like the Arkansas berry pickers, these California relief cases secured work for an average of about two-thirds of the year in 1930, for 60 percent of the time in 1933, but for only 56 percent of 1934, and 53 percent of 1935.[66] Drought refugees who

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[61] U. S. Children's Bureau, Field Reports, 1936–37.

[62] By Grace G. Leybourne, cf. supra, p. 62.

[63] Carlton Parker noted that such practices were a cause of discord in the California hop fields in 1916 (The Casual Laborer), and agents of the U. S. Children's Bureau report a continued controversy on this issue in the Northwest in 1936.

[64] Unpublished study of the Arkansas Emergency Relief Administration, A Survey of * * * Transient Labor in the Berry Fields. August 14, 1936.

[65] Migratory Labor in California. 1936 (mimeographed), p. 119.

[66] Based on median number of months. The median and mean numbers of months were as follows:

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Median	8.0	7.8	7.3	7.3	6.7	6.4
Mean	7.5	7.3	7.1	7.1	6.5	5.9

have recently been forced to resort to a migratory life in the California region have faced an overwhelming difficulty in obtaining adequate amounts of employment. This is suggested by studies of migratory agricultural families conducted by the Resettlement Administration.[67] Employment was found by 144 white families for only one-third of the available time during the slack season, January to June 1935, and even during the busy season, July to December 1934, 119 white families were employed for little more than half the available time.[68] The large amount of unemployment of these migrants was especially serious in view of the fact that only one-third of them had received relief of any kind during the period studied. White families obtained much less employment than Mexican families, presumably because the Mexican migrants were persons who had worked in California agriculture much longer so that they understood better where and when to seek employment. Mexican families had precisely the same average working time during the busy season of 1934 but they secured half-time employment, as an average, during the first half of 1934, while the whites were unemployed for two-thirds of the time.[69]

Agricultural migrants recently studied in the Yakima Valley of Washington were obtaining slightly more than half-time employment, while the California group was employed for somewhat less than half of the available time. The heads of 178 migratory families who were interviewed from August 1935 through June 1936 had been employed for an average of 55 percent of the year before interview, while 74 single migrants had also found work for the same proportion of the previous year.[70] Migrant farm workers in the Yakima Valley had obtained much more regular employment than the comparable group of resident workers studied. This apparent contrast may have been due to the

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[67] Data furnished in advanced of publication by Edward J. Rowell, regional labor advisor, San Francisco. One-quarter of all white families studied had entered California from drought State for the first time in 1933 or 1934.

[68] Median employment computed from distributions furnished. Although some workers reported as much as 180 days of work in each half year, median employment was conservatively compared with a full-time period of 140 days during each 6 months:

	Median number of days	Percent of full time
July to December 1934	80	57
January to June 1935	47	34

[69] The break-down is as follows:

	Number of Mexican families	Median number of days	Percent of full time
July to December 1934	86	80	57
January to June 1935	82	71	51

[70] Paul H. Landis and Melvin S. Brooks, Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Washington. Agricultural Experiment Station, Bull. 343, Pullman, 1936, pp. 49–50:

	Median number of months	Percent of full time
Heads of families	6. 6	55
Single men	6. 7	56

fact that an unduly large proportion of the residents studied were relief cases.[71]

A somewhat different group of migratory workers, the casual workers who registered under the Federal transient program, also had employment experience in 1933 and 1934 similar to those just described. A recently published study of 500 of these migratory workers by the Works Progress Administration shows that they received an average of 24 weeks of work during their migratory periods in 1933 and 21 weeks of such employment in 1934.[72] The amount of work obtained during the so-called offseason is not reported. The actual work reported ranged from 51 to 58 percent of the migratory period and from 40 to 46 percent of the entire year. Since the work obtained during the offseason was probably small in amount, it seems safe to conclude that this group obtained during the depression an average of somewhat less than half-time work during the years 1933 and 1934. Workers in agriculture, industry, and a combination of agriculture and industry were included in the study. The industrial workers had a slightly more favorable employment experience than the agricultural or the "combination" workers.[73]

Low average periods of employment fail to reveal fully the distress of considerable numbers of individual migrants who fail to obtain the average amounts of work. Migration at present is largely a guessing game, with physical suffering in wait for the worker who guesses wrongly. When last winter's pea harvest in the Imperial Valley was destroyed by frost, several hundreds of migrant workers were faced with starvation. The county relief administration increased its load by 1,770 family cases in 1 month, although it had no legal responsibility for nonresidents. (See pl. 21.) Less than one-fourth of the available time was worked in 1935 by 18 percent of the California migrants who were studied by the Relief Commission. Even during the busy season of 1934, one-fifth of the white families studied by the Resettlement Administration were working less than half the time, and during the slack season of 1935 two-fifths of these families were attempting to support themselves on work which was secured for less than one-fourth of the season. Less than one-fourth of the year's employment was found by one-fifth of the heads of families, one-sixth of the single migrants who were studied in the Yakima Valley, and one-seventh of migratory-casuals studied by the Works Progress Administration also had secured less than one-fourth of a year's employment. While these studies are based on too few cases to allow exact conclusions, it is clear that a substantial proportion of all seasonal migrants fail to find enough work to give them any hope of adequate subsistence.

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[71] Landis and Brooks, op. cit., p. 56. Table 13 reveals:

	Median number of months	Percent of full time
166 heads of resident families	4.0	33
50 resident single men	5.3	44

[72] John N. Webb, The Migratory-Casual Worker, op. cit., median weeks of employment.

[73] The employment experience is as follows:

Type of migrant	Median number of weeks of work during migratory period	
	1933	1934
200 agricultural workers	23	22
100 industrial workers	26	24
200 combination workers	23	18

Unemployment compensation

The migrant worker is peculiarly the victim of haphazard recruiting practices and suffers especially from irregularity of employment. Hence the migrant needs the protection of unemployment compensation even more than most American workers. However, migrant workers have been largely excluded from benefits under the unemployment compensation laws recently enacted. All existing laws exclude seasonal workers from the usual unemployment benefits, whether they are migrants or not, either categorically during the so-called off season, or under clauses of the State social security acts which prohibit or restrict the payment of benefits to workers who have had less than certain specified earnings in the period before they file their claims. Furthermore, a large proportion of the constant migrants are farm workers and no existing unemployment compensation acts cover agricultural employment.

Workers who move for permanent settlement from one State to another will be covered by the unemployment compensation acts of the States where they have had employment if they have been employed in industry or trade either before or after migration. Eligibility for benefit during unemployment is obtained, however, from the individual State where work was performed[74] rather than from the Federal Government. Change of work place, whether the worker's residence changes or not, will place the worker under a new jurisdiction.

The problem which will arise under the unemployment compensation acts when a worker moves from one State to another is described in the following statement prepared by the Social Security Board. This statement includes certain suggestions for meeting the problem of granting unemployment compensation to workers who move across State lines. In this connection, it may be observed that the necessary and desirable mobility of workers of the kinds described earlier in this report may be discouraged if the crossing of a State line has the effect of making the worker ineligible for unemployment compensation which resident workers are eligible to receive. The Social Security Board analysis of the status of unemployment benefit rights for interstate migrants in covered employments is as follows:[75]

"Whatever definition of interstate employment is adopted, it is inevitable that many cases will arise where an interstate worker who has accumulated benefit rights in one State will become unemployed in another. In other cases, workers who perform service for two or more employers in two or more States may be entitled to benefits in several States. It is clearly disadvantageous to require an individual who is unemployed to use whatever reserves he may have to pay for transportation in order to collect his benefits. Moreover, it is essential to preserve the mobility of labor that individuals who have acquired benefit rights be able to obtain payment of their benefits wherever they may be. A worker may become unemployed in a community which is dying industrially and where it is evident that no further job opportunities will be open for him. In such situations it is important that the individual be free to move to new areas where there is an active demand for labor. Furthermore, the move should be made while benefits are still payable to give him a minimum on which to live while he is looking for work in the new community. The worker who loses his rights if he moves will refuse justifiably to move. After the rights are exhausted, he will be unable to move in most cases because of lack of funds. To meet these needs, all compensation should be payable wherever unemployment occurs or where the applicant has his residence. To this end, 38 laws now include an authorization[76] to the commission to enter into reciprocal agreements with other States for the payment of benefits, based on rights accumulated in the other States to the unemployed within the home State. Most of them require that the agreements should not result in a loss to the State fund.[77]

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[74] The work place is usually located in the same State as that in which the worker resides, but this is not always the case when urban areas such as those of New York City, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Omaha themselves extend across the State line. (Cf. supra.)

[75] The two footnoes to the text which follows were not prepared by the staff of the Social Security Board.

[76] Some statutes actually direct the Commission to enter into such agreements.

[77] Such a restriction may well be a serious bar to any reciprocal agreement.

"In making the agreement, certain problems will arise. These problems mainly turn on the coverage provided for in the agreements, on the standards to be applied, and on administrative and financial issues.

"The simplest approach to these problems consists in providing unemployment compensation exclusively to interstate workers who become fully eligible for benefit rights under the laws of one or each of several States. The officers of the 'paying' State where the claim to benefits is raised would act as agents of the 'transferring' State. Under such an agreement, however, the situation of those workers who have earned wage credits in several States to an extent which is insufficient to make them eligible for benefits would be ignored. If such cases are to be covered by an interstate unemployment compensation plan, it is obvious that, owing to the combination of rights acquired under various State plans a method must be devised for determining the standards according to which claims to benefits are to be adjusted; in addition some 'interstate' administrative machinery must be established and provisions made for raising the funds needed for financing the plan. Various methods could be devised for distributing the cost involved in such a scheme among the participating States. Eventually a plan of the first type—securing compensation to workers with fully acquired rights—might be combined with a plan of the second type in terms of which compensation would be granted to workers whose employment experience was accumulated in several States. However, it should not be overlooked that, apart from administrative difficulties, the problems to be solved by a comprehensive interstate plan are complicated by the fluctuating behavior of employment and the inadequacy of statistical material available for determining the volume of interstate migrants."

CHAPTER XIII. ANNUAL EARNINGS OF MIGRANT WORKERS

The problem of securing adequate annual earnings is central to all the social and economic needs of all workers. No group of workers faces this problem in a more acute form than the migrants. The hope of improving their annual earnings is the driving force behind most migrants, whether of workers who move to resettle or of those who move with the seasons. Yet the haphazard methods of recruiting and the irregular work periods described in the foregoing chapter, together with low rates of pay, have reduced the earnings of those migrants who have been studied to amounts which are utterly inadequate for decent existence.

The information now available as regards the actual annual earnings of migrants is very deficient. Indeed, there are peculiar difficulties in the way of securing valid and representative data of this type. The very fact that the worker has moved means that no single employer can report the complete earnings of any one individual. Again, wage rates by themselves reveal less as to the earnings of migrant than of resident workers. because the migrants are subject to such large and varying amounts of lost time. Adequate information can be secured only by many carefully conducted field studies reaching considerable numbers of each type of migrant in each of several areas. The absence of any appropriation of funds for the preparation of this report has made it impossible to undertake such necessary studies.

Such fragmentary data as are available suggest that migrants who succeed in settling in new communities generaly earn more than before they moved but less than resident workers in the communities to which they go. Examples of this double contrast in earnings may be found among the pre-war immigrants from abroad and among the post-war migrants from farm to city. Real wages were certainly higher in the United States than in southern Europe, from which the bulk of the pre-war immigrants moved, but after arrival these foreign-born workers were found to average from 15 to 30 percent less than native workers during the year 1909. (Table 19.) Similarly the sharp contrast in 1926 between average annual earnings estimated at $593 for farm labor and $1,095 for unskilled urban labor leaves no doubt that the migrants from farm to city usually earned much more after moving than before.[78] At the same time, there is a suggestion that these interstate urban immigrants have recently earned less than comparable resident urban workers. A recent study of southern white migrants to Cincinnati has shown that 43.3 percent of the male workers earned less than $1,000 during 1934 and that 51.8 percent of those who had come to the city after 1925 were earning less than $1,000 in 1934. A comparable group of natives of Cincinnati living in the same districts as the migrants showed earnings of less than $1,000 for only 35.8 percent of the male workers.[79]

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[78] Average annual earnings estimated by Paul H. Douglas (Real Wages in the United States, 1890–1926, 1930, table 147). Earnings of farm labor are estimated for "full-time" work of 20 days a month at prevailing monthly and daily wage rates without board (op. cit., pp. 185–187). Earnings for unskilled urban workers include a deduction for

TABLE 19.—*Relative annual earnings of immigrant workers, native workers, and all workers, 1909*

Type of worker	Number in sample	Average annual earnings
Males, 18 years and older: [1]		
Foreign-born	22, 938	$455
Native-born of foreign fathers	2, 659	566
Native-born of native fathers	3, 678	600
Native whites of native fathers	1, 454	666
Females, 18 years and older: [2]		
Foreign born	2, 386	284
Native born of foreign fathers	875	339
Native-born of native fathers	1, 223	344
Native whites of native fathers	388	385
Both sexes, all ages:		
Foreign-born [3]	25, 324	439
All manufacturing transportation and coal mining	(4)	516

[1] U. S. Immigration Commission, Report, 1911, Vol. I, pp. 407–9.
[2] Loc. cit., pp. 409–10.
[3] Loc. cit.
[4] Estimate, numbers of workers not available. Paul H. Douglas, Real Wages in the United States 1890-1926, 1930, p. 468.

Workers who have relocated in recent years may have earned less than they had earned before migration, but the alternative to migration for many of them was complete unemployment. None of the available studies furnishes a direct comparison of the earnings of recent migrants before and after migration, but certain relative changes in earnings can be inferred from changes in occupation shown in the recent studies of migrants who have registered at public employment offices. Tabulations are available at present only for Chicago.[80] Of the 1,134 migrants studied who moved to that city after 1922, 298 reported work in some production or service occupation before and after migration. Twelve percent of these moved into occupations of greater skill after migration and 22.2 percent moved downward into occupations of lesser skill and presumably of lower earnings.[81] It therefore seems clear that the migrants who found employment in Chicago earned less on their new jobs than on the jobs they had held before moving to Chicago. However, nearly half of these migrants moved after 1929. Since these were migrants of the depression, it is probable that the alternative to migration for many of them was complete unemployment at home.

Five studies of the annual earnings of seasonal workers in agriculture are available. Each of these studies covers wholly inadequate numbers and together they cover too few localities to be conclusive. Wide variations in average annual earnings are shown. Some suggestion of current earnings of seasonal migrants can be obtained, however, by classifying the workers who have been interviewed into two groups: (1) The upper group who probably earn more

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estimated unemployment but not for absenteeism and part-time work during employment (op. cit., pp. 476–477). No account is taken of the higher cost of living in the cities nor for cases where recent migrants worked for less than resident unskilled laborers in the cities. Nevertheless the contrast is so striking as to make certain that there was a real differential between the earnings of these migrants before and after they moved. (Cf. op. cit., p. 190.)

[79] Preliminary data made available by Grace G. Leyboune. (Cf. supra, p. 62.) A similar contrast held for the women: 92.1 percent of the migrant women and only 85 percent of the "native" women who were employed earned less than $1,000 a year.

[80] The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics is preparing tabulations of similar data from 20 other cities (cf. supra, p. 6).

[81] 65.8 percent obtain new jobs within the same occupational class as before migration.

than seasonal migrants as a whole consist of California farm camp populations, beet sugar workers and Yakima Valley farm workers; (2) the lower group consists of relief cases studied in California and the casual workers with at least a 2-year record of migration who registered under the Federal transient program and were studied by the Works Progress Administration. The highest average earnings shown by any of these groups of farm migrants amounted to $483 per family. These earnings were reported for yearly periods in 1934 and 1935 by a combination of white and Mexican families in California camps. The lowest average earnings shown by any of these groups amounted to a net sum of $110 per single person. These latter earnings were reported for the depression year, 1933, by the unattached "migratory casual" workers studied by the Works Progress Administration.

The earnings of such seasonal migrants as have been studied suggest that adult men may earn an average of about $300 per year and that migrant families average perhaps $400 a year. Family earnings are often obtained by the work of more than one individual. Assuming an average of 2 workers and 4 to 5 persons per migrant family,[82] earnings of $400 per family are equivalent to a wage of only about $200 per worker and they provide less than $100 per year for the support of each member of the average migrant family. Such earnings are clearly inadequate for any decent level of existence.

The California migrant families which reported earnings to Resettlement interviewers represent the highest earning class of seasonal migrants which have been studied.[83] An average of over two persons per family were active workers and the aggregate earnings of these families were supporting an average of nearly 5 persons. The 165 families which could report their earnings accurately for a full year probably earned more than 242 families whose schedules were excluded because of gaps in the information. In any case, the fact that very little of the income of those families consisted of relief suggests that they had been unusually fortunate in finding remunerative and fairly continuous work.[84] Yet the average annual earnings of these families at the upper level were only $483 from July 1934 to June 1935. Half of them had earned less than $37 and one-fourth earned $250 or less during the year. These average earnings amounted to $221 per worker and they provided slightly less than an average of $100 for the support of each family member.[85] Only 8 of this select group of 165 migrant families earned enough to meet the "health and decency" budget for a family of five ($1,080) as determined by the Heller Committee of the University of California, based on the prices of November 1935. Only 14 percent of these families earned even the $780 required for the "minimum subsistence" budget for 4½ persons as calculated in 1935 by the California State Relief Administration.[86] It is true that farm migrants obtain a few free perquisites such as ground space and field gleanings, but offsetting this advantage is the necessity of meeting extraordinary costs of transportation which may run as high as 1,500 miles each year.

Another important suggestion as to the annual earnings of the upper class of seasonal migrants is available from a study of 946 families of beet-sugar workers studied by the United States Children's Bureau in 1935.[87] Earnings reports for a full year covering 170 of these families showed that half of the families earned less than $406 a year from all sources:[88]

	Percent
Less than $200	24
$200 and less than $400	25
$400 and less than $600	24
$600 and over	27
Total	100

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[82] This was the average among the farm camp populations studied by the Resettlement Administration in California (cf. infra).

[83] Data furnished in advance of publication by Edward J. Rowell.

[84] Average relief per family had been $36.80 during the annual periods studied.

[85] This sample was composed of 76 Mexican and 89 white families. The Mexican families averaged $527 as against $445 for the whites. The larger average earnings of the Mexican families was largely due to the fact that these families averaged about 2.5 workers apiece as against an average of about 2 workers in white families. Annual earnings per worker were nearly the same for each racial group.

[86] Cf. Migratory Labor in California, op. cit., p. 119.

[87] Data furnished by the Children's Bureau in advance of publication.

[88] Excluding relief which was received at some time during the year by 64 percent of the 382 families giving information as to relief. Half of the reporting families earned less than $355 from beet work alone.

Three-fourths of these families earned less than the required cost for an adequate diet of $110 per person for families of the average composition of the beet workers studied, leaving nothing for the other necessary costs of existence.[89]

A third study of the more fortunate class of seasonal migrants covers the earnings of farm laborers who were interviewed in the Yakima Valley, Wash.[90] This study covered both families which were largely employed in the hop fields, and single workers who, with the heads of families, were largely employed in apple picking. More than half of this group of workers had been interstate migrants and nearly one-quarter had come from one of the drought States during the year before interview. The earnings of these migrants were uniformly higher than those of corresponding groups of local residents. However, the earnings shown for resident workers were lowered by the inclusion of a relatively high proportion of relief cases. The earnings of the migrants are believed to represent the upper range for seasonal farm workers, since the Yakima Valley is known to be a high-wage area for seasonal farm labor.[91]

Less than $357 had been earned during the year before interview (1934–36) by half of the 123 migrant families studied in the Yakima Valley which reported this information (table 20). One-quarter of these families had received less than $170 from the combined earnings of all their members. The major portion of this family income was contributed by the head of each household, half of the 178 family heads earning less than $297 during the year before interview and one-quarter less than $141. The unattached migrants earned slightly more than the heads of migrant families, half of the 59 single men earning less than $288 in the year before they were interviewed in the Yakima Valley, while one-eighth of these earned less than $144 per year.[92]

Each of the studies cited probably illustrates the annual earnings of the more fortunate groups of seasonal farm migrants. The earnings of two other groups of less fortunate migrants have also been studied.

TABLE 20.—*Distribution of cash income of migrant families, heads of migrant households, and migrant single men, during the year before interview, August 1935 to June 1936, in the Yakima Valley, Wash.*[1]

Annual earnings	Number interviewed			Percent of available reports		
	Families	Heads of families	Single men	Families	Heads of families	Single men
Less than $100	14	22	9	11.4	17.7	15.3
$100 and less than $200	24	22	13	19.5	17.7	22.0
$200 and less than $400	30	37	17	24.4	29.9	28.8
$400 and less than $600	26	24	13	21.2	19.4	22.0
$600 and less than $800	18	11	5	14.6	8.9	8.5
$800 and less than $1,000	3	3	1	2.4	2.4	1.7
$1,000 and less than $1,200	5	2	0	4.1	1.6	----------
More than $1.200	3	3	1	2.4	2.4	1.7
Total reporting data	123	124	59	100.0	100.0	100.0
Data not available	55	54	15	----------	----------	----------
Total	178	178	74	----------	----------	----------

[1] Adapted from Paul H. Landis and Melvin S. Brooks, Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Washington, Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 343, Pullman, pp. 54–55.

The California State Relief Commission studied the earnings of 775 migrant families in that State, all of whom received relief in 1935.[93] In view of the relief character of this group, it is probable that their earnings were below the average for all farm migrants in California.[94] The study is valuable chiefly to show how low the earnings of a considerable group of migrant farm families may fall. During 1935 the average annual earnings of these 775 families were $289 and half the families earned less than $261. In contrast, the State relief budget for families of the composition studied was $780 and the "health and decency" budget of the Heller committee amounted to $972 for such families. The average annual earnings of these families had fallen continuously between 1930 and 1935.[95]

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[89] Dietary costs as computed by the Bureau of Home Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

[90] Landis and Brooks, op. cit., pp. 54–56.

[91] Cf. Webb, The Migratory-Casual Worker, op. cit., ch. III, note.

[92] The median earnings of $334 cited by the authors (p. 54) were apparently computed from all cases interviewed rather than from cases which reported usable data as to earnings.

[93] Migratory Labor in California, op. cit., pp. 119–129.

	Mean	Median
1930	$381	$343
1931	361	326
1932	326	308
1933	$330	$299
1934	314	287
1935	289	261

These families had an average of 1.6 workers and an average of 4.5 family members. The average earnings per worker in 1935 thus amounted to only $181 and the total family earnings provided an average of only $64 per year for the support of each individual.

The lowest recorded earnings of a migratory group are those revealed by a recent study of "migratory-casual" workers who registered in 1934 and 1935 under the Federal transient program.[96] Half of these casual workers had less than the following "net yearly cash earnings" in 1933 and 1934:

	1933	1934
200 agricultural workers	$110	$124
100 industrial workers	257	272
200 workers in agriculture and industry	223	203

Several factors account for these extremely low annual earnings. The workers studied were all single men who were relief cases. They probably represent a selection of the least successful migrants. The years reported were periods of poor employment and low wage rates, especially for nonresident workers. In addition, the earnings reported were computed on a "net" basis; that is, the value of all housing, board, and other services furnished by the employer were deducted from the nominal cash earnings, wherever the employer made such deductions. In effect, therefore, the earnings for agricultural workers represent cash income, not including the value of whatever services the employer furnished. It is significant that the average annual cash income of migrant industrial workers, among whom the deductions for housing, board and other services furnished by the employer were relatively small in amount, should be less than $275, even in 1934.

The workers who move across State lines, whether continually or for permanent relocation, are the victims of haphazard methods of recruiting labor, extremely irregular employment, and low annual earnings. They have been neglected, even under the Social Security Acts. These conditions of insecurity and substandard income give rise to the acute social problems described in part II of this report, so far as these problems were observed in areas recently surveyed by the United States Children's Bureau.

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[94] Only 68 of these families reported work outside of California since 1929 (loc. cit., p. 113). Such an intrastate group may, however, reveal the general character of the earnings of interstate migrants having employment in the same areas.

[95] A partial explanation of this decline in earnings may be that these relief cases represented families of declining employability. The indicated decline in farm earnings of migrants generally may be exaggerated for this reason.

[96] John N. Webb, the Migratory-Casual Worker, op. cit.

Part II. Social Problems of Migrants and Their Families

CHAPTER XIV. CONDITIONS OF MIGRANTS IN AREAS STUDIED IN 1936[97]

"During the 6 months ending December 15, 1935, 43,180 persons, members of parties 'in need of manual employment' entered California by motor vehicles. This number included men, women, and children, but did not include persons traveling by bus, or in cars bearing California licenses. For the year from June 15, 1935, to June 15, 1936, a total of 71,047 such migrants entered the State." (Monthly Labor Review, U. S. Department of Labor, February 1936, p. 313. December 1936, p. 1355.)

"The second group included 15 men, 3 women, and an 11-year-old boy who was with his mother. They had come from Tennessee and were paying the driver from $5 to $7 each for the trip. The driver stated that he had persuaded some of his neighbors to join him to go to Florida in search of work. They had no definite destination in mind, and only enough funds to provide food and lodging on the trip, but felt sure they could find work in the fruits." (From field report, October 1936.)

"There were small groups of men scattered along the railroad tracks in threes or fours. Most of them were standing around waiting for trains to be made up and start from the yards. In all, on both sides of the yards, there there would be 15 to 20 men going west and on the south side of the yards about 25 men going east." (From report of field visit to a city in the Southwest, December. 8, 1936.)

It has been shown in part I that migration has always been a characteristic of American life. The conditions of migrant life accentuate social needs and at the same time increase many times, in most instances, the difficulties in the way of their full satisfaction. Among these obstacles are the strain involved in repeated moves; the lack of individual resources and established habits; unexpected concentration of needy individuals in communities on main routes of travel not prepared to care for them; commmunity attitudes of suspicion, prejudice, or at the least, indifference; and legal barriers that have been built up through the years for the protection of the convenience and the financial resources of those having status as residents and citizens of the communities in which the migrants may be temporarily located.

With the limited resources at its command it was impossible for the Children's Bureau to undertake a comprehensive survey of the wide range of social problems presented by the various types of migration which have been described in part I. Studies of immigrants from foreign countries made in the years when foreign immigration was an important factor in American life revealed the handicaps from which the newer arrivals suffered. Vivid pictures of the lives of the pioneers who carried civilization from East to West have been presented in novels, biographies, and motion pictures. Less extensive material is available concerning social conditions of individuals or families who have been transplanted from one commmunity to another in the course of other large-scale movements of population—for example, from South to North or from country to city.

Migrants have needs common to all human beings. The factor of movement does not remove these needs but tends to intensify them. When a part of a community, a person is eligible for all the services set up for the protection of health, safety, and well-being, but as a stranger he is either not eligible at all or eligible only under the most extreme necessity. This report sets forth some of the difficulties encountered by the migrant in his attempts to satisfy his needs and those of his family.

Housing for migrants

The migratory laborer encounters various methods of housing as he changes the phases of his movement. First, he and his family must live while on the road, whether they sleep on the ground or in his motor vehicle or whether he makes use of the tourist-camp facilities available. Secondly, if he finds employment he may have housing furnished to him by his employer. Thirdly, he may have to arrange housing for himself, while working, while waiting for employment, or between jobs. Under all these circumstances he needs inspection services provided by sanitary authorities, both for his own protection and for that of the community in which he is.

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[97] The field work for part II of this report was done by Ruth Bloodgood and Gerard F. Price of the Children's Bureau and Ruth Scandrett of the Division of Labor Standards. The report was written by Ruth Bloodgood, Gerard Price, and Mary Skinner, of the Children's Bureau staff.

The unattached man also has the problem of housing, and unless he can afford to use the cheaper hotel or rooming-house facilities of the community he usually has to make use of the jungles.

Housing while on the road.—Migrant families travel most extensively by means of some type of motor vehicle which they own. Many of them crowd into their old cars overloaded with varying amounts of household goods packed tight inside or tied on running boards or on the top or back of the car. Some have two-wheel trailers or small trucks attached to carry the household goods. Trucks of all sizes and description are also common means of travel, a considerable number of them having been fitted out with canvas covering so that they resemble the covered wagons of pioneer days. From observations made during this study the commercial house trailer is not as yet extensively used by the migrant in the low economic or dependent group. Some home-made or obviously low-cost trailers were seen among the migrant agricultural workers.

While on the road the most usual mode of living for the migrant family was found to be either camping out or stopping at low-rent tourist camps. If they did not have camping facilities or sufficient funds to pay for lodging they of course frequently sought the shelter care provided by relief agencies, usually the Salvation Army or some mission. In a few places lodging was provided for these families in low-rent rooming houses.

Most of the families that travel by automobile have some household furnishings with them. The amount each family may have of course varies greatly. Some have all their household goods; others only enough for minimum housekeeping arrangements.

During this study, family groups, including many children, were observed camping out along the roadside, or perhaps just off the road, along an irrigation ditch. Some of these families had tents, but more often they had only the shelter of the car or truck. Sometimes they had camped near a billboard, which afforded some protection from the wind. Again, they may have selected a camping spot in a clump of trees.

In many sections of the South and Southwest, squatter camping space is available in the vicinity of the towns. Vacant lots adjacent to gasoline service stations have been turned into such camping sites in a number of localities. At these locations, water, sanitation, and food are usually readily accessible at the service station.

In the desert area the so-called mesa on the edge of town is frequently considered the official camp site by the community, and migrant families are kept out of town and told to camp on the mesa. As a rule sanitation facilities and drinking water are not so easily accessible in these mesa camp sites.

Low standards of housing and sanitation prevailed, on the whole, in the class of tourist camps being used by migrant families. The usual rate charged for 1 night's lodging in these camps was from 75 cents to $1, or $1.25 a cabin. These rates usually provided one-room cabins, no limit being put on the number of persons occupying the room. In some camps the managers stated that a small additional charge was made, usually 25 cents apiece, for more than four persons to a cabin.

Serious overcrowding and lack of adequate and proper sanitation were the outstanding problems found to exist in this mode of housing used extensively by the migrant. Managers of the camps visited stated that no matter how large, the family seldom wanted to rent more than one cabin. At a few camps policies had been adopted limiting the use of a cabin for more than the number considered reasonable by the manager. Other camps, especially in the Southwest, were refusing to rent at all to family groups which were obviously "tin-can tourists," or "to these families that are coming from * * * with all their possessions." One manager stated that the families often parked their cars down the road and only 1 or 2 would come on ahead to arrange for the lodging. When the rest of the group arrived there would be 8 or 10 persons for the one cabin. He told of one family group of 14 for whom the men folks had rented only 1 cabin. When the rest of the party arrived the manager refused to let them stay unless they would rent more space. They declined to do this and went on their way.

As would be expected, the standards of construction of the individual buildings of the tourist camps, the general upkeep, and the sanitation varied considerably. Many of the cabins were of the flimsiest type of construction. Few of them were finished inside. Often there were no screens on the doors or windows, and in some places there were not even glass windows, only boarded shutters at the openings. The amount of furnishings supplied by the camp management also varied widely.

Some of the camps had modern conveniences, including gas and electricity. Others had no conveniences whatsoever. Community kitchens were not found in many of the camps. On the other hand, community sanitation was found to be more generally provided than sanitary facilities for the individual cabins. These arrangements usually consisted of separate buildings with toilets, shower baths (if there was plumbing), and a community laundry. At one camp visited, in which there were 14 cabins and a shed for the accommodation of several trailers, there were only 2 toilets, 1 for men and 1 for women, and 1 shower bath for each sex. The laundry room was small and was equipped with one tub and one ironing board. Descriptions of other camps would present much the same picture. The sanitation facilities in general were inadequate for the capacity of the camp, and frequently the plumbing and cleanliness were entirely unsatisfactory. At some of the camps, usually those located outside the limits of the town, there was no plumbing and some of the toilet facilities did not even provide septic tanks.

No doubt the facilities in many of the camps would have been adequate for the normal capacity of the camp, but with the overcrowding caused by the large families occupying one or two cabins, they became inadequate and the difficulties of maintaining clean and orderly camps were greatly increased.

Housing for the migrant furnished by the employer.—Living quarters for the seasonal agricultural laborers are to a large extent furnished by the growers. This is general throughout the Southwest, West, and Northwest in the areas in which large numbers of seasonal laborers are employed. The housing furnished by the growers has long been a subject of discussion and concern.

The standards of the agricultural labor camps have declined steeply in the last years notwithstanding their being subject to the inspection of the Commission of Immigration and Housing. In the words of the report of the National Labor Board, in 1934, speaking of Imperial Valley: "we found filth, squalor, an entire absence of sanitation, and a crowding of human beings into totally inadequate tents or crude structures built of boards, weeds, and anything that was found at hand to give a pitiful semblance of a home at its worst.[98]

Many of the growers furnish tents only, some of which have wooden flooring, though very frequently they have no flooring of any type. In some of the camps the tents are screened, but in many there is no screening. Sometimes small two-lid wood stoves are included with the tents, but more often the family must supply its own stove as well as other furnishings.

The tent camps are often situated along the irrigation ditch so that water for bathing and laundry may be obtained from that source. Drinking water is sometimes piped to the camp location and a spigot in the center of the camp is used by all occupants. In other camps drinking water must be hauled some distance, and it often stands for a considerable time in the barrels in which it is hauled and stored.

At many of the tent camps there is no provision for plumbing or sanitation and modern conveniences for toilet and bathing are completely lacking. The open-pit privy is still in use in some camps, but a considerable effort has been made by health authorities and other departments concerned with camp inspection to have installed the more sanitary type with the septic tank.

At a tent camp visited by the Children's Bureau representative in an extensive cotton area of Arizona (near Phoenix) there were 18 tents arranged in a square with a vacant space in the center. This space was used for parking cars, and apparently for piling up refuse, as it was littered with old boxes and rubbish at the time of the visit. The tents were located only a few feet off the highway, and an irrigation ditch ran along one side of the camp. There were no screens for the tents. A small two-lid wood stove was furnished for each tent. The rest of the furnishings had to be supplied by the workers. Only a few of the workers had beds. Most of them slept on blankets on the ground or made pallets from long grass hay gathered near by. In practically none of the tents visited were there chairs, wooden boxes being used for this purpose. Most of them had a table of some description and makeshift shelves and cupboards. In the 9 families in which some person was interviewed there was a total of 35 children, ranging from 5 months to 22 years of age. Families of 6 and 8 were occupying 1 tent. One group of 2 related families, a total of 18 persons, had been fortunate enough to get 3 tents. Another family of 7, with a son 21 years of age and a daughter 19, as well as 3 younger children, had 2 tents. The opportunity for family groups to have more than 1 tent depends entirely on how many pickers the growers have employed and whether extra tents are available.

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[98] Migratory Labor in California, p. 207, State Relief Administration of California, San Francisco, July 11, 1936.

At the camp just described there was a well in the center of the camp yard, but the pump was broken. The workers had been warned against using the water from the well; they were hauling water from a well 2 miles distant and stored it in barrels. There was one open-pit outside toilet which the entire camp used. This was in a fair state of cleanliness.

In a group of 11 camps, located in the same general areas as the one just described, all but 1 used tents. About 1,000 people were reported to be living in these 11 camps. The standards of sanitary facilities were reported to be somewhat better, since all but 1 of the 11 had screening for the tent doors, and all had toilets built in accordance with standards acceptable to health authorities.

Where cabins were furnished, one room built of wood or adobe was the most prevalent type. As with the tent camps, some were good, some only fair, and some very poor. Usually they were not plastered inside, and often they were papered with newspapers or scraps of wrapping paper. In some camps a few two- or three-room cabins were available for the larger family groups, but overcrowding was as serious as in the tent colonies. Sanitation varied from adequate, well-kept, and modernly equipped facilities to the most primitive, which were often unkept and in filthy condition. At these more permanent camps the water supply was usually piped into the camp. Often, however, there were only one or two faucets for the entire camp.

A camp at one of the large cotton ranches in New Mexico is described as typical of many seen during this study. At this camp the houses are frame 1-story, mostly 1-room units, though a few cabins had 2 rooms. They were all painted a most unattractive shade of yellow. The cabins were arranged in 2 rows of 16 units each facing each other, with a narrow street down the middle. Some cabins had a large stone doorstep, others had no doorstep. None was plastered inside, but the board walls had been covered with newspapers or other miscellaneous paper. There were 2 windows in each room, 1 at the front and 1 at the back, which allowed for cross-ventilation. The floors were cement. No furnishings were provided by the growers except a small wood stove for cooking and heating. Lighting was by candle or coal-oil lamps. The family interviewed at this camp had recently purchased a bed from one of the families that was leaving. Until that time they had slept on mattresses on the floor, as many of the families do. Boxes served as chairs and table.

Water was piped into the camp to one central faucet. The three open-pit toilets, one for men, one for women, and one for children, were in an indescribable filthy condition, unscreened and improperly ventilated. There were ditches nearby where the dishwater and garbage were evidently dumped. Two well-kept, sanitary toilets had been built near the schoolhouse at the camp, but they were open only during the hours that school was in session.

In some sections of the Northwest fruit- and hop-growing areas, improved housing for employees was noted, although in many places it was similar to that already described. In the Northwest it was not uncommon for the growers to furnish, in addition to the cabins or tents, such items as wood, water, stove, and straw for beds. In some of the camps in the hop fields the cabins were more substantially built and had metal roofs and adjoining sheds for kitchens. At one of the large hop yards (Marion County, Oreg.) the buildings were well-constructed, 2-story apartment houses, nicely painted. One large apartment building housed about 150 families. Every family had a room opening onto a covered veranda. These rooms were equipped with a sink with running water, electric lights, a stove, and a bed comprised of a spring stretched across 4 wooden legs. The building had 4 wings, each provided with toilet facilities. There were 2 smaller buildings, housing about 10 families each. In addition, there were individual shelters, which were open at one side. These shelters were used mainly by the unattached men. A large 2-story building contained a grocery store, a dance hall, a movie auditorium, and a restaurant. An outdoor playground was equipped with swings and other apparatus. Each family was assigned to 1 room. A rental fee of $2 a season per room was charged at this camp.

Housing for workers' families not furnished by the employer.—During the periods of employment the seasonal agricultural workers who were not living in quarters furnished by the employers camped by the roadside or in squatter camps or lived in the low-rent commercial tourist camps. In the squatter camps, which might be described as jungle camps, people were living in tents, in their cars, or under a canvas stretched from the side of the car to make a lean-to. Some of them were living in shacks made from scraps of wood, corrugated paper, tin, or anything that would afford some protection. Sanitary facilities at such jungle camps were usually very poor or nonexistent.[99]

The Resettlement Administration, through its Division of Rural Rehabilitation, has started a program of developing camps for migrant families. Two such camps have been established in California at Marysville and Arvin. The Arvin camp near Bakersfield was opened in December 1935. The Resettlement Administration provides wooden platforms for whatever housing the migrant wishes to furnish, and a building with rooms for sewing, various kinds of meetings, and recreational activities. The camp consists of 4 areas, each of which has a sanitary unit of toilets, showers, washtrough, and laundry tubs for men and women. Each area is planned to accommodate about 35 families.

The families furnish their own tents or may build any type of cabin or shack on the platforms. At the time one of the camps was visited in February 1937, the housing was a miscellaneous collection of tents, shacks built out of scraps of wood or even tar paper, and trailers jacked up off the ground. Eighty-seven families were living in the camp, some of whom had been there several months, but most of whom were new arrivals. The objectives of the Resettlement Administration in establishing these camps for migrant laborers were stated by camp officials as follows:

1. To provide good, sanitary facilities for migrants who are unable to pay for decent living quarters.
2. To conduct an educational program under which a self-governing program for the camp maintenance would be worked out; standards of health, child care, and cleanliness developed; and a spirit of self-confidence and self-respect instilled in the migrant families.

The use of the tourist camps as a place of more permanent abode by the low-wage-earner migrants and nonmigrants was reported to be increasing. In the cities in which there was a large number of migrants in search of employment other than agricultural, families were reported to be establishing themselves in tourist camps even after they had found employment. One- and two-room cabins in these cheaper tourist camps rent at an average of $3 to $5 a week, and they are therefore coming to serve as the available low-cost houses in many cities. A housing shortage in a number of cities has practically forced some newcomers to seek the tourist camps. In one of the larger cities in Arizona, where there has been a serious housing shortage, it was reported that some of the larger tourist camps were completely occupied by the lettuce workers and their families.

Supervision and inspection of housing used by migrants.—Most of the States and local communities have some regulations regarding the licensing and inspection of commercial tourist camps. The granting of the licenses and collection of fees are done in some States through a hotel commission, whereas the State and local health departments are the agencies generally responsible for inspection and the enforcement of standards of sanitation.

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[99] "In the words of the Commission of Immigration and Housing in 1932: 'Groups of persons arrive at any given community and start a camp. No provision is made for sanitation, water supply, or even general camp cleanliness. Such housing accommodations as they may have are eked out by wood, tin, or such cast-off material as can be obtained in the vicinity. A sorry picture is presented of a condition that threatens to be a serious menace to those communities where squatter camps exist.' That this holds today as in 1932 is indicated by the situation found at the opening of the Marysville Resettlement Camp: 'When the Marysville camp was started in August 1935, nearly 900 persons were camped on the site. Sanitary facilities were lacking. Families unable to procure tents sewed together tents of rags and gunny sacks. Same families had no shelter of any sort. One family consisting of husband, wife, and a 3-year-old child possessed neither shelter nor bedding and slept on newspapers spread upon the ground.' " Ibid., p. 208.

The degree to which the standards as outlined in the various laws or ordinances were enforced and the effort made by the health authorities to improve insanitary conditions varied considerably. There seemed to be much more adequate inspection and supervision of the camps located within the corporate limits of cities and towns than of those that were outside.

In a number of States constant efforts have been made by the health authorities and other State departments to raise the standards of housing and sanitation provided for the seasonal agricultural workers. Progress has been slow in many areas, but some steady improvement has been accomplished. In California, the inspection of labor camps is vested in the division of immigration and housing of the department of industrial relations. The State board of health also inspects sanitation and health conditions. Both of these State agencies have been very active in the inspection of camps and in their efforts to bring about improvements. In accomplishing their tasks much has depended on the attitude and cooperation of the growers and camp managers. It has frequently required very persistent efforts and considerable educational work to accomplish improvements.

One of the most difficult problems reported by health authorities is that of improving the conditions at the squatter or roadside camp sites, where there is no one in authority to insist that standards be maintained.

Use of jungles by unattached migrants.—Jungles, as observed in this study, are places where unattached migrants congregate to pass time while awaiting trains. The jungle is to the railroad rider what the campground is to the auto migrant. Jungles are usually close to a railroad division point where trains are made up and where they stop to change crews or engines. Sometimes they are near a "tank town," where stops are made for fuel or water, or they are near a railroad intersection. The places used are usually dry and shady, to permit sleeping in the open, near water for bathing or cooking, near woods for fire, not far from a general store for bread, meat, and vegetables, not too far from town so that panhandling or begging will be possible, and far enough away or well enough concealed to escape the attention of residents or officials. Temporary occupation is usually by men dropping off between trains who may share or prepare a drink of coffee, making use of the pots and cans left on the spot after recent use. More permanent occupation is found at points where trains frequently stop.[1] White women are seldom seen in jungles, but occasionally colored women are, especially in the Southwest during the cotton-picking season.

There are few jungles now in existence, owing to the positive attack made on them by railroad officials. A systematic effort to destroy jungles as fast as they are started, begun in January 1934, has been organized by these officials with the help of section maintenance crews. Prior to that date posters were conspicuously displayed on railroad property to inform trespassers on trains that, since provision had been made for their care, no more trespassers on trains would be allowed after January 1, 1934.[2] Since 1934 repeated efforts have resulted in the almost complete elimination of jungles. The local police have cooperated with the railroad police and have destroyed jungles situated on property adjacent to railroads. Some of the comments made to representatives of the Children's Bureau by special officers of the railroads and local law-enforcement officials were as follows:

"I make periodic visits to old jungle spots and destroy any starts made toward building them. Usually put holes in cooking pans and pull down any shelters erected."

"Do not know of any established jungles beside the railroad tracks. Have not seen any for several years."

"Used by men temporarily, as the local police do not allow anything but temporary stay between trains."

"The railroad police are constantly breaking up attempts to create jungles alongside the railroad tracks, and it is for this reason that I (chief of police) allow men to sleep in cells at the police station so that it would not be necessary for them to build shelters near the railroad tracks."

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[1] See Nels Anderson: The Hobo, p. 16. University of Chicago Press, 1923.

[2] Transient Service Bulletin T–12, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, December 1933.

"I (the sheriff) make a regular clean-up of the jungles about twice a week; several of my officers go through and destroy any shacks or shelters or cooking utensils found in the jungles."

Most of the railroad travel of migratory workers shifts to the Southwest during the winter months. Jungles were visited in cities where they were reported. In Phoenix the jungle was situated on partly vacant lots near the railroad yards. These lots were the dumping ground for discarded heavy machinery. Advantage was taken of the shelter offered by the old boilers and metal structures. This location was not of the type usually occupied by migrants because it was too close to houses and business activities and was too conspicuous to be unmolested. It was untidy and insanitary. All those who were interviewed stated that they were in that part of the country because they were searching for work. Many of them had worked a few days but had earned little. Others were unable to start work because they did not have the $1.28 needed to purchase a cotton-picking sack. Each morning trucks were sent to Phoenix by cotton growers and workers boarded them at the employment office or at street corners where they stopped to collect workers. On one morning from 150 to 200 men were recruited by growers for cotton picking.

Medical service and health protection

Ill health and accidents respect no boundaries, political or economic. Biological needs respect neither person nor community in their demands. Yet the migratory laborer and his family are excluded either wholly or in part from the benefits of the medical and health services of the community. Nutritional needs, especially of the children, are neglected. Immunization services, necessary for controlling the spread of contagious diseases, are almost inaccessible to the migrant group although this group has wider contacts than the resident group to which such control is accessible. Services for the treatment of venereal diseases are usually not available for the migrant group.

Medical service is usually not available to a migrant or to his children except in cases of serious lliness or accident. Such lack of service is a source of danger to the community. This is illustrated by the following report from the antituberculosis league in one city:

"They (transients affected with tuberculosis) do not receive adequate care and remain a menace to others in this community or else move on to some other community where they will continue to spread disease."

Eligibility for medical care is defined under a strict interpretation of the residence requirements for relief, except in a few instances. The following statements made by representative agencies receiving applications from migrants indicate the unavailability of such care for the migrant.

"A transient or nonresident person is never admitted to the hospital unless he is a sick person or an accident case."

"In regard to health care, no agency in the community feels it can accept the responsibility for transients. The county health unit has the policy of requiring a year's residence in the State and 6 months in the county. The county hospital has set up its own regulation regarding residence, requiring 2 years in the State and 1 year in the county without having received relief. They have been forced to do this by a lack of funds and facilities at the hospital. The county hospital will accept transients in extreme emergencies, such as serious accident cases. The county doctors have such a heavy load of work that they have to refuse to accept transients."

Some few localities do make their medical and health services available to transients, but usually on a restricted basis. Public-health authorities in several communities reported situations such as the following:

"There is no distinction made in the availability of the work of the health service in this county to transients and residents. Transients cannot be admitted to the county hospital, however, without approval from one of the county supervisors. The facilities at the hospital are very limited and therefore care for transients is confined to emergency cases only."

"No discrimination is made in the public-health nursing work between the children of residents and nonresidents. However, except in some particular emergency, services of the nurses for transient children reach only those enrolled in the schools."

"Public-health nursing service is available under the city health department for transient cases if there is need for such services. The city director will make home visits in emergency cases for transients. It was stated by the director of the health department that only emergency care was available for transients at the hospital."

"No distinction is made in the services available through the health unit to nonresidents and to residents. * * * Nonresidents are given emergency accident care at the city-county hospital."

Hospital care is generally provided by the city hospital, the county hospital, or the city-county hospital. The hospitals called upon to provide service report that they are handicapped by their lack of adequate facilities in caring for the resident population and that any additional load intensifies the problem. One medical agency stated the following:

"An emergency migrant case takes up space that a resident case would have had. Many hospitals have a waiting list of patients. Our facilities are inadequate for the care of our tuberculosis patients, there being constantly a waiting list of nearly 100 patients for our tuberculosis sanitarium."

In communities in which the only agency offering medical care is the hospital it is difficult to provide for patients when they are ready for release but need care during convalescence. Hospitals, under such circumstances, are faced with responsibility for the provision of extended care. Many times migratory patients have been kept in hospitals much longer than resident cases would have remained, owing to the difficulty of providing after care. This situation reduces the accessibility of the hospital to the resident population. Examples of this were given by hospital authorities, as follows:

"There is one case of a colored boy injured in a railway accident (he was riding freight trains). He has been technically dismissed from the hospital, but he has nowhere to go and they are permitting him to stay on."

"Nonresidents are accepted at the hospital only as emergency cases. One of the most serious problems in relation to such emergency cases of nonresidents is the difficulty in getting care during the convalescent period."

Cities that have hospitals and clinics appear to become centers of attraction to which patients are sent or brought from the surrounding areas, largely because of the lack of sufficient facilities in such areas. When nonresidents are injured in accidents that occur on the highways or railroads, frequently good Samaritans bring them or send them to the hospitals, as hereby illustrated:

"One wintry day in December 1936 the emergency ambulance brought to the hospital three patients who were picked up on the Northwest Highway. Seven persons (a man, his wife, their four children, and a relative) were riding in a 1926 open touring car. The car was hit by a truck. The man, his wife, and her relative were injured. The four children ranged in age from 6 months to 8 years. They were penniless and no relative was able to provide for their care. The older persons were placed in the hospital. The children, who had fortunately escaped injury, remained in the waiting room all day while efforts were made to get cooperation from community agencies, all of which are overcrowded and underfinanced."

"A white man, 70 years of age, was injured at ———, Tex., while riding on a freight train. He injured his foot when the train passed under a bridge. Some kindly disposed individual bought him a ticket to the county seat, where he stayed in the county jail for a week (when he apparently should have been in hospital). At this point someone else bought him a ticket to one of the large cities (two counties away). On arrival the patient was sent to the county hospital. He had received no medical attention up to that time and his foot was in a serious condition and required immediate care."

"A 22-year-old colored boy from Louisiana was received at a county hospital in Texas recently with pulmonary hemorrhages. He had advanced tuberculosis. It was learned at the hospital that he had traveled from town to town and was a menace to society, besides being in immediate danger of death. He was admitted to the tuberculosis hospital where he died a few weeks later. The county buried him."

"A family of six members was traveling in the country in a trailer car. Of the six members of the family, one was admitted to the hospital suffering from typhoid fever, one from amoebic dysentery, and one from malarial fever. Two of them were put in isolation divisions."

The staff at the hospital where the above-mentioned cases had been given care commented that migrant cases are the most expensive and the most difficult to deal with from a standpoint of social welfare.

Many persons make their own way to States and cities which have been widely advertised as health centers, or to those which have special facilities for the care of certain diseases. Other persons are sent by public authorities, local civic groups, relatives, or friends. After they have arrived they are frequently left stranded and become a burden to the community. Some such cases are illustrated by the following reports given by agencies in several cities faced with this problem:

"In the venereal-disease clinic of the charity hospital in New Orleans there are large numbers of people who come over from Mississippi and give New Orleans as their address in order to receive treatment."

"Mr. and Mrs. F. and their three children, boys 3 and 2 years old and a girl 3 months old, were reported to a private agency in ———. They had left their home in the East because of the tubercular condition of the wife, and were seeking relief for her physical condition in the sunny climate of the southwestern State. The husband had been a shoe stitcher and had had very regular employment in his home community. The woman's parents had provided funds for them to start and had sent them money along the way. They had come most of the way across country in their own car, which had been so badly wrecked in an accident en route that they had sold it for junk. They had proceeded by bus. They gave the agency a letter from a high official in their own State, for whom the husband had previously worked, to an official of ———, asking that he give every assistance possible. Upon their arrival the wife was in a very exhausted and serious condition as a result of the long trip across country. The agency provided food and a medical examination for the woman. The doctor stated that she should have pneumothorax treatment and sanitarium care for at least 1 or 2 years."

"A 14-year-old girl was sent to Arizona by her parents after correspondence with the chamber of commerce. Her doctors at home had advised removal to Arizona. No one had made any arrangements for her care upon her arrival. The private agency to which word had been sent by the Travelers Aid Society that the girl was en route met her. This agency had to assume responsibility for making provisions for her lodging and for at least temporary medical care."

Reimbursement for the care of persons sent by public authorities to these advertised health centers is sometimes made. Nevertheless, as in the following case, added problems were faced by the agency.

"A man about 30 years of age applied at the office of the County Board of Public Welfare in ———, Arizona. He had been sent by the county authorities in his home State of Minnesota on the advice of the county physician. He presented a "poor account order" from the officials in Minnesota authorizing room and board at $1 a day. This was to be charged to the county in Minnesota. He stated that during the preceding 2 months he had been a patient in the University Hospital at Minneapolis, his care having been paid for by the county commissioners of his home county. The relief agency in Arizona could not provide room and board for as little as $1 a day, and he was in need of additional medical care. They appealed to the Minnesota authorities, requesting $40 a month for room and board and $10 a month for medicine. The additional amount was authorized by the Minnesota authorities. A few days following final authorization of the amount to be provided for care, the man was suddenly taken ill on the street and was rushed to the hospital. A telegram was sent to the county commissioners in Minnesota as follows: 'Mr. ——— much worse. Do you wish to hospitalize here or return him home?' The reply stated, 'Send Mr. ——— home and bill ——— County.' "

Immunization procedures are part of a public-health program. Frequently they are limited to children who attend school and thus miss the major group of migrants who need this service. The following are examples of provision, or lack of provision, for immunization, as reported by school and public-health authorities:

"The children of transient families who are enrolled in the schools receive the same services (immunization) from the nurses as do the other children."

"Doctor ———, public health officer for ——— County, is much concerned about immunization of the occupants of the camps, and through the medium of the schools has succeeded in having the public-health nurses immunize all children in the schools from the camps. He has not, however, been able to extend his services to those camps on property over which he has no control; that is, the camps situated on the ditch sides and road sides."

"A few attempts had been made to include the older group, but they had succeeded only in part, largely because of the lack of sufficient funds to purchase immunization materials. A recent outbreak of typhoid fever in 1 of the counties had cost a little more than $200 a case and there were 10 cases, resulting in an expenditure of $2,000, which would have been sufficient to purchase all the immunization materials required."

Many children of migrant families are found to be undernourished, as is illustrated by the following:

"It has been found by the (school) nursing service that these children are in many cases neglected and undernourished and that frequently they come in with skin rashes and often require considerable attention."

From among the many thousands of cotton-picking families in cotton camps in California during the latter half of 1936, a small group of 122 children having no State residence were examined for health defects. Thirty-six children were found to have nutritional defects and 28 children to have infections; only 18 were found to be without any health defects.[3]

Many children of migrant families are reported to be suffering from dysentery and, as a result of exposure, from pneumonia. Many, it is said, have died through lack of early attention.

"Mr. and Mrs. P and three children arrived in Miami from Maine. They stopped outside the city in a tourist camp. One of the children became very ill and the family applied to a private physician. He felt that the child needed hospitalization. The child was taken to the city hospital. The diagnosis made was amoebic dysentery. The father had been unable to get employment, but he still had money enough to get back to his home in Maine and was anxious to do so before his funds became exhausted. The health department released the child and warned the parents of the danger of traveling with him and of the care that should be taken. The health department also notified the health authorities in Maine that they were coming."

"Mr. C applied to the State relief authorities district office on January 20. He was unable to get an interview at that time, owing to the sudden increase of applications (from 103 on December 5, 1936, to 1,093 on February 4, 1937), and consequently his 2-year-old girl had not had medical attention. He returned on January 23, 3 days later, and reported that his child had died. He did not know the cause of her death but presumed it to be pneumonia, although he stated that she had suffered from severe dysentery at the beginning of her illness. It was reported that the family had intended to bury the baby along the side of the ditch bank. They had started to dig the grave when the county health department arrived and made arrangements for burial. The mother was found to be ill the day the child died and was unable to get out of bed. Later that day she was taken to the county hospital. The family was found to be without food. The entire camping outfit had been lent to them by neighboring campers and consequently was very inadequate."

In the same county in which this case was reported it was further stated that during the early part of January there were at least six migrant families receiving relief through the State relief authorities district office in which babies had died either at their homes or at the county hospital. The hospital was extremely crowded during the period, as there was a great deal of sickness due to inclement weather. Almost all these deaths might be attributed to inadequate camping equipment and poor housing and sleeping arrangements. Dietary deficiencies no doubt were a contributing factor. The doctors reported that almost all these cases started with dysentery, "from which pneumonia developed" as a complication.

An interesting demonstration of the extension of health service to migratory families is being undertaken by the health authorities of California under cooperative plans made possible by the Social Security Act. Traveling physicians and public-health nurses assigned to specific territory are employed to give health instruction and advice to mothers and medical examinations to mothers and children. The nurse will migrate with the seasonal workers, the physician being reassigned to different territories as migrations make it necessary.

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[3] A Study of 132 Families in California Cotton Camps, California State Department of Social Welfare.

Venereal-disease treatment is often not available, as illustrated by the following reports from communities visited:

"Nonresidents are not entitled to treatment at the venereal-disease clinic. Examinations for food-handler's license are made by the public-health clinics, but in cases of nonresidents found to have communicable diseases no treatment is available. The individual examined pays $1.50 for the examination and license."

"There is a venereal-disease clinic operated in the county hospital, but it is not accepting any nonresidents, even for examination. The jail is the only place where an examination for venereal disease can be obtained for transients. There are no facilities for treatment at this source."

"Institutional care for transients with venereal disease is lacking except in serious emergencies. Because of lack of staff no figures could be obtained from the men's venereal clinic, where between four and five hundred new cases are admitted each month. It is probable that a large part of this number are transients."

"Our shelter care division during a period of 1½ months has taken care of 188 transients suffering from venereal diseases. After being examined they are given a night's lodging and two meals and are then turned out into the city because the division does not have funds to give them further care. Some of them remain here, spreading the disease, and some go on to other communities where a repetition of this occurs."

In one State a hospital had been established by the Federal Transient Service for the care of tuberculosis and venereal-disease patients. It was taken over by the State relief authorities and continued to admit both resident and nonresident single men for treatment and some men with families; but the demand upon this service has now increased to such an extent that the authorities have decided upon a more rigid policy of admission in order to prevent overcrowding in the hospital.

Another city has made no distinction in the services available through the health unit to residents and nonresidents. Signs are posted by the health department at well-frequentel and conspicuous places throughout the county. It has been determined by a court ruling that the health department has the right to quarantine venereal-disease cases. Men or women who come to the city in an infectious condition are held in the hospital unit in the county jail.

Education of the children

"Margaret's 2. When she's old enough to go to school her father's going to quit this work. He don't want her pickin' cotton. People travelin' round pickin' cotton don't send their kids to school. Poor folks need their kids to pick. It's hard on the kids draggin' round."

That educational opportunities should be accessible to all children is an accepted policy in our national life, but the children of thousands of migrant workers' families are not participating in the benefits of education. Various reasons make their participation difficult, reasons such as their intermittent travel, their isolation from schools, their lack of adequate clothing, laxity in enforcing school-attendance laws, and quarantine rules regarding new admissions.

The itinerant life of migratory families interferes seriously with the school progress of their children. This is particularly true among migratory agricultural workers. Not only are many of the children in these families out of school altogether in the late spring and in the fall during the harvest season, but when they do attend frequent shifting from school to school makes consistent progress practically impossible.

Some migratory families that follow the crops from county to county and from State to State have a regular itinerary of travel covering 8 or 10 months of the year, and their children return to the same schools with the change in seasons each year. But more aften than not, as they move from district to district, the children are subjected to the inevitable delays attending enrollment in a new school and to the strain of adjusting to a new environment.

Grade assignments must often be made by guess, and by the time mistakes in placement have been rectified the harvest is over and the children are ready to move on to the next district. Even in such States as California, where the school curriculum is highly standardized throughout the State, grade placements are often difficult, as the following report shows:

"Regular attendance at school was impossible. In some instances the children were required to work in the fields to help meet the family budget. Even when parents were willing to have the children attend school, the frequent changes resulted in irregularity of class placement. Transfer cards were usually forgotten. They changed from location to location in haste, and time consumed in visiting the schools was often considered as wasted. Frequently the departure occurred over a week end or in the evenings, when access to records was impossible. This caused delay in proper placement in the next school. The only consistent education of the children of this clan had been secured during the winter months when they settled in one of the larger cities. On these occasions the children attended school regularly, the mothers kept house, and the fathers worked at their trade."[4]

Children who are old enough to work in the field are expected to do so. If the crop is a perishable one and there is risk of spoilage before it can be got to market, or if a favorable market makes a quick harvest more profitable, growers insist upon all hands being pressed into service. Parents, on their part, feel the need of adding every cent possible to the family income. Piece rates in many localities are so low that family earnings amount only to a pittance unless there are a number of workers. Children who are too young to work in the fields sometimes attend school and sometimes do not. Often their families are unable to clothe them properly, and where textbooks are not furnished by school authorities, family funds can seldom be stretched to provide them.

Compulsory school-attendance laws are not always applied to migrant children. A few States have enacted legislation especially designed to cover the school attendance of this group of children, and in several others the school laws are sufficiently broad to cover all children in the community, whether resident or nonresident. But in most of the States compulsory school-attendance laws apply to children who are "resident." In these States the application of the law to the migrant child depends upon whether the local school authorities consider him a resident or a nonresident for school purposes. Nonresidents may usually be admitted to school at the discretion of the local school authorities upon payment of tuition or under such other conditions as they may require. Moreover, in many communities, even though it is the policy of local school authorities to admit migrant children, prejudices against the migrant act as a deterrent to the enforcement of compulsory-attendance laws. If a community fails to sanction or support the strict enforcement of the law, migrant children are not usually forced to attend school.

In a few districts visited in the course of the present study local school authorities were interested in the welfare of the children of migratory families and made every effort to enforce their attendance at school. In California, for example, where the problem of the migratory agricultural worker has been a pressing one for many years, special classes for such children have been established in connection with local rural schools. These classes are in session only for the short period that migratory workers are needed in the district. Sometimes the teachers move from district to district with the children.

In a district in southern Texas the school authorities not only encouraged migratory children to enroll but made an attempt to adapt the school schedule to the work day of the children by holding classes only in the afternoon when their services were not needed in the field.

In a Florida community, where between 3,000 and 4,000 children of tourists and migratory workers come into the county annually, it was estimated that about half of these children were enrolled in local schools. In this county books and other necessary school supplies were furnished by the schools without regard to residence, and while tuition was nominally required of nonresidents, exemption from this requirement was easily obtained. The statement of parents that they intended to make the city their home or that they were unable to pay the required fee was sufficient ground for an exemption.

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[4] Migratory Labor in California, State Relief Administration of California, San Francisco, July 11, 1936.

In most of the districts visited, however, local authorities were not interested in enforcing the school attendance of migrant children, and it was generally reported that these children did not attend school. In a group of four families, who were stopping temporarily in one of the camps visited in August 1937, the school records of six children were as follows:

"Boy (13) and girl (10)—brother and sister—entered school in November 1936 and remained through the school term."

"Boy (15) completed fifth grade last year. Will not return to school this year. Last year picked cotton until December and left school to pick vegetables and fruit early in the spring. 'Always that way, in school a few months, then out for work. Get behind.' "

"Girl (11) had never attended school. Picks cotton and vegetables and looks after the children."

"Girl (12) seldom in school. Likes work in the field better."

"Girl (8) in school at present but 'misses sometimes' because of cotton picking."

In a school district visited in Oregon, migratory children were not allowed to enroll until after a waiting period of 2 weeks. This step was taken to prevent the spread of contagious diseases; but, since the harvest in this district was usually over within 3 or 4 weeks, it meant that parents often did not consider it worth while to enroll the children at all. It is true that in the Northwest most of the crops on which family labor is used mature before the opening of the school term and that the problem in that area is, therefore, a comparatively small one. Had it been greater, steps probably would have been taken to remedy the situation, as school-attendance laws are strongly upheld by public opinion in that section.

Although none of the districts visited during the course of the study actually barred migratory children from the local schools, there was a distinct prejudice against them in some of the communities. The following newspaper report of a decision handed down in justice court in a case involving violation of the compulsory school-attendance law is an illustration:

"D. B. Smith, cotton grower, was fined $50 each in two cases charging the employment of children of school age as cotton pickers. The two cases decided against Smith will be appealed from findings of guilty as charged, made by Judge D. G. Wilson in justice court yesterday.

"A third case was dismissed when it was brought out in the trial that it involved the child of Oklahoma transients, and not a child of county residents.

"The three charges were filed last week by the county-school superintendent, after that officer had first warned cotton growers that the State compulsory school-attendance law would be rigidly enforced this year."

A school principal in this same county reported that though the district school trustees "stood back of him" in his enforcement of school attendance of migratory children, they had suggested that instead of absorbing these children in the regular classes, it would be better to enroll them in one class and hold school in a tent.

The prejudice against migratory children is not always admitted so frankly. As one school official took pains to explain, "there is no resentment on the part of the community toward migratory children. The school district feels, however, that its first responsibility is toward local children." Where schools are supported primarily by State funds distributed on the basis of average daily attendance, migratory children are more likely to be welcomed in the schoolroom than where such funds are disbursed on the basis of children enumerated, or where the cost of operating the schools is carried chiefly by the district.

No information was obtained in the course of this study regarding the time lost from school or the school progress of individual children but earlier surveys of agricultural child labor made by the Children's Bureau have shown the serious effects of migratory life upon the education of the children.

Community attitudes

The people in a community usually accept newcomers in their midst if they contribute to the economic development or physical improvement of the community. Migrants, because of the social and economic problems they bring with them, are finding themselves unwelcome in many communities. The general situation in regard to relief has appeared to intensify this attitude. Having inadequate relief for their own people, communities are loath to extend aid to migrants and they take various steps to discourage the dependent migrant from coming or tarrying in their midst. Many communities take a definite stand against doing anything for those who have already come which might encourage others to come. In a number of localities the migrant is not accepted in any way.

General attitudes.—In sections of the country where the seasonal agricultural workers constitute a high percentage of the migrant population, residents seem to feel little responsibility for them. They live in groups in the labor camps, which are often outside the limits of the town or city. Many of them stay only a few weeks and some of them seldom, if ever, go to town. This situation is particularly true where trading is carried on at the camp commissary or at the nearest corner grocery store. Not only is their trading limited to the vicinity of the camp but many of the workers seldom have time for recreational activities and apparently do not seek them to any extent in the adjacent towns.

Religious activity is largely nonexistent outside the camp. In some cases a camp chapel has been established in a building or tent. The local missions in nearby towns sometimes invite the campers to their meetings.

Probably the only place where any integration with community life is really apparent is in connection with school attendance of the children. Even this is restricted owing to the attitudes of the resident parents toward the migrants, which are reflected in the reaction of the local children toward the strangers in the classrooms. Regarding recreation, the migratory labor camps of the Resettlement Administration have undertaken a program under which the surrounding community and the camp occupants are brought together to participate in such activities as dances and baseball games.

Many of the migrants stop at the commercial tourist camps, and there is a tendency for the residents in such camps to be somewhat segregated from the community activities. Little attention is paid by many communities to the people who come and go at the tourist camps.

The news spreads quickly when steps are taken by States or local communities to discourage migrants from coming or tarrying in the community and from seeking employment, relief, or other services. Some communities have very definitely sought publicity through the newspapers and magazines for the restrictive measures which they have set up to deter migrants who may become an economic liability. In the various places visited during the study, newspaper publicity was frequently noted concerning the raids which the police were making on the jungles or the railroad yards and also concerning the arrests of vagrants and the overcrowded conditions in some of the jails caused by migrant inmates. People on the road quickly learn that certain towns are hostile toward them and that certain restrictive measures are enforced and they avoid such places.

Restrictive measures used by States.—During the winter months of 1936 one State attempted to restrict the admission of nonresident indigents to its territory by establishing a border patrol. State highway police officers were placed at each point where a main highway entered the State and vehicles bearing out-of-State licenses were stopped in order to determine whether the occupants were likely to become charges of the State after entering. Pedestrians were also stopped. Vehicles that appeared to be owned by affluent persons were allowed to pass unchallenged. Those that did not so appear were stopped and the occupants questioned. If they stated that they were going to work and had written evidence of employment they were admitted. This policy was the result of protests against the patrol by large growers who required a supply of labor from outside the State. During the first 7 weeks of the operation of this patrol, from October 12 to November 30, 1936, 1,441 persons were refused entrance to the State. Despite the stopping of this number of persons many newly arrived indigents were applying to the agencies in the cities and the "hobo express" of one of the large cities functioned during this period. The patrol was discontinued early in 1937 for the reason, it was reported, that the cost of the patrol was considered to be out of proportion to its effectiveness.

In another State, on February 3, 1936, the police department of one of the large cities placed a series of patrols on the State line in an attempt to bar nonresident indigent persons from the State. This patrol was withdrawn in April 1936.[5]

Restrictive measures used by local communities.—Various methods are used by individual communities to discourage migrants. In a few communities where there was no relief for the migrant, signs had been posted on the highways leading into town and at the doors of the relief offices announcing that no relief was available for transients. In other places the relief offices did not register the applications of able-bodied migrants who were seeking aid, since they believed that even such questioning as was sufficient for registration might encourage other applicants.

One of the most common practices used by communities to deter and discourage the unattached migrant was strict enforcement of the vagrancy ordinances by police departments and sheriffs. Where such methods were used, as far as could be discerned, very little discrimination was exercised as to the types of men arrested. The migrant who was honestly in search of employment, as well as the undesirable vagrant, was arrested or picked up by the police if he was found on the streets or in public places without visible means of subsistence. In a few places it was stated that arrests were confined to those who were undesirable or questionable in appearance, but in most places no evidence of such discrimination was shown. Also, little or no difference was made in the treatment of the young boys and older men. If separate quarters were available for juveniles, boys under 16 or 17 were usually placed there instead of in the regular jail. However, such special quarters often were not available.

The methods of procedure and the diligence with which they were carried out differed considerably in various localities and sections of the country. In some localities only periodic drives were conducted by the police departments in arresting the migrants on the streets or in other public places; in others, such activities were carried on all through the year.

In some places arrests made on a charge of vagrancy or hoboing were followed by short-term sentences to the jail or road camp. In other communities the men picked up were informally booked as "sleepers" and were turned out the next morning, usually without food. Sometimes they were given a cup of coffee and a piece of bread through the kindness of the police on duty at the station. Whatever the procedure, whether they were given only overnight care in the police station or a short-term sentence, they were usually warned on release to keep on the move and to get out of town as quickly as possible. In several places the officials provided transportation and escort to the edge of town or even beyond to the county line. Fingerprinting of all apprehended migrants was quite usual, accompanied in some places by detention pending the return of the report from the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Throughout Florida the attitude toward the potentially dependent and undesirable migrant was one of exclusion. The border patrol at the State line expressed this attitude, and in the large cities and smaller towns law-enforcing officers arrested migrants who were found on the streets or other public places and took the riders off the freight trains. In one place hitchhikers who were passing through town were placed in jail overnight.

In Miami and Miami Beach the police were found to be persistently carrying out such a plan. They picked up all men and women whom they found on the streets without means of subsistence. Those who were obviously in need of some special care, such as persons who were ill, or young boys and girls, were referred to other agencies. Able-bodied men were locked up, fingerprinted, charged with vagrancy, and kept overnight, or perhaps for a few days. They were then given a suspended sentence, and as soon as there were a sufficient number to make up a load they were taken out of town on the "hobo express." Last year they were escorted only to the Dade County line, where they were dropped off and sent on their way. This year arrangements have been made with the law-enforcing officials in the two counties to the north of Dade County to meet migrants at each county line and to transport them about 120 miles north. The route used to transport them is parallel to the main highway, but passes through back-country area. Beyond the third county the only route open to them is through sparsely settled country that has few towns and little opportunity to get food or shelter. There were no figures available at the time of the study for the number of men in these two cities who were handled in this way last year.

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[5] Transients in California. State Relief Administration of California, Division of Special Surveys and Studies, San Francisco, 1936.

In one small community in the citrus-fruit area any person seen hitchhiking through town was picked up by the police, put in jail overnight, and sent on their way the next day. They were not given food. In this same town those taken off freight trains were charged with illegal train riding and, though not sentenced, were kept in jail overnight. In another community in the same area the freight trains were carefully watched for riders and the men were taken off the trains, arrested, and charged with hoboing. They appeared in court on Monday mornings to plead guilty or not guilty. If they were arrested during the week they had to remain in the local jail until the following Monday in order to appear in court. Sentences of 60 or 90 days were usually given these men, and they were sent to the road camp to work out their sentence. At the end of the period they were paid $3 and sent on their way.

In Tampa a constant effort was made by the police to keep the migrants off the streets. Those who were brought in from the parks or streets by the police were fingerprinted and given a 10-day sentence in order to allow time for the report on the fingerprints. A migrant who was interviewed in that community by a representative of the Children's Bureau had been told several miles back along the road that if he was found on the streets in Tampa, even during the early evening, he would be taken to jail. It was the general policy in this community to advise migrants that they could probably arrange for a ride out of town on a produce truck by going to the produce market, about 5 miles from the city limits.

In one of the cities visited in the Southwest the police officers endeavored to keep the streets clear of men who appeared to have no means of subsistence. If they were found standing around on the streets they were taken to the jail and booked as "sleepers." If they were caught begging they were arrested as vagrants and given 30 days in jail. At 6 o'clock each morning the men who had been in jail the previous night as "sleepers" were taken out in the patrol car, either to the railroad yards to catch a freight, or to the bridge at the edge of town, if they preferred to hitchhike.

In a small community in a neighboring southwestern State the men riding the freight trains had opportunity to drop off, as it was a division point, and they frequently came into town in search of food. If they were caught begging on the streets or in the restaurants or private homes they were arrested and given a short jail sentence. They were required to work out this sentence and were usually put to work sweeping the streets. While at work they had chained to their ankle a piece of steel rail about 8 or 10 inches long, fastened at the end of a short iron chain.

Figures on the arrests of migrants in these places were not readily obtainable, owing to the variation in the amount of information which the police entered on the dockets. In some cities a record was taken of the places from which the men stated they had come and the police considered the total of those who came from other States as indicative of the number of persons who might be classed as migrants.

Where jungles exist, periodic raids to clean them out were reported by the police. In one city the police stated that these raids were made as often as twice a week. The officers destroyed any shacks, shelters, or cooking utensils found. Those appearing to be undesirable characters were arrested, charged with vagrancy, fingerprinted, and kept in jail long enough to receive verification on the fingerprints. If it was found that no warrant was out for their arrest they were placed on the county chain gang at the poor farm, where they were put to work under strict guard for 3 or 4 days. The guard was then removed and the migrants were given an opportunity to leave. It was stated that the reason for this procedure was to keep them from returning to the community and to deter others. A record of escape was placed against them and they knew that they would be arrested on that charge if they returned. Similar procedure was reported in two other communities.

Police activities to keep migrants away from town by ordering them back to the railroad yards or to other places outside the business or residential areas were reported. Some of the men interviewed in one jungle told the representative of the children's bureau that because of being turned back from entering the business section they had been unable to procure food and were leaving town hungry.

Community chest policies.—Community-chest executives in many cities have been faced with difficulties in getting their boards of directors and the public to realize the importance of giving care to nonresidents as well as to residents. In most instances the community-chest authorities have not succeeded in having their funds extended to include this care. Where a community has consented to make an allocation of chest funds for transient relief it has done so very sparingly, and the result has been inadequate material assistance and service and frequently very definite restrictions to emergency cases.

Some chest groups desired to do their best to extend services, others were somewhat indifferent and still others by direct statement were not willing to concede that they had any responsibility for the nonresident or migrant person. Many community-chest groups held off assignment of funds until the last minute and allocated funds to care of transients only when the need was exceedingly pressing.

An example of what happens when the community is partly aware of the problem but somewhat indifferent to it is shown in the following from a field report:

"The policy existing in the agencies receiving funds was to give emergency care to those applying, if the need was extreme, but not to encourage applications and to have the applicants proceed on their way as quickly as possible. If any of those applying became long-time care problems, through accident or sickness, correspondence was to be instituted immediately relative to returning them to the community having responsibility for them. Payment for their return was to be provided by the community to which they were returning."

Individuals connected with community chests were sometimes overruled by the general attitude of the community and recommended rather drastic practices as a group, although individually they did not follow out these recommendations.

"At a meeting of the board of directors of one community chest a motion had been made to set aside a small sum of money for transient aid. One of the members moved to increase the amount considerably, but during discussion the entire plan was not adopted. The members of the board said that the attitude of the community was to do absolutely nothing for the transient. The secretary of the chest, however, stated that many persons in organizations that contributed to the community chest did not seem to be in full possession of the facts as determined by the board and that when nonresident persons applied to them as individuals they would call the secretary of the chest, asking why assistance was not being given to these persons. He then had to explain to them that owing to the general attitude of the community and its representatives the community-chest funds were used for residents and not for nonresidents. If the case was one which required immediate assistance, aid was sometimes obtained through a notice in the newspapers or through some organization."

Agencies responsible for distribution of private funds often take official action that is not wholly in accord with the reactions of the individuals contributing, when they are confronted by persons who appear to be in real need.

CHAPTER XV. DEVELOPMENT OF RELIEF PROGRAMS FOR MIGRANTS

Effect of legal settlement on relief policies

One of the legal concepts transplanted from the Old World to the New was that of local responsibility for the relief of the poor who had settled within the borders of the town or county. This legal principle became widely diffused, though the northeastern section of the country developed much more complicated and restrictive tests for determining legal settlement for purposes of poor relief than the South or the West. Thus very early persons came to be distinguished on the basis of their degree of identity with a local governmental unit as determined by such factors as place of birth, length of residence, settlement of parents, and self-maintaining status during the period when settlement was being established. To mitigate the hardships involved in these severe restrictions some States provided State relief for those who could not establish local settlement but limited such State relief to those who resided within the State for a specified period.

The term "settlement" is used to describe legal status with respect to the right to receive relief as a public charge when without means of support. The term "unsettled person" means a person who has no claim upon any governmental unit for relief when in need.

Forty-three States have statutory provisions under their poor laws with respect to settlement. Five States[6] and the District of Columbia have no such provisions.

The settlement of a child usually follows that of the father, and of a wife, that of the husband.[7] Provisions with respect to length of time required to gain or lose settlement vary greatly.

In 15 States residence in the State for a prescribed period is required before a poor person may be entitled to receive relief from any political unit therein. Provisions of other States relate only to residence within a local unit. Length of time within a State required to gain settlement ranges from 1 to 3 years; within a county, from 90 days to 5 years; and within a city or town, from 1 to 5 years. The longest periods required are in the New England States (except Vermont) and New Jersey.

Periods during which a person is in receipt of public relief, or private relief, or relief of either type, in many States cannot be counted toward the acquisition of settlement. Several States have further restrictions with reference to acquirement of settlement while in a hospital or institution.

Settlement may be lost by acquiring settlement in another local government unit or in another State, or by absence from the State or the local unit (often with certain qualifications) for periods of time ranging from 1 month to 5 years. In a few States settlement is lost in a shorter time than it may be acquired.[8]

Development of special forms of public assistance for special types of need, such as aid to needy dependent children, old-age assistance, and aid to the blind, has resulted in many States in the removal of persons receiving such aid from the general operations of the poor laws. Special provisions relative to length of residence required as one of the conditions of eligibility for aid have differed, in some States, from the general settlement requirements.[9] The public-assistance provisions of the Social Security Act are promoting much greater uniformity in residence requirements for the categories covered by the act than prevailed hitherto. The general residence standard under title IV of the Federal act, relating to aid to needy, dependent children, is as follows: Resident of State, 1 year immediately preceding application, or born within State within 1 year preceding application of a mother resident in the State for 1 year preceding the birth of the child.[10]

Special statutory provisions authorizing relief to nonresidents, frequently for emergency periods only, exist in many States. These provisions in the States included in the study are shown in table. They relate to two groups of nonresidents, those having no settlement within the State and those having settlement in some other county, city, or town.

Relief for nonresidents

In most of the States in which relief can be given to nonresidents having no settlement in the State, support of such persons is a county responsibility, but in Florida and New York assistance may be provided from State funds. In New York a person needing aid is supported from State funds if he has resided in the State for 1 year, but in a public-welfare district for less than 60 days. As is shown by the following table, great variation exists in the responsibility given to State or county authorities for the support of nonresidents. In a few States no statutory authority has been given for such aid, and in several aid may be given at the discretion of county officials. Some States limit aid to providing for sick or infirm persons, and others specify that support must be given in an institution for the care of indigents.

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[6] Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, and New Mexico.

[7] For a more extended analysis of settlement laws see appendix.

[8] Ibid.

[9] In old-age assistance and blind-aid laws the period of residence required as a condition of eligibility frequently exceeds by some years the length of residence required for settlement under the poor law, but restrictions with reference to receipt of relief while acquiring residence are not used in the newer types of public-assistance legislation.

[10] The maximum residence requirement which, under the Federal act, a State may impose as a condition of eligibility for old-age assistance and for aid to the blind is: "Five years during the nine years immediately preceding the application * * * and * * * one year immediately preceding the application (U. S. C., supp. II, title 42, secs. 302, 1202); and, under such act a State may not deny aid to any dependent child residing in the State "(1) who has resided in the State for one year immediately preceding the application for such aid, or (2) who was born within the State within one year immediately preceding the application, if its mother has resided in the State for one year immediately preceding the birth" (ibid., sec. 602).

Special provisions for granting aid to nonresidents having settlement elsewhere in the State were found in the laws of 13 of the 21 States visited. The most significant variation in the laws of these States is the provision, or lack of provision, for reciprocity between local political units whereby the aid given in the place in which the person was living could be charged back to the place in which he had settlement. Most of these laws provide for the removal of an indigent person to his place of settlement, but all of them, recognizing the hardships of such removal in certain cases, authorize the granting of aid without removal. In some States the authority for granting relief is apparently permissive rather than mandatory.

Historical development of transient-relief policies

The problem of providing for the needy, nonsettled person, which has always existed to a greater or lesser degree, was important even before the economic crisis of 1929. It was in evidence, for example, in the large metropolitan areas of the Midwest such as Chicago and Kansas City, where casual and seasonal industrial laborers congregate during their periods of unemployment. It was in evidence, too, in the southern and southwestern States, where many migratory agricultural workers live, always close to the dependency line. These States had, also, the problem of the needy tourist and the health seeker who sooner or later were likely to become dependent.

Under the present organization of industry, with its large-scale seasonal activities—agriculture, lumber, fishing, and so forth—a mobile labor supply is indispensable. It has been estimated that between 300,000 and 500,000 migratory workers pass through Chicago alone during the course of a normal year.[11] With the onset of the depression, the number of migrants increased markedly.

In the early history of this country very little relief was given the migrant. Missions and shelters were developed in urban centers that were located on main highways of travel or served as points of supply. Woodyards and wayfarers' lodges were provided by public and private authorities, and in some instances small appropriations were made for transporting persons to their home communities.

In most communities, however, the migrant was a vagrant, and his care was considered a responsibility of the police. The general policy was to arrest him on a vagrancy charge, suspend the sentence, and order him out of town; or, at best, to provide him with a night's lodging and a meal, usually in the jail or the poorhouse, and to pass him on to the next community without concern for his personal welfare or consideration for the community to which he was destined. This practice, which has come to be known as "passing on," only increased his migrancy and sooner or later resulted in his complete demoralization.

The period from 1880 to 1902 was marked by increasing interest on the part of public officials and those in charge of private charitable agencies, in provision for dependent persons with no local settlement. Policies were difficut to work out because of the differences in State settlement laws, and the result was that many persons could not get relief in any community. The problem became acute as a result of the depression of 1893–97. With the development of methods of care of dependents based on case-work principles, there was much greater appreciation of the necessity of carefully considering the circumstances of needy individuals who did not have residence or settlement in the places in which they applied for care. In 1902 a committee was appointed by the National Conference of Charities and Correction to draft a set of rules for the transportation of dependents. These rules developed into the so-called "transportation agreement."[12]

In brief, this agreement provided that the agency considering provision of transportation should be satisfied by accurate and reliable evidence that the applicant's prospects for normal living would not be decreased by his being sent to the proposed destination; that the applicant would have resources for maintenance at the point of destination, that he was a proper charge upon the agencies there, or had legal residence there; that reasonable effort had been made to obtain from an appropriate agency at the proposed destination a report of the facts; and that provision had been made for the applicant through to his ultimate destination. Most private case-work agencies signed the transportation agreement and used their influence to persuade others to sign it, but few public officials were ever induced to sign. In fact, only 64 public officials were included in a list of more than 1,000 signers in 1933.

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[11] The Hobo, p. 3.

[12] A history of the development of this agreement is contained in a publication entitled The Transportation Problem in American Social Work, by Jeffrey R. Brackett, Ph. D., published by the Russell Sage Foundation, 1936.

Among the difficulties confronting public agencies in adhering to the agreement were doubts of their legal right to agree to a course of action that, in individual cases, might involve provision of maintenance in violation of settlement laws.

For the most part the application of case-work methods to migrants was limited to temporary provision for their needs and arrangements for them to return home when such a procedure was in harmony with the principles expressed in the transportation agreement. Agencies giving shelter or overnight care had few case workers. Even the inadequate social provisions that had been developed during the 50 years from 1880 to 1930 broke down with the tremendous increase in dependency and in the number of persons who were migrating in search of work at the onset of the depression in 1929. In a report of a committee on provision for transients and nonresidents, made to the Conference on the Maintenance of Welfare Standards in Chicago in November 1932, it was pointed out that in the preceding 3 years there had been a tremendous increase in the volume of transients and a marked change in the types of persons and groups that were traveling. The report stated in part:

"Decreasing opportunities for self-maintenance are available to the migratory laborer and his family. There is an ebbing tide from areas of former 'booms' and from city to county. Scarcity of work, discrimination by employers—public and private—against single young men, hopelessness in regard to possibilities of normal economic and social life, family destitution, and inadequacy of relief (including especially, in the case of families, nonpayment of rent followed by evictions) have given rise to quite new types of transients who, but for unemployment, would have been stable, self-supporting constituents of the communities that they left.

"Because of their overwhelming numbers and heavy burdens carried by local communities in relieving their own residents, approved practices of dealing with transients for the most part have broken down, and in general, procedures for meeting their needs in any comprehensive, constructive way have not been developed as yet." [13]

The committee further pointed out the individual and social consequences of the transient problem, as follows:

"A. Physical hazards, including fatal accidents, especially in connection with riding the freights; crippling; diseases due to exposure, lack of cleanliness and sanitation, vermin, contagion, or infection, including influenza, pneumonia, and, undoubtedly in serious proportions, venereal disease; and depleted physical conditions due to exposure, undernourishment, and lack of proper clothing and shoes.

"B. Demoralization and disintegration of morals and morale, personality, and character, including loss of habits of application and work; absence of any stabilizing social relationships or normal affection; lack of vocational opportunities; association with chronic wanderers, degenerates, and criminals.

"C. Shifting of burden of care away from natural resources to new communities, with concentration in areas too small or too unorganized to meet the problem, but attracting transients for reasons of climate or railroad facilities.

"D. Panhandling costs." [14]

To deal with the acute problems developing in 1932, a steering committee of representatives of national agencies interested in the transient problem was organized by the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, which had been requested by the President's organization on unemployment relief to assume special responsibility for making plans for the care of transients. A brief memorandum was submitted to this committee summarizing facts regarding the transient situation assembled by the Children's Bureau during the spring of 1932.[15] This memorandum showed that case-work agencies were already aware of the almost complete break-down of the approved methods of handling transients that had been built up painstakingly during the years preceding the depression. The transportation agreement, it was then reported, had largely gone into the discard. Communities did not have the funds to pay transportation of transients to the place of established responsibility. Many communities lacked even the resources necessary to maintain transients during the period required to make an investigation in a distant area. Hence there had been a widespread relapse into the vicious practice of "passing on." At the same time, it was pointed out, social agencies were confronted with a transient problem that transcended anything the country had ever known. Boys and men and, in smaller proportion, girls and women and family groups were riding the freight trains, hitchhiking, and going from place to place on a minimum subsistence basis in rickety automobiles. Statistics of trespassers killed on railroads, already referred to in other sections of this report, afford an index of the transient problem. The number of those killed in this way reached its peak in 1933.[16]

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[13] Report of Conference on the Maintenance of Welfare Standards. The American Public Welfare Association with the cooperation of the Public Administration Clearing House, the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, November 18, 19, 20, 1932, Chicago, Ill., p. 14. Issued by the American Public Welfare Association.

[14] Ibid., pp. 15–16.

In an effort to deal constructively with the situation confronting boys and men, some of the counties in California established camps in the winter of 1931–32 in which forestry activities were carried on. Testimony presented at hearings held before the Senate Committee on Manufactures indicated the urgency of the needs and the ways in which some communities were attempting to meet them. Attention was called to the importance of a twofold program which, on the one hand, would attempt to increase the resources available for relief and work in home communities and, on the other hand, would provide decent minimum standards of care and if possible constructive opportunities for those who were on the road.[17]

In order to provide more adequate channels for information and to assist in obtaining more adequate provision for transients, the national committee on care of transients and homeless, appointed by the national social-work council, was organized to succeed the steering committee appointed by the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies. The committee undertook to review available material concerning the size and nature of the problem, to conduct field service and censuses, and to make recommendations for interagency relationships and legislative action.

The Federal program

Because of the extent of the problem and the interest aroused in it, provision was included in the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933[18] for special funds to be designated for the care of the transient and homeless. One of the first acts of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was the establishment of a division of transient activities, officially known as the Transient Division. For the purpose of administration, a transient was defined as "an individual who had resided in a State less than 12 consecutive months," and for the first time nonresidents became legally eligible for relief solely on the basis of their need. irrespective of the varying settlement requirements of the several States.

Participation in the Federal program was conditioned upon the establishment of a State transient bureau with a properly qualified director of transient activities in charge.[19] In order to achieve uniform standards and practices throughout the country, plans for State programs were subject to the approval of the Federal director and the establishment of a central registration system of transients was required.

Considerable freedom was allowed the States in the establishment of their programs, and many differences existed in the relationship between the State transient administration and the local relief units. In general, however, State plans included a system of service centers for all classes of transients, in cities and other congested transportation points and of rural camps for unattached men to which referral was made from the service centers.

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[15] Memorandum on the Transient Boy. Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Washington 1932.

[16] Accident Bulletin No. 104, Interstate Commerce Commission, Bureau of Statistics, chart 8, p. 5. Washington 1936.

[17] Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures, U. S. Senate, 72d Cong., 2d sess., on S. 521.

[18] 48 Stat. 55.

[19] In line with the general policy of decentralization later adopted, more responsibility was placed upon the State relief administrators, who were asked to integrate the State transient programs more completely with the general relief organizations.

In some localities men were provided for in congregate shelters connected with the service centers; in others, municipal or private shelters were used on a contract or per diem basis. Unattached women were cared for in Young Women's Christian Association boarding homes or similar institutions, and families were established in private lodging houses. Boys and girls were usually referred to existing private agencies experienced in dealing with the problems of young people. Definite approved standards of diet and housing, identical with those adhered to in State-operated shelters, were required of all shelters and lodging houses used by a State transient bureau, and emphasis was placed on adequate food budgets for families assigned to housekeeping quarters.

Case-work departments, with trained and experienced case workers, were required by the Federal Transient Service as an integral part of the program in each center. Through the services of this department, the transient was assisted in planning constructively for the immediate present and for the future, if he cared to take advantage of this service.

A physical examination was required of all individuals seeking care at the transient centers, and provision was made for medical and health services (exclusive of hospitalization), particularly aimed at the control of infectious and contagious diseases. Work projects, involving a small cash wage, were a part of the program in most centers, their adequacy, however, depending upon the extent to which local funds were available for tools and equipment. The importance of recreational activities was recognized, and in a few instances worthwhile educational programs were organized.

A few of the work camps, which were an outstanding feature of the Federal program, were organized mainly for treatment purposes. Several camps, for instance, specialized in the treatment of tuberculosis, and several in the treatment of venereal diseases. Most of them, however, were established to provide useful work and a healthful environment for able-bodied men. They were usually located in public parks, forest preserves, and other rural environments. Many were organized to carry out needed public improvements and were operated on a small-cash-allowance basis. On June 15, 1935, several months prior to the discontinuance of the Federal program, 62,000 men were engaged on 573 work projects, and much of permanent value resulted from their efforts—school buildings, roads, parks, dams, and airdromes. Most of the camp buildings were also the work of the men themselves.

At the time that the Federal transient program was at its height, 300 service shelters and 350 camps were in operation throughout the country.[20]

Liquidation of the Federal program

In 1935, when the Federal relief program was shifted from a direct-relief to a work-relief basis and the Federal Government retained responsibility only for work relief, the Federal transient program was discontinued with final grants to the States for liquidation purposes. At the same time instructions were issued by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration that transients would be eligible for certification to Works Progress Administration projects, Civilian Conservation Corps, and other work programs, on the same basis as resident unemployed. For admission to the Civilian Conservation Corps, however, it was necessary that the applicant should have dependents on relief to whom wages could be assigned. Transient unemployables again became the responsibility of the counties and States.

At the meeting of the Interstate Conference on Transients and Settlement Laws in Trenton, N. J., in March 1936, following the liquidation of the Federal Transient Service, the favorable and unfavorable aspects of the Federal program were summed up. It was pointed out that the program was limited, since local participation was not solicited and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration did not provide adequate supervision. Consequently, some States developed stronger and better organizations than others, according to the strength of their personnel. Some of the functions of the Transient Bureau, such as registration and investigation, were identical with those of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; yet no integration was attempted. The return of nonresident persons to the place of their legal settlement was overemphasized. Many transients were being returned to communities, though former ties had been broken and no opportunities for employment were available. Furthermore, the policy of establishing congregate shelters tended to create in the public mind a fear that large groups of men would be congested at different points throughout the State.

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[20] Summary Report on Transient Program. Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Congressional Record, June 18, 1936, p. 9854.

On the other hand, an immediate and pressing need was met, and met with a standard of relief generally superior to that given the local homeless and as a result standards of relief for local homeless were improved throughout the country. The work-relief programs established proved that transients were on the whole anxious and willing to work and that transients are part of the unemployed group and must be considered as such in any projected plan for their welfare.[21]

The national committee on care of transients and homeless, in a study made in 1934, when the Federal Transient Bureau had been in existence approximately 1 year, commented on the program as follows:

"This study indicates that the Federal transient program, although leaving much room for improvement, was one of the greatest and most significant achievements in the field of social work in recent years. The elementary physical needs of life were being fairly well met and the old process of 'passing on' of transients after a day or two of care had been discontinued. * * *

"It was clear that local communities were gradually, in some cases rapidly, being converted to a much more tolerant attitude toward the Federal transient program and toward transients as a group. This was particularly true where a good work program had been developed and transients were performing useful public improvements.

"The fact that Federal rather than local funds were being spent in the community was a large factor in changing public attitudes, but the orderly nature of the transients themselves, where a good local program was in effect, was also an important factor.

"This study left no doubt that if Federal funds for the transient program should be discontinued the program would almost completely disappear and conditions would revert promptly to the preprogram status." [22]

With the liquidation of the Federal program and the return of the responsibility for the care of migrants to local and State authorities, public interest is once more centered on the transient, particularly in those States that have carried the heaviest load. A number of State and national groups, concerned over the situation that has developed since the termination of the Federal program, have made efforts to obtain some form of Federal grants to the States for transient relief. The National Committee on Care of Transients and Homeless has been especially active. These groups have also been considering methods of liberalizing State settlement laws and promoting interstate agreements.

In many States committees on transiency have been organized by the State conference of social work to study the situation in the State and to recommend ways of handling it. In Florida the Governor appointed an official State-wide committee in January 1936 to "study existing conditions and make plans to meet them." This committee has been particularly active in working for Federal legislation for the transient.

The Interstate Conference on Transients and Settlement Laws mentioned above met in March 1936, and in April of the same year the National Tuberculosis Association held a regional conference in Santa Fe, N. Mex., at which the problem of the tuberculous transient was the subject of discussion. Both these conferences were concerned with the need for State and Federal legislative action in behalf of the transient. Recommendations on transiency and settlement laws were adopted at the conference of the American Public Welfare Association in Washington, D. C., in December 1936 and in a Midwest conference on the same subject in St. Paul in March 1937.

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[21] Minutes of the Interstate Conference on Transients and Settlement Laws, p. 77, assembly chamber, Statehouse, Trenton, N. J., 1936 (mimeographed).

[22] Ellery Reed: The Federal Transient Program—An Evaluative Survey, p. 87. New York, 1935.

CHAPTER XVI. PRESENT RELIEF SITUATION IN THE AREAS STUDIED AS RELATED TO MIGRANTS

Size of problem

Since the withdrawal of Federal funds for transients little relief has been available for the migrant person or family. Central registration of those applying for aid, such as was provided for under the Federal program, is rare at the present time. Because of lack of funds for relief, both the public and private agencies are quite generally taking definite steps to discourage the migrant from applying for assistance. In many places no registration is made of the cases of migrants whose appeal is rejected; hence figures from agencies usually show only a small proportion of the cases of migrants who come to them—specifically the few emergency cases given aid.

Because of such limitations information on the extent of the relief problems among migrants is fragmentary, and no accurate or complete measure is possible. Published reports are available, however, from a few States and large cities, and in some of the communities studied it was possible to obtain figures from records and reports of individual agencies. These figures, although incomplete, do indicate that a very definite problem exists, of sufficient size to merit attention, and that many migrants in need of aid do not come to public attention because they do not have an opportunity to register or have been deterred from applying for aid.

In interpreting the following figures for some of the communities studied, it should be borne in mind that they are not inclusive for any of the localities but are only suggestive of the size of the problem. The cases are classified as "interstate" and "intrastate."

In Michigan, where a State program of relief to transients or migrants has been maintained, the registrations as of April 15, 1936, showed a total of 1,123 interstate family cases, representing 4,462 individuals and 446 unattached persons under care. The intrastate cases of nonresidents numbered 2,585 families of 11,299 individuals and 793 unattached persons.

A summary of the number of cases of migrants applying to the State Relief Administration of California for the 6-month period from July to December 1936 is given in the monthly report for December 1936.[23] This shows that a total of 13,370 applications were received from nonresidents during that time. Of these, 9,536 received aid and 3,834 were rejected. These figures apply to the whole State of California, and because of the policy which bars unattached men from applying for relief from the State agencies they relate almost exclusively to families. In two of the smaller cities in California where municipal shelters were maintained it was reported that as many as 220 men were applying for care daily, and in a larger city from 1,200 to 1,400 had been present in the shelters on each of several days.

A census was taken on April 1, 1936, of homeless persons in New York City who were found to be sleeping in subway stations, subway trains, parks, and under benches. This census showed a total of 5,823 persons, of whom 2,155 were reported to be transients or nonsettled persons, and 3,668 local homeless.[24]

A report from the family-service agencies in New York City for January 1937 showed the number of cases of families under their care that had resided in New York less than 1 year. At the beginning of the month there were 334 active cases, and 201 applications were received during the month. Of these 115 were accepted, making a total of 449 cases under care during the month.[25] The average number given daily lodgings in February 1937 by 44 agencies in New York City which recorded the number was 11,323 men, 274 women, and 43 children (cases of transients and local homeless not distinguished.)[26]

During the 6 months ending December 31, 1936, one agency in Minneapolis, Minn., reported a total of 2,070 unattached men applying for care, of which 1,111 were persons with no settlement status.

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[23] Monthly Report of State Relief Administration, California, December 1936. (Mimeographed.)

[24] Public Relief for Transients and Nonsettled Persons in the State of New York, pp. 26–27. Report submitted to Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, August 3, 1936, by the Governor's Committee on Unemployment Relief, Albany, 1936.

[25] Statistics of Family Case Work in New York City, January 1937, p. 6, Research Bureau, Welfare Council, New York, March 3, 1937.

[26] Ibid.

In Kansas City, Mo., a private agency providing shelter care for unattached persons reports that on the night of January 16, 1937, 715 men were cared for. Reports of this agency show that more than 15,000 transients were given shelter care during 1936.

In Denver, in 1½ months (January 1, 1937, to February 13, 1937), 659 nonresident families made application for relief at the Bureau of Public Welfare.

Figures available from three southern cities, Atlanta, Birmingham, and New Orleans, indicate that these cities have a problem of some size. In New Orleans information was available from two 1-day censuses of all applications of migrants for food or shelter. Almost all the agencies having any contact with homeless and migrant persons cooperated in taking these censuses. These reports show that on January 16, 1937, 550 individuals or family groups applied for food or shelter and that 430 unattached persons and 7 family groups received shelter. On January 26, the total number of applications was 451, and 362 unattached persons and 12 family groups received care.

In Atlanta during a 9-month period, from March 18 to December 24, 1936, the Fulton County Board of Public Welfare served as a registration bureau for migrants applying for aid. During those 9 months a total of 3,625 unattached persons and 205 family groups applied to this department. The annual report of the Salvation Army in the same city for 1936 showed a total of 205 nonresident family cases, and 7,041 cases of unattached migrant persons receiving some type of care.

Monthly reports for the period from October 1936 through January 1937 were furnished by the Department of Public Welfare in Birmingham. These reports showed that 117 families and 56 unattached persons were given care during that time. In this city no measure whatsoever is taken of the size of the problem of unattached migrant men.

In Texas an effort is being made, through a special committee known as the Continuing Committee on Transients and Homeless for the State of Texas, to obtain a State-wide measure of their problem. Figures were available from a number of counties (exclusive of some of the larger cities) for September and October 1936. A total of 257 applications was reported for September and 783 for October. Many more applicants were rejected than were accepted for some form of relief.

In New Mexico, where the problems of the agricultural migrant and health seekers predominate, unpublished reports of the State Department of Public Welfare give figures showing the number of migrants who have received relief. In the 9-month period from June 1936 to February 1937, inclusive, 341 new applications from family groups and 97 from unattached persons were accepted at the State relief offices in the various districts throughout the State. These figures do not always include the cases rejected without registration. A special count of all applications of migrants made in the 10 days between December 28, 1936, and January 9, 1937, in four of the counties through which a heavy load of migrants pass, shows a total of 39 families, representing 149 individuals and 114 unattached persons. Since this is one of the States in which applications for relief from migrants are discouraged, these figures are by no means inclusive of the group who may have needed aid. Furthermore, they do not include all the persons and families who were given two meals and temporary shelter overnight in the various shelters maintained by the Salvation Army and the police stations. In one small community in this State (Las Cruces) the Salvation Army gave care to between four and six hundred migrant persons each month during a period of 4 months covered by the study. In the largest city of the State 476 individuals or families were assisted by various agencies during August 1936.

Through the reporting of social statistics carried on by the Children's Bureau, information is available from 10 cities in the United States on the number of transient cases, both families and unattached men, reported by a group of agencies in those cities as receiving care. Six of the 10 cities are in areas included in the field study. These reports show that during 1936, 12,170 family groups and 70,994 unattached individuals received care from relief agencies. A total of 80,440 unattached individuals was reported as having received care through shelter agencies.

In the fall of 1935 and again in 1936 the division of social research of the Works Progress Administration undertook to measure the transient problem as it relates to relief in 12 cities of the United States. This was done through a census of migrants or transient persons applying to all agencies for aid of any type on a given date in September of each year. The figures obtained through these two censuses indicate the size of the problem as reported on the dates specified and are available in a report of the Works Progress Administration.[27]

The figures obtained in the 1936 census show a total of 14,911 cases given aid by the principal agencies in the 12 cities on the date of the census. Of these, 13,424 were unattached persons and 1,487 were family groups.

Source of funds

As was true regarding the size of the problem, no accurate or complete picture could be obtained in the areas studied of the amount of funds available or the amount which had been expended during recent months to aid migrants. Many of the public-relief authorities, State and local, were planning their expenditures on a month-to-month basis only, often with no assurance of continuing beyond the current period. The private agencies were also handicapped by a similar necessity for short-time financial planning. The financial reports which were available often did not separate the amounts expended for nonresidents from those expended for residents. The inadequacy of funds for relief to migrants, and to residents, was also emphasized by almost everyone interviewed during the course of the study. Representatives of many private agencies were greatly distressed over the volume of applications from migrants who were really in need of assistance but whose appeal they could meet only with refusal because of lack of funds.

In the group of States where no funds were expended by the State for general relief, the entire relief program was cared for from local public and private-agency funds. In general, in these States the counties provided no funds for migrants except the cost of emergency medical care. However, in a few of the smaller communities the county had contributed small amounts, perhaps $25 or $50 a month, to private agencies such as the Salvation Army. In one large urban county in a Middle Western State (Hamilton County, Ohio) the county provided funds allocated to the department of public welfare for social service and shelter care for migrants.

In other States where the general relief program was financed through State funds or a combination of State and county funds, it was found to be a general policy that no special allocations should be made for migrants but that such expenditures as were necessary in emergency cases were made from the general relief budget. The use of State funds in Michigan and Minnesota is described in another section, as is the availability of the liquidation grant from the Federal transient program for migrant relief in Florida and California.

In most of the cities visited, even the smaller communities, funds for support of the private agencies were raised through a community chest organization. The community chest had allocated funds in addition to the regular budgets to certain agencies in several localities for care of and service to migrants. The Salvation Army and the Travelers Aid Society were the two agencies most frequently in receipt of such special funds. The failure of communities to meet the community-chest quota necessary to carry on the regular work of the agencies had made it difficult and even impossible in some places to provide extra funds for migrants from this source. In fact, many private agencies were operating on a reduced budget because the allowances from the community chest had been cut. In other communities the attitude of the public was so opposed to assisting migrants that it was impossible for the community chest to set aside funds for that purpose. As in the case of a few of the counties noted previously, some cities had made small appropriations of $25 or $50 a month to private agencies, primarily to provide overnight shelter care and meals so that migrants might be kept off the streets and out of the police stations.

In California several of the larger cities and cities of medium size were maintaining shelters with city funds. Since the funds from the liquidation grant of the Federal transient program have become exhausted in this State, Los Angeles has recently appropriated $8,600 to be used for the shelter care of unattached men. The arrangements for this care will be made on a contractual basis, and the amount was allotted to be used during 2 months.

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[27] A Survey of the Transient and Homeless Population in 12 Cities, September 1935 and September 1936. Research Bulletin, Works Progress Administration, Washington, 1937.

In some cases where funds have not been made available, private or public agencies have resorted to newspaper publicity or private collections to raise funds.

State activities

"The only relief organization active in ——— County is the county commissioner's court and they have given strict instructions to the county case workers that they will not accept any kind of transients as relief clients, regardless of their need, on account of having more local cases than they can possibly take care of."

"No attention is paid to transients in this county; they leave just like they come in."

The above statements were made in October 1936, in reports from two county-welfare workers in a State (Texas) where the entire responsibility for caring for all relief clients fell on the county units of government. They reflect the general attitude toward relief for the migrant of State and local public officials, in many of the areas studied. This attitude was perhaps expressed more intensely in the States where relief was wholly or in part the responsibility of the local governmental units than in the States where relief was provided entirely by State funds.

That preference should be given to the needy family or person who has legal settlement in the community or State is perhaps no more than natural; yet the migrant, his wife, and children may be just as much in need of food, shelter, or other service as the family that has lived in the community long enough to comply with the legal requirements.

In some areas the policies had not been so rigidly set as those expressed in the first quotation given above, and aid from public funds was expended to the migrant person or family whose case seemed urgent from a humanitarian standpoint. On the other hand, rigid exclusion of transients was not infrequent.

In only 4 [28] of the 20 States studied had the State relief authorities, whether partly or wholly responsible for the general relief program set up any definite program for the interstate migrant or for the migrant moving about within the State.

Lack of funds to provide adequately for the resident relief load was stated by State relief authorities and local officials to be an important factor in preventing them from establishing relief programs for the migrant group. When the funds do not even reach all the residents in need of aid, the State relief authorities expressed the view that they should not take any active steps to set up a special program for the migrant.

State programs in Florida and California.—At the time of this study the assistance and welfare services being provided for migrants by the State relief organization in two of the four States which had developed programs (Florida and California) were made possible by the liquidating grants given after the termination of the Federal transient program. As indicated in the following brief descriptions of the program in these two States they provided little more than temporary care in the most urgent cases.

In Florida these liquidation funds were being expended through the State board of social welfare, which is the agency administering relief for the State. In three of the larger cities (Jacksonville, Tampa, and Miami) central application bureaus were set up. To these bureaus, located in district offices of the State board of social welfare, migrants seeking aid might be referred for registration and in turn directed to suitable private agencies for aid or care. Services incident to establishing the legal residence of migrants and furnishing transportation for return home were also available through these registration centers. A cooperative program was worked out in each city between the local agencies and the worker from the application bureau. Additional service was given to men and women through referral to employment offices, and sometimes jobs were found for them through direct contact with employers. Each registration or application office was in charge of a case worker who carried on the work with part-time stenographic assistance from the general staff of the district office.

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[28] Florida, California, Michigan, and Minnesota.

No funds were supplied from this source for material relief such as food or shelter. Such aid was given only insofar as it was available through referral to local private agencies and was limited in the three cities primarily to temporary lodging or shelter care. The amounts available for transportation were extremely low, $50 a month in Jacksonville and Tampa and $100 a month in Miami. The money was used almost exclusively to return migrant families and as a rule was not used for unattached persons.

The California State Relief Administration extended aid to migrants under the following conditions:

"Any relief applicant with less than a year's residence in California is classed as a transient. No aid is extended to single, able-bodied, unattached, transient men. Families, women, girls, and boys are given emergency aid only pending verification of legal residence, at which time transportation to place of residence is offered and aid discontinued.[29]

The funds for this service were obtained from the residue of moneys left over from the operation of the Federal transient service and the final grant made by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for the liquidation of the Federal transient service. They were administered by the State relief administration through its district offices. No special or separate organization was set up for this service, but it was integrated with the administrative and case-work service of the State and district administrations.

The main emphasis of the service was placed on the return of applicants to legal settlement whenever possible. Food and shelter for emergency cases were available, but usually only for those awaiting transportation to their own communities. During the severe cold and rainy period of January and February 1937 much suffering was experienced through the increase of sickness, especially influenza and pneumonia, among the last-arrived and least well-housed workers in the cotton- and pea-crop areas. Cases of sickness and accident were usually referred to the county hospitals for care and to the county doctors for treatment. During this emergency the county physicians refused to take responsibility for the care of these sick persons in the inadequate houses in which they lived, and use was made by the State relief administration fund to equip a temporary hospital in one area to take care of the situation.

Reports from both Florida and California, received in March 1937 following the completion of the field work for the study, showed that the liquidation funds under which the programs were being carried out had been exhausted. With such such funds no longer available, the relief services for migrants had been ordered discontinued.

In Michigan and Minnesota definite State relief programs for migrants had been undertaken, with State funds available for this purpose and with administrative staff within the State relief organization responsible for carrying out the plan. The program in Michigan made no distinction between the interstate, intrastate, and local homeless, but in Minnesota the activities were limited to providing care for intrastate migrants.

The Michigan program.—Following the liquidation of the Federal transient program, the State of Michigan assumed full responsibility for the care of the migrant. Michigan is the only State among those studied to take such a step. It was in a more favorable position to do so than many other States because the provisions of the poor laws of the State nonresidents may be given relief "at the expense of the county where they may be." [30] The shelters used under the Federal program, which had been closed to new applicants in September 1935, were reopened in December of that year under the State program.

Organization: The organization of the Michigan program is similar to that which was in existence under the Federal transient program, except that interstate and intrastate migrants and local homeless come within its scope, and the administrative functions are more closely connected with the general relief program of the State.

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[29] Letter from State Relief Administrator of California, January 26, 1937.
[30] See Appendix.

A bureau for homeless and unattached persons has been created as a department of the State emergency welfare relief administration and similar bureaus have been established as part of the county relief units in five of the principal counties of the State. These five county bureaus operate their own congregate shelters. Two other counties also operate shelters but as an integral part of the county relief unit instead of under separate bureaus. In all the other counties of the State a member of the staff or a department of the county relief administration has been made responsible for the care of the migrant. Two State camps have been established to provide continued care for semiemployable single men. The operation of these camps is the direct responsibility of the State bureau. The relationship of the State bureau to the county bureaus and to the relief units caring for the transient is advisory only, except that the budget for the operation of the shelter must be approved by the State bureau.

Source of funds: The entire program for homeless and unattached persons is financed by State and local funds. The care of interstate and intrastate migrants is provided for entirely from State funds. The care of the local homeless is provided from both State and local funds on the same percentage basis as the county relief program as a whole.

Bureaus and shelters: Bureaus established in the five counties are in the industrial centers of Detroit, Lansing, Flint, Kalamazoo, and Grand Rapids. The two independent shelters are in Pontiac and Jackson. These cities receive approximately 85 percent of the migrant population coming into the State. The problem in the other counties is a small one and transients are provided meals only, except in a few instances where continued care is needed because of illness or during a period of investigation. In such instances private lodging is provided.

Although the five bureaus are under the direct supervision of the county relief unit, they have a complete organization of their own with a specialized personnel. The two independent shelters are operated with the same personnel that carries on the other work of the county relief unit.

Registration: Because of the integration with the county relief units, registration or intake policies vary with the different bureaus and shelters. The two independent shelters are operated mainly for the care of local homeless men. Nonresidents are accepted only for single meals and one night's lodging. Even among the bureaus the policies differ, several accepting women and families for care, others accepting only men.

Services available: Shelter service includes three meals a day, lodging, clothing as needed, medical examination and care, personal laundry, and barber service. Able-bodied men are required to perform a minimum amount of maintenance work in return for board and lodging. Special work projects are also provided, some of which pay small cash allowances.

The emphasis of the Michigan program is on rehabilitation for employment. To this end all the shelters have provided a medical program with attending physicians and hospital and isolation facilities. They also carry on an employment program. All men are required to register with the National Reemployment Service, and in Detroit special employment service is available through the staff of the shelter. The staff provides social case work service at each shelter. Effort is made, insofar as possible, to provide for each individual according to his particular needs.

In the case-work policies for the single and unattached man the emphasis is on physical and industrial rehabilitation. No special limit is set on the time during which any man may remain at the shelter.

The method of caring for needy nonresident families varies with the different bureaus in the counties. Some provide care under bureau supervision, others refer all families to the county welfare administration. In Detroit, where the largest nonresident-family problem arises, responsibility is accepted by the bureau of homeless and unattached persons.

In that city families are cared for in a group of old apartment houses which the bureau has arranged to rent. These are furnished and each apartment may accommodate from two to seven persons. Nonresident families are allowed to remain in the city a reasonable time to search for work. The length of stay depends entirely upon the individual case. In some instances the incomes of nonresident families have been supplemented for 5 or 6 months. After a month a nonresident family is transferred to the care of the department of public welfare. Legal residence is verified in all cases as a matter of routine and families are returned to their home communities if that seems the best plan for them.

Boys under 16 are referred for care to the juvenile-detention home and boys of 16 and 17 are transferred to the boys' bureau, which accepts responsibility for such cases.

State camps: One of the camps maintained under the Michigan program is located near Muskegon, the other on the upper peninsula. Both migrants and local homeless are admitted to the camps. These have been established primarily for the care and rehabilitation of the semiemployable men and to provide temporarily for unemployables who require longer care and more informal treatment than the shelters can afford. When the camp at Muskegon was visited in February 1937 there were 130 men registered. Admission is only by referral from the county bureaus. The men remain at the camp until some plan has been made for them. Each man is required to give 27 hours a week of work in return for his keep. Educational and recreational programs are carried on and very active employment service is given with the cooperation of the National Reemployment Service.

The Minnesota program.—Minnesota established a State service for the care of persons who are migrant within the State. This service comprises a camp program for unattached handicapped men and men seasonally unemployed and home service for families. Services to interstate migrants are not available from State funds, so that intake has been confined to State homeless. Persons who have legal settlement in a given subdivision of the State are paid for on a contractual basis by the subdivision (county). Care for persons who have no settlement within a county in the State but have settlement in the State is paid for by State funds. A system of bookkeeping and charge-back has been developed under these arrangements. The administration of this program is vested in the State relief administration through a central transient division which acts as the clearing house for applications and charges any expenditures to the counties concerned.

The State took advantage of the quarters and equipment, purchased with Federal funds under the Federal transient service, which were made available for State use on the termination of the Federal program in 1935. Two types of camps have been established. One type provides accommodation for 1,400 men who otherwise would have been crowding the streets of Minneapolis and St. Paul. The harvest workers, lumberjacks, construction laborers of former years, and the agricultural laborers of present years, who have made Minneapolis their headquarters for many years, comprise the group now taken care of in these camps. A canning project was set up in the camps located in the Minnesota Valley with equipment left over from the F. E. R. A. program. As far as possible, products for canning were raised by the older or handicapped men on land adjacent to the plants. Commodities in excess of camp needs were expected to be produced and to be turned over to the Surplus Commodities Division for distribution to clients of the State relief administration. Arrangements were also made with the State institutions for the exchange of canned goods for articles such as overalls, shoes, and so forth. One camp was set aside for occupation by those suffering from venereal diseases.

Families were interviewed in the nonresident-family division of the State relief offices. Arrangements similar to those described for unattached men were made for charging the cost of care back to the counties in cases where county settlement was established. Case-work service was given on the same basis as to resident families, and every effort was made to return families to their own counties in the State if they could establish residence. Families of interstate nonresidents that had emergency problems were taken care of by the same agency but only on an emergency basis. Interstate unattached men were given care by the mission organizations, but relief was limited to 1 night's care. They were not eligible for admission to the camp program.

Community policies

Special committees under the auspices of councils of social agencies or community chests have been active in a number of cities in drawing up policies and working out plans to develop and coordinate whatever program for relief to migrants is possible within the scope of the funds available. In other cities, where such organization as is usually found under the community chest is lacking, policies have been set up through the cooperation of the workers or persons who have come in contact with the problem. The scope of these policies usually includes (1) intake, or the types of migrant persons to whom aid should be extended, (2) delegations of responsibility to different agencies for certain types of cases, and (3) types of service to be provided.

Families, young persons, unattached women, and sick and aged unattached men are the four groups which have generally been accepted as those to whom preference should be given. The unattached able-bodied man has been given consideration in very few communities except for shelter care, since it is felt he should be able to take care of his needs more easily than those in the other groups. It was difficult to find clear-cut, rigidly refined policies as to the types of family cases accepted or rejected. Such policies obviously would vary in accordance with the extent to which relief might be given. The statement was made in several communities that families were not accepted unless they presented some very serious problem, such as illness, or it was felt that the children would suffer because of lack of food and shelter. Various age limits were set up in relation to the young persons accepted for care. In some localities the age limit corresponded quite closely to the juvenile-court age, usually 16 or 17 years; in others it extended to 19 years. The decision was often made on the basis of the experience and attitude of the individual young person applying. Women who had a long history of continued migrancy were usually not accepted for aid.

When the private agencies had assumed a major responsibility for migrants, steps had been or were being taken in a number of cities to coordinate the program by delegating responsibility to certain agencies for different types of cases, and in some places by setting up some plan of central registration. Usually this was made a part of the services supplied by one of the agencies.

In a few communities the county department of public welfare, although unable to provide funds from its budget for relief to migrants, had contributed office space and the services of a worker to handle intake registrations. The case worker usually made some investigations and provided some service of a nonrelief type. An illustration of this type of plan was found in Atlanta. With minor variations, it was similar to the arrangements found in a few other cities. From March 1936 to December 1936 a central intake service was maintained under the auspices of the county department of public welfare. For the first 4 months the salary of the worker was paid from Federal funds, but for the last 5 months the county supplied the salary. In this city some relief was dispensed from the office through a special fund given by the city. The relief was given for domiciled nonresident families and for shelter care under the Salvation Army on a contractual basis for unattached men and families en route. During the operation of this intake service all transients applying for aid to any of the agencies were first referred to this office for registration and then directed to the Salvation Army, to missions operating shelters, or to the Travelers Aid Society. The Salvation Army in this city provided shelter for unattached men and women and for family groups. The Travelers Aid assumed responsibility for boys and girls, usually those under 18 years of age. The family groups needing aid of longer duration than a few days were cared for through the worker of the intake service.

Because of drastic curtailments made necessary by lack of appropriations for the work of the county department of welfare, Atlanta discontinued the program just described in December 1936. This situation is typical of what seems to be happening to many of the programs. When funds are exhausted the programs for migrant relief are discontinued. Since that time the Travelers Aid Society has undertaken to provide care for the family groups and has continued its services to young persons. The Salvation Army continues to provide shelter care for the unattached man on a contractual basis from funds supplied by the community chest. Lodging for family groups is available at the Travelers Aid, through the Salvation Army, but must be paid for on a per capita basis.

In a number of cities the Travelers Aid Society was the agency caring for the family groups and most frequently for the young persons. In a few places the juvenile courts had accepted responsibility for the young boys and girls. The Salvation Army and other missions quite generally furnished the shelter care; and if a public agency was providing assistance, responsibility for the family groups was often delegated to that agency.

In general the policies regarding the types of service and aid provided were restrictive. These policies included only temporary emergency provision of food and shelter for family groups; overnight shelter care, with one or two meals, for unattached persons; medical care for persons actually ill or injured; services incident to establishing legal settlement; and transportation for return home. For many migrants and their families one or all of these minimum provisions was lacking.

Services and care provided

Because of reductions in administrative funds it has been necessary for many public and private agencies to carry on their work with a minimum staff. The workers frequently have so many cases assigned to them that they cannot give adequate service in accordance with the needs of the individual families making up their case load of residents. In some places where the rush of work and the staff limitations were great interviews with clients were arranged by appointment, often several days after the original application. Migrants had frequently left town in the meantime, had made the rounds of the private agencies, or had begged from door to door or at the restaurants.

In a number of places the case-work service to the migrant family through the public agencies did not extend beyond the interview at the time of application for assistance. Emergency grocery orders were given at the time of this initial interview without investigation to verify the story told by the migrant or to discover the real needs of the individual or the family. The practice of some agencies was to make at least one visit to the migrant family that was given even the most temporary aid. Agencies that provided only shelter care and meals seldom had a social-work staff for case-work services. The above procedures were found more frequently in communities where the most restrictive policies had been set up with reference to providing relief for migrants.

A monthly report for August 1936, obtained from the district office of the State relief authority in the largest city of a Southwestern State, gives a very good picture of the type of care provided for migrants in that community:

"*Salvation Army.*—Gave lodging, gas, and groceries to 441 transients, including 27 families.

"*American Red Cross.*—Gave five single persons a night's lodging; one family groceries and gas; and transportation furnished to one unattached person.

"*Young Women's Christian Association.*—Two or three nights' lodging to single transients.

"*Young Men's Christian Association.*—Four nights' lodging.

"*American Legion.*—Assisted eight families with groceries and medical attention in the amount of $88.75.

"*American Legion Auxiliary.*—Furnished two families clothing, lodging, and food.

"*Travelers Aid.*—Gave lodging to five unattached persons; groceries to four families; gasoline to two families.

"*District office, State relief.*—Applications from migrants averaged from 3 to 5 a day from both unattached persons and family groups. This took from 3 to 5 hours on the part of an individual worker each day taking interviews, making investigations, and contacting other agencies. In many cases grocery orders had to be given as well as lodging for a period of a day. Applications were received from 20 unattached migrant men for admission to the State sanitarium for tuberculosis; 7 admissions were accepted."

In this State many of the migrant families applying for aid were traveling in old cars, with some camping or housekeeping equipment, and food was often the only aid sought. They camped by the roadside or in squatter camping areas, or they had enough funds to rent a cabin in a tourist camp. Lodging, therefore, was seldom provided in this State for the families that had some housekeeping equipment with them.

A study of the records of the State relief authority in the city from which the foregoing report is quoted bore out the fact that the case-work services were very limited and that grocery orders were frequently dispensed after only an office interview. The following brief summary typifies this procedure:

"Mr. and Mrs. S and their 8-year-old daughter found themselves without funds in ——— city en route from Chicago to California. They had started with sufficient funds to carry them on the journey, but numerous break-downs of their old car had exhausted their extra cash. The family had formerly lived in California, where the father had been a fruit packer. In 1934 they had moved to Chicago, where the father reported he had worked at odd jobs as a truck driver, etc. The reason given for their present move from Chicago back to California was the poor health of the little girl, who was unable to live in the damp climate of Chicago. They reported no resources except the 1932 car in which they were traveling, and they refused to consider the possibility of returning to Chicago. 'Due to the apparent need of the family, especially the girl, who looked very worn and hungry as well as appearing undernourished,' an emergency grocery order of $5 was provided and the family was never heard of again by the relief agency."

The services and care provided in a neighboring southwestern State were similar to those described. Officially the State had no funds for the relief of migrants, and practically all applications were being rejected. At the door of the county office of the board of public welfare in one city, was a large sign, "No Relief for Transients"; and in this city, except for shelter care provided by the Salvation Army, the private agencies were in a position to give little assistance.

"Mr. and Mrs. J, an elderly couple, and three sons and their families, consisting of their wives and six children, ranging in age from 8 months to 7 years, arrived in ——— from Illinois on the day before Thanksgiving. The father was in a very exhausted physical condition due to tuberculosis and was seeking relief for his illness by coming to a warmer climate. They had no funds left with which to buy food or to pay for lodging. They found a camping place alongside an irrigation ditch. Some shelter was provided by a clump of palm trees. They had no tents and were living in their cars. The attention of one of the private agencies was called to the family by the Catholic priest to whom they had applied for assistance. The sons were able bodied and had expected to find work readily. They were all skilled workmen, one in the metal trades, the others in the automobile industries. There was no opportunity for these types of employment in ———. At the time the family was visited by the children's bureau's representative, they were obviously suffering because of lack of proper facilities for camping and they had no food except a bit of flour. They had sold one of their gasoline stoves for 50 cents in order to buy some milk for the baby.

"Because there were three able-bodied men in the group they were not accepted for aid by the State relief office. One order of surplus commodities[31] was given them, but that was by no means sufficient.

"One visit had been paid to the family by the worker from the private agency, but all other contacts were made through office interviews. The State relief authorities offered to furnish transportation by train for the elderly couple, the younger women, and the children to return to their place of legal settlement. The men were to make their own way back. This proposal was refused by the family, and nothing further was done for them by the agencies.

"Illustrative of the services and care provided in one of the cities in a Southern State [Florida] where a central registration bureau for all migrants applying for aid had been organized are the following brief accounts of the cases of two families who applied during the visit of the children's bureau's representative.

"Mr. and Mrs. G, a young couple in their early twenties, had spent practically their last cent on bus fare to ———. When they arrived they had just enough for food and lodging for 2 days. Mr. G had been employed by one of the larger chain drug companies in a city of the flood area of Pennsylvania. In March 1936 he had been transferred to one of the company's stores in another eastern city. At the end of 3 months his wages had been so reduced that they felt they could not make a go of it and had taken their $200 savings and left for a visit to Mr. G's mother. Later they had started traveling by bus, stopping at several larger cities to look for work. On arrival in ——— they had found no employment in any of the drug stores and at the end of 2 days, when their resources were exhausted, they applied for aid.

"No funds for relief were available from the Central Application Bureau, but the worker provided care for them for 3 days through the Salvation Army. This care provided lodging in a rooming house and meals at restaurants at 15 cents each. Mr. and Mrs. G were eager to return to their home community where Mr. G had an uncle who he felt would give him assistance until he could become established again. The worker of the Central Application Bureau sought to establish this fact and to verify their legal residence. However, the service given by the agencies in the home community was slow, and although repeated requests were made, no definite reply had been received at the end of 3 days. It was the policy of the Salvation Army that no one family or individual could receive shelter or food for longer than that period. Their funds were so limited that this policy had been adopted in order to enable them to extend care to as many migrants as possible. The landlady at the rooming house agreed to permit them to remain 1 night free of charge, and the worker at the Central Application gave them money for meals from her personal funds. No definite information had been received from the home community by the following day, and there was no way of giving them further assistance to enable them to remain until the investigation could be completed. The worker provided a small amount of cash for food and took them to the produce market about 5 miles from the city in order that they might try to make arrangements for a truck ride toward their home.

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[31] The Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation provides surplus food supplies for distribution to the States. Local distribution of these supplies to the relief clients is made through the State relief authorities. They are commonly referred to and known as surplus commodities.

"The other case was that of an Italian family.

"Mr. and Mrs. M and six children, five boys and a girl between the ages of 1 and 15, had come to ——— in August from Chicago. A godchild, a young woman 21 years of age, who had lived with the family for years, came with them. Mr. M was formerly employed as a laborer in the city water department in Chicago but had been unemployed for a period of 5 years. During that time he had received direct relief and had been placed on W. P. A. work. When he received his veteran's bonus of $350 in June, they paid their debts, bought a truck, and with their household goods started for ———. Some years before Mr. M had lived in Louisiana and had raised strawberries; so he thought that if he could get a plot of ground where he could raise berries he could settle, become economically independent, and support his family without relief. On the way the truck had caught fire and was completely destroyed. They were able to save their clothing and some of the furniture. Mr. M then hired a man with a truck to bring them the rest of the way and he paid $40 for the trip. They arrived with a balance of $50 cash, their entire resources. In accordance with the general plan in the strawberry-growing area, he leased a plot of ground, the rental for which was to be paid at the end of the season when the crop was harvested. The lease included the use of an old, unoccupied shack in which the family lived. They had no conveniences, not even a stove. Mr. M immediately started his strawberry patch, and they had been able to manage on their $50 for about 2 months. At the end of that time the neighbors discovered that the children were not having any food at home and reported the case to the representative of the State relief authority in that community. As the family were nonresidents, the representative referred them to the Central Application Bureau, which was receiving all applications from migrants.

"When the worker from the Central Application Bureau visited the family, she found the report to be true that the family had no food. Since no funds were available for relief for nonresidents, the only aid she could give was an order of surplus commodities. This consisted of 2 sacks of corn meal, 1 gallon of sirup, 1 pound of prunes, and 1 can of meat. A similar order could be furnished in 2 weeks, but the use of surplus commodities for nonresidents was limited to two orders. She talked with several neighbors and received promises of day work in the neighborhood for Mr. M. The only other service she could offer was to verify their legal residence and arrange for their return. The family was reluctant to consider this plan, since it would mean they would return to relief and they felt that they could become self-supporting in a short time if they could remain to harvest the strawberries."

In another city in a neighboring State a definite program for the care of migrants had been undertaken through the cooperation of the community chest, certain private agencies, and the county department of public welfare. The community chest allocated funds as a subsidy to the Department of Public Welfare, which was to provide the service and care. The Department of Public Welfare furnished the full-time services of a case worker and functioned as a central intake office for all applications from migrants. The funds were provided on a basis of per capita cost for the actual care provided. Four types of cases were accepted: Families, sick or aged unattached men, unattached men, unattached women, and unattached juveniles.

The aid provided included food, shelter, and transportation to return families to their places of legal settlement. Arrangements were made with a private agency for the use of a large house for shelter care and for serving meals to family groups, unattached women, and children. The unattached men accepted for care were paid for at the Salvation Army hotel for men. Grocery provisions for housekeeping or camping were not given to family groups, who were cared for at the shelter. The length of time for which such care might be given any one person or family depended entirely on individual needs. Those for whom some plan was being worked out stayed as long as was necessary to complete the arrangements. They might be permitted to stay a reasonable length of time in order that the man could seek employment. Some families have been cared for as long as a month. The Travelers Aid Society accepted cases on referral from the Department of Public Welfare for service in the arrangements for travel.

The services under the State programs in operation in Michigan and Minnesota have been described in a previous section.[32] They were more adequate than relief programs usually provided. In general, funds for transportation to return migratory families to their places of legal residence were found to be available, but often for emergency cases only. Medical care as a part of the relief program for migrants was furnished only on an emergency basis except in a very few places.

The illustrations which have been cited from a small group of the areas studied may be considered representative of the situations found in communities that have very restrictive policies of relief to migrants, in others where some service but no relief is available, and in still others where a definite program has been attempted.

Shelter care.—Unattached men have been cared for traditionally through the medium of shelters. This was the usual and accepted method of care by municipalities and missions prior to the depression. Cash relief and boarding-home care for unattached men had been attempted in some communities both before and during the operation of the Federal transient service. Neither of these methods was found to have been perpetuated after the liquidation of the Federal program.

Shelters may be administered by State, county, city, or private agencies. They provide lodging and meals, or lodging only, or meals only, and occasionally additional service such as fumigation, bathing, clothing, and referral to medical and case-work agencies. Many shelters that have been established for the care of local homeless men have offered overnight care to the nonresident homeless. Most shelters are used by single men, but some shelters will take in families, requiring that the men separate themselves from the group and sleep with the other men. A father may take his sons with him. For example, the following statement was made by the superintendent of a shelter in one community:

"In the case of families, the men are usually sent to the shelter (lodge) and the women and children to the rescue home. Boys over 10 years of age, unless in exceptional cases, are sent to the lodge with their father."

Shelters visited were usually overcrowded, unsuitable, and not built for the purposes for which they were used. In cities where the shelters had been long established they were often reasonably well-constructed buildings, either transformed into suitable accommodations or built for the purpose. The temporary shelters usually occupied any building of any kind that was available and could be rented for little or nothing, or space in a building used for other purposes during the day and for sleeping purposes at night.

In such a temporary shelter found in one city, the front section was used for religious services. During the night mattresses, supplied by the relief office, were spread over the seats of chairs placed together. Men, both unattached and heads of families, slept here. The women slept in a small adobe hut built in the rear. The other half of the building, measuring about 50 by 30 feet, was used as a combination bathroom, kitchen, and dining room, containing four beds used by the staff and in one corner a toilet and washroom, separated from the remainder of the room only by a low partition about 6 feet high, the top part not screened. This shelter reported, for the 6 months from May to October 1936, the following number of meals served, beds provided, and families cared for:

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[32] Q. v.

	Meals	Beds	Families	Children in the families
May	251	92	22	17
June	433	114	24	36
July	678	176	41	68
August	876	176	41	68
September	830	116	54	76
October	879	247	51	43

The income for this service came from funds collected by a citizens' committee, amounting to $25 a month, and a contribution by the county of the same amount, as well as some surplus commodities from time to time. The man who did the cooking was an Army pensioner receiving $50 a month, and he had used part of his pension each month to buy additional food. No salaries or other administrative costs were paid from the contributions received.

Accessibility of shelter service.—Shelter service is often difficult to obtain, owing to restrictions surrounding its provision. The police in one city in the Southwest were very strict with homeless persons found on the street and referred them to the police station, where they might sleep on benches. If they arrived in town after 6 p. m., they found the Salvation Army meal kitchen had closed and after a night in the police station they were aroused at 6 o'clock, taken by the police officers in a police car to the outskirts of the city, and instructed to proceed on their way. As the Salvation Army kitchen did not open until 8 o'clock, they had no opportunity to get to it, because if they were found in town after being ordered to leave they were subject to arrest and a charge of vagrancy would be placed against them.

These difficulties are further illustrated by conditions found in another community:

"The shelter is 1¾ miles from the downtown area where the restaurant that feeds men with Salvation Army meal tickets is located and 2¾ miles from the industrial division of the Salvation Army where the meal tickets and clothing are worked for and distributed. The shelter has accommodations for 45 men and gives overnight care only.

"If a man started from downtown and wished to procure a meal and a bed the procedure would be as follows:

"He would walk a mile to the industrial division, ask for a meal ticket, work for an hour, receive a 15-cent meal ticket, and walk a mile back to town to the restaurant. Then he would walk 1¾ miles to the sleeping quarters, where he could have a hot shower, wash his clothes, dry them at the hot-water heater, and then be assigned to an iron frame spring cot without any mattress and with one blanket. In the morning he could walk 2¾ miles to the industrial division, work an hour for a meal, walk 1 mile, and then eat a 15-cent breakfast. For one supper, one shower, mattress-less sleep, and one breakfast, a man would have walked 7½ miles and worked 2 hours.

"This system is tolerated because it is assumed that were it easier to procure these services the funds allocated by the community chest would be insufficient to meet the need. This is undoubtedly true, as during any one night during the period of one visit there were from 150 to 200 men, boys, and women (colored) in the jungles adjacent to the railroad yards.

"Men interviewed said that they seldom took advantage of both services because of the distances but went to the shelter to get a bath and an opportunity to wash their clothes rather than to sleep.

"The shelter was opened this season on August 9, and from then to date (November 27) it had provided lodging for 798 men."

Lack of accommodation: Frequently a small unit of the Salvation Army, which by the traditions of its service has assumed responsibility as the agency of last resort for persons in need, has provided food and clothing far more extensively than its limited facilities can furnish adequately. The county, city, or community-chest authorities are not always willing to aid the Salvation Army in its efforts and even when aid is given it is usually very inadequate, so that conditions such as the following very often exist:

"The building occupied was a concrete block structure 20 years old and very badly cracked and crumbling. A small room had been partitioned off at the rear, a half story from the ground. This room, 6 feet high and about 20 feet square, had beds for 10 persons. A smaller room also 6 feet high had been partitioned off for the women and children. It was dark in the daytime and had no ventilation. There were two double beds and a small cot. Restaurant tickets were used to obtain food. Every night the place was filled, and several families were turned away. From 10 to 15 persons a night were lodged in this building. The adjutant tried to refer cases to the public-relief agency but had not been successful."

In another State a small unit of the Salvation Army had attempted to look after the migrants who follow the harvests of the citrus fruits, peas, lettuce, and other vegetables. Here a small building had been fitted out with 14 beds crowded into very small space. An attempt had been made by one of the men to fit two of these beds into a wooden frame, so as to make a double decker that would take up less space. A small kitchen and dining room occupied part of the same building, and about 50 meals a day were served.

City shelters: Makeshift shelters provided by cities were encountered in the course of this study. One city had transformed a packing shed and warehouse into a shelter with 500 beds. A kitchen had been established to provide for almost 500 people. At the time of the visit 1,200 men were occupying the shelter, 700 of them being forced to sleep on floors, benches, and tables. Fumigation services were limited to 25 persons per night. The dining room and kitchen facilities were inadequate. It was necessary to make repeated servings that all might be fed. The men started to form in line at 1 p. m. for a meal that would be served at 4:30 in the afternoon. Each was anxious to be served first, so as to be out of the dining room and available for assignment to one of the 500 beds.

In another city a packing shed in the railroad yards had been made into a shelter. This had the usual rough floors and walls of a workshed. Seventy-two beds had been installed, many of them in a bad state of repair. As there were 220 men in the shelter at the time of visit, almost 150 men had to sleep on the floor, wrapped in overcoats, blankets, canvas, or whatever else they could cover themselves with. Many of them were sleeping in a sitting position around the two stoves.

Other cities reported similar overcrowding. For example, one report states:

"The shelter has a capacity of 50 or 60 men, and for some time has been turning away men each night. * * * The men turned away are referred to the police station, to the railroad terminal, and to the mission."

Another report describes shelter care as follows:

"The shelter provides 80 beds. During bad weather, when there are more applicants than beds, the men sleep in the hall and not infrequently on the benches in the chapel. Mr. ——— stated that as many as 250 to 275 men have slept in the building at one time. During the recent rainy weather it has been necessary to turn men away. Some have been permitted to sleep on the floor in the basement. No bedding is provided for the men who sleep on the floor or in the chapel."

Food: In the shelters visited, inadequate as they were for sleeping purposes, the general opinion of the men was that the meals were good and that the cooking arrangements were decent. The kitchen equipment, such as stoves, pots, and pans, was also good. This is a marked improvement over conditions that existed in the early years of this decade, when it was the common practice to use tin cups and plates and metal-covered tables. The improvement was remarked upon by the men and the observer. The appearance of the dining room was often attractive and clean, with scrubbed tables and white crockery.

Jails: Where the police allowed transients to use the police station, men and boys were allowed to sleep on benches or on the floor. They did not usually use the cells. The police explained that they were providing warmth and shelter, and the floor, even a concrete floor, was better than walking the streets or sleeping in an alley. Visits were paid to some police stations at night, and men were found lying on the floor fully clothed. Ventilation was usually very bad, and the rooms were overheated. The movements of the police night staff and the occasional disturbances caused by arrests or when drunken persons were brought in made undisturbed sleep impossible. Usually the men on the floor would be in a stupor from fatigue.

Sanitation: In the buildings designed for use as shelters or lodgings sanitary facilities were often fairly adequate but where temporary arrangements were made sanitation facilities were likely to be very poor. Facilities for personal cleanliness ranged from small tin hand basins to enamel metal basins. Sometimes showers were provided. Toilet facilities were seldom sufficient to insure adequacy. In the case of an overload the facilities immediately became inadequate, and the possibility that a unit will get out of order is increased.

One city shelter was built to accommodate 500 men, but 1,200 were present. This increased the unit load for sanitation facilities from 50 to 120. A heater built to provide hot water for 50 persons could not supply water for 120 persons. The toilets and showers were overcrowded in the same ratio. Fumigation facilities in the same city shelter were limited to 25 men per day, making such a service accessible to only a few. The smaller temporary shelters seldom had more than a single toilet, a shower, and one or more faucets for washing purposes. Great difficulties seemed to be encountered in obtaining funds for sanitation services. When funds were hardly sufficient for food and shelter, little could be provided for the installation of adequate sanitation facilities.

Recreational services: Recreational services were almost nonexistent, largely because of the temporary nature of the care. Even in the larger cities where the organization was well established, no recreational services were provided as a rule, except for religious exercises.

Employment and case-work services: The limited employment service sometimes available was usually nonprofessional, and only the simplest recording and classification system was used. Often no recording system had been developed. Case-work services were not usually available. The county relief office or central application bureau of the city would sometimes provide such service, but because of the temporary nature of the care little effort or time was consumed with interviews. Usually the applicant registered his name, age, State of origin, or last State in which he had lived. The purpose of this procedure was to record the presence of an applicant within a 24-hour period so that service could be refused if he appeared during the next 24-hour period.

Medical service: In one or two of the older or well-established shelters medical examinations were provided for many registrants. In temporary shelters medical service was available in cases of acute illness and was usually given by the county health officer.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Estimates of the Extent of Migration

Migration within the United States cannot be measured accurately, because of the lack of any general registration system [33] and because of certain deficiencies in the census of population. The lack of a registration system may be partially filled by the use of records which are now being accumulated for the first time by the Social Security Board for the purpose of administering the Federal system of old-age annuities. The requirement that the earnings of each insured individual be reported by the employer, wherever located, should provide the comprehensive data concerning interstate movement of most workers in manufacturing and trade. Even when these data are analyzed, information will be lacking as to the movements of the important class of agricultural workers and of all workers who move without obtaining employment.

The census of population since 1850 has provided information at 10-year intervals as to the State of birth of each person enumerated. These data are valuable as a basis for certain estimates of migration, as will be shown presently, but they do not reveal directly the number of persons who have moved across State lines in any one intercensal period. Moreover the information is available too infrequently to furnish answers to many important questions. A valuable addition to the census would be a question covering the place of residence at the last census date or perhaps the name of the last State of residence and the date of leaving that State.

Public employment offices under the United States Employment Service have more than 6,000,000 active registrations and they have received more than 22,000,000 registrations since 1933. These registrations, taken in every section of the country, also provide an opportunity for collecting information as regards internal migration. Analysis of samples from these records has been started by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.[34] Much more reliable information could be obtained if it were practical for employment offices to secure a complete employment history, at least for a certain interval of time prior to registration. The tabulation of the name of the State of the worker's last job outside the State of registration and of the date of termination of that job would provide a very large sample of interstate movements, more quickly than by any other available method.

Comprehensive counts of workers who cross State lines have been kept by only one State, California. Since June 1935, the Plant Quarentine Service has counted all persons "in need of manual employment" as they entered California by any highway. These border counts were made at the suggestion of Dr. Paul S. Taylor and the resulting data are tabulated monthly by the United States Resettlement Administration.[35] These data have obvious limitations. They are confined to entries into a single State. They provide no measure of the number of emigrants and they omit all persons entering California by train, whether as passengers or trespassers. Nevertheless, these counts at all California border points provide the most comprehensive existing measure of the number of interstate migrants between census years. Extensive use of this material has been made in several portions of the foregoing report.[36]

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[33] As to the information obtainable from the registration system of Germany, see: Conrad Taeuber, "A Registration System as a Source of Data Concerning Internal Migration," Rural Sociology, December 1936, pp. 441–451.

[34] Cf. supra, pp. 6X7, 17X18, 22–23, 25–a–28, 30–34, 41–43, 62–63, 66–67, 203, 226–227.

[35] The requirement that all automobiles be stopped at the California boarder to prevent the entry of infected plants provides an opportunity to tally the State shown on the license plate of the car and the number of occupants. No questions are asked of the migrants but the distinctive appearance of the cars of workers seeking employment is believed to make possible a substantially accurate count of migrant workers as distinct from tourists.

The general estimates of migration which have been made for the present report are of two types: (1) Estimates of the numbers of persons who have migrated across State lines at some time during a stated period and (2) estimates of changes in the volume of travel by migrant workers. The first type of estimate provides information as to the population which has been exposed to migration but fails to reveal how many removals have occurred during the period. The second type gives some clue as to the exposure of communities to the arrival of new workers but tells nothing as to the absolute numbers of individuals involved. As a basis for estimates of numbers the census is the primary source, but some use has also been made of samples of employment office records to indicate changes since 1930. As a basis for estimates of the trend of migrant travel the numbers of evictions of trespassers on class I railroads, as reported by the Association of American Railroads, have proved helpful but these statistics have been collected throughout the country only since May 1935. For earlier periods statistics of accidents to trespassers, as tabulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, have been used to measure the broad changes in the volume of travel by migrants who "ride the rods."

NUMBERS OF MIGRANT PERSONS

The census of 1930 reveals that 39.6 million persons or 32.2 percent of the whole population were living in different States than those in which they had been born. Table 2 [37] shows separately the numbers of native white, native Negroes, other natives, and foreign-born who had relocated across State lines at some time since their birth.[38] This information throws light on the historical importance of interstate migration but it does not reveal how many persons relocated across State lines during any one decade. This deficiency might be overcome by subtracting the results of one census from those of the succeeding census [39] were it not for two further defects in the basic data: (1) Secondary migrations, from a second State to a third, etc., are not correctly recorded [40] and (2) the information is limited to persons who survived until the time of the census. The latter defect is especially serious. Persons who move and die before the second census are not recorded. Thus both the gain of population in States of immigration and the loss in States of emigration are consistently understated by the birth-residence data of the census.[41]

In place of the birth-residence data, much more satisfactory results may be obtained by using the so-called age-group data of the census. This ingenious method, originally developed by O. E. Baker and C. H. Hamilton, has been applied to the problem of estimating interstate migration by C. W. Thornthwaite. It consists of a process of subtracting each State's population of each nativity and age group which should survive from one census year to the next [42] from the population of the State actually recorded by the latter of two censuses. The difference is the estimated net immigration if positive or net emigration if negative during the intercensal period.[43] The age-group method of estimating migration indicates a net exodus of 2.8 million persons from 31 States and net intake of 5.9 millions by 17 States and the District of Columbia during the decade 1920–30. Estimates for the individual States, as shown in plate 6,[44] may be in error due to deviations of the survival rates in particular States from the national average. However, there is an independent check on the accuracy of the estimate for the United States as a whole, not originally noted by Dr. Thornthwaite. It is remarkable that the difference between the net intake of the 17 States and the net exodus from the 31 States should check very closely with the net number of immigrants from abroad during the decade:

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[36] Cf. supra, pp. 15–16, 21, 100–101, 104, 153.

[37] Supra, p. 37.

[38] C. J. Galpin and T. B. Manny have prepared a series of maps to show the numbers of native whites who were born in each State and were living in each of the other States as well as the numbers as such persons living in each State who were born in each of the other States at each census date, 1870 to 1930. (Interstate Migrations Among the Native White Population as Indicated by Differences Between State of Birth and State of Residence, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1934.)

[39] C. W. Thornthwaite and associates have actually computed the gross interchange of the native white population, 1910 to 1920, from the birth-residence data of the census. The results are shown graphically in their Internal Migration in the United States, op. cit., plate II (I), but no key or table of values has been published.

[40] Cf. Thornthwaite, op. cit., p. 6, and Frank Alexander Ross and Andrew G. Truxal, "Primary and Secondary Aspects of Interstate Migrations," American Journal of Sociology, November 1931; pp. 435–444.

[41] Cf. Thornthwaite, op. cit., pp. 5–6, 22–23. Vermont, for example, is shown as a State of net immigration from 1920 to 1930, due to the failure to record native Vermonters who died after moving to other States.

[42] As determined from national survival rates by age for native whites, Negroes, and foreign born, respectively.

Net computed intake from all migration (17 States and District of Columbia)	5, 878, 000
Net computed exodus from internal migration (31 States)	2, 818, 000
Difference: Survivors of foreign immigrants	3, 060, 000
Add: Immigrant children under 10 years [1]	149, 000
Less: Quantity by which error in computation fails to balance the non-survival of immigrants during the decade [2]	2, 000
Net actual immigration from abroad	3, 207, 000

[1] Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, vol. II.

[2] Excess of admissions over departures of aliens as reported by U. S. Department of Labor, Immigration and Naturalization Service. (Cf. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1935, table 94.)

Although the age-group data provide the most satisfactory estimate of net migration, they do not indicate the total number of persons who have moved across State lines during any period. The difference between the actual and the expected population of any State at the end of a decade merely indicates the numbers who have entered or left the State in excess of the numbers who have moved in the opposite direction during the same period. Any estimate of the total number of migrant individuals must take account of this reverse flow. The birth-residence data of the census, although previously rejected as an indicator of net migration, have the advantage of showing the relative size of the movements into and out of each State.

To form a minimum estimate of the numbers of interstate migrants, use was made of a combination of birth-residence and age-group data. From the birth-residence data was computed the ratio of the indicated total migration out of each State, of net emigration to the net migration from that State. This ratio was then applied to the more satisfactory estimates of net migration as derived from the age-group data. Separate calculations were made for native whites and for Negroes. Since the foreign born are not represented in the birth-residence data for the several States, it was necessary to add in the net number who moved from one State to another, without taking account of the reverse flow among the members of this particular nativity group. The comparison of the resulting estimate of gross migration with the age-group calculation of net migration is as follows:[45]

Nativity	Interstate migration		Estimated total exodus as a percentage of net exodus
	Not exodus	Estimated total exodus	
Native whites	2, 403, 000	3, 411, 000	142
Negroes	856, 000	970, 000	113
Foreign-born	119, 000	119, 000	100
Total (3 groups separately)	3, 478, 000	4, 600, 000	132
Total (3 groups combined)	2, 818, 000		163

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[43] Cf. Thornthwaite, op. cit., pp. 19–20.

[44] Supra, p. 54.

[45] Grateful acknowledgment is made to C. W. Thornthwaite for the loan of work sheets, for advice as to methods of calculation, and for permission to use the data on which pls. 6 and 9 were based.

For the decade 1920–30 the combination of birth-residence and age-group data indicates that a minimum of 4,600,000 persons moved across State lines. This estimate of the number of interstate migrants, although certainly an understatement, is 63 percent greater than the number previously obtained from the data on net migration. Half of the increase in the number is obtained from the net migration figures themselves, however, by treating separately the native whites, Negroes, and foreign-born. Even the net migration between States is shown to be greater when these groups are treated separately than when they are combined because, in the case of many States, the immigration of one nativity group is offset by the emigration of another group.

The method of computation used had the effect of minimizing the apparent volume of gross migration for four reasons:

(1) Whenever the net migration, as indicated by the birth-residence data, was 50 percent greater or less than net migration as shown by the superior age-group data, the latter figure for that State was used without adjustment. This arbitrary limit of 50-percent variation was applied because the rates of gross to net migration, as shown by birth-residence data, could not be trustworthy when the absolute figure for net migration was seriously at variance with the more reliable data. Thus gross migration was taken as equal to the net migration in the case of 24 States for native whites and 19 States for Negroes. These exclusions included the cases where the two sets of data indicated net migration for the same State in opposite directions (native whites, 8 States; Negroes, 11 States).

(2) Net migration figures were also used wherever the birth-residence data did not show any movement against the general trend. This occurred in eight States for native whites (one of which had been excluded as above) and in nine States for Negroes. Such cases illustrate an obvious defect in all calculations of migration based on birth-residence data alone (cf. Thornthwaite, op. cit., p. 22).

(3) No adjustment could be made for gross migration of the foreign-born population since the comparison of birthplace and residence does not indicate migration within the country of such persons. Hence the net outflow of the foreign-born was used as a minimum estimate of interstate movement of those foreign-born persons who were living in the United States in 1920.

(4) No measure could be obtained of the migration of persons who returned by 1930 to the State where they were living in 1920 or of persons of the same age groups and born in the same States who moved in precisely opposite directions during the decade.

The minimum estimate of the number of migrants, just described, took no account of persons arriving from abroad during the decade. These latter were excluded from the calculations by confining the data on net migration to the exodus from States which experienced a net emigration during the decade. The effect of foreign immigration was also necessarily excluded from the birth-residence ratios of gross to net migration. There were 4,300,000 immigrant aliens admitted during the decade, although net immigration from abroad as previously stated amounted to 3,200,000. With the addition of these 4,300,000 foreign immigrants to the 4,600,000 internal migrants, the minimum estimate of persons relocating across State lines during the 10-year period becomes 8,900,000.

TREND OF TRAVEL BY RAILWAY TRESPASSERS

Constant migrants often travel across State lines several times each year and many of the removal migrants change the State of their actual residence several times during a decade. No measurements taken from the census can measure the volume of migrant travel or the number of new entries of migrants into the several States within a year. A rough estimate of the extent of a certain type of migrant travel can be made, however, by taking advantage of the fact that a large proportion of the travel of constant migrants is accomplished by trespass upon railroad lines.[46] Constant migrants, in turn, must be responsible for a considerable proportion of the total volume of migrant travel during any one period of time.

More than 5,000 trespassers on railway property are killed or injured each year. These numbers are completely reported each month to the Interstate

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[46] Cf. p. 44.

Commerce Commission by all class I railroads. One defect of these reports for our present purpose is that they do not distinguish between resident and migrant trespassers. The Interstate Commerce Commission has generously agreed to collect information as to the proportion of resident and nonresident trespassers injured so that any future report on migration may make use of data which reflect migrant travel more exactly. Meanwhile, the available accident reports furnish an important clue to the trend of migrant travel.[47]

Plate 28[48] shows the sharp contrast between the trend of accidents to trespassers and the corresponding trends of accidents to passengers and employees on duty. The number of passengers and employees killed and injured have declined steadily and continuously since 1923, while the numbers of such accidents to trespassers has shown no uniform trend. Safety work and the decline of railway travel reduced the number of passenger accidents from 6,606 in 1923 to 2,010 in 1933. Safety work and the decline in railway employment reduced the number of accidents to employees from 153,900 to 16,083 during the same period. Neither the safety campaign nor the curtailment of railroad schedules reduced the number of accidents to trespassers. Indeed, in 1933, when traffic was light but when migrant travel was known to be heavy, there were 6,717 accidents to trespassers as compared with 5,754 in 1923. Chart I clearly suggests that variations in the number of trespassers traveling, rather than variations in the accident rate per hundred trespassers, determines the trend of railway accidents to trespassers.[49]

Eviction reports lend support to the trespasser-accident reports as a measure of the trend of migrant travel. Prior to May 1935, several railroads released information as to trespassers evicted from their properties. Since that date such reports from 65 to 79 major railroads have been compiled by the Association of American Railroads. The number of "evictions" thus reported includes persons ejected from railroad trains or property and prevented from boarding trains. If these reports included only the number of persons actually ejected forcibly, they would be valueless as a measure of migrant travel. Eviction policies vary greatly in different localities and at different times. In fact, however, the rail police appear to report trespassers observed on railway property, regardless of the eviction policy of the moment. During the latest period of comprehensive reporting these eviction reports are probably a fairly good measure of the relative volume of migrant travel in various periods.

Plate 4[50] illustrates the remarkable coincidence between the monthly trends, since May 1935, of trespasser evictions and nonfatal accidents to railroad trespassers. The number of deaths resulting from railway accidents to trespassers generally remain fairly constant in number. Their inclusion would tend to dampen the monthly changes in accidents and reduce the value of these changes as a measure of travel. The closest fit to the curve of evictions was found, therefore, when cases of death to trespassers (within 24 hours) were eliminated from the count of accidents to trespassers. The direction of change has always been the same and the percentage changes have been very similar as between trespasser evictions and trespasser injuries in each pair of months from May 1935 to December 1936. Such divergence as appears during 1936 may have been due to a less vigilant attitude of railway police or to an increasing accident rate per 1,000 trespassers. The general showing of plate 4 strongly supports the use of railway-accident statistics to estimate the trend of trespasser travel for the period before May 1935 when comprehensive eviction reports were not available.

Migratory travel by railroad trespassers fluctuated irregularly during the 1920's, but the trend was generally downward. The depression brought a sharp increase which culminated in 1933 when migrant travel appears to have been 45 percent greater than in 1929 and at least 17 percent greater than in 1923. The trend was sharply downward in 1934, the first year of the Federal Transient

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[47] The exposure of resident trespassers to accidents is probably quite constant since this exposure arises primarily from the use of railway property for short-cuts. Accidents to trespassers in automobiles and other vehicles have been excluded from the following computations since the technical fact of trespass in such cases has little bearing upon migrancy by railroad or by highway.

[48] Supra, p. 256.

[49] The possible use of railway accident statistics as indicators of migrant travel was suggested by Mr. Gerald Price, special agent for the U. S. Children's Bureau. This clue was followed up and the material was prepared for charting by Amy MacMaster, in cooperation with the Interstate Commerce Commission.

[50] Supra, p. 43.

Service, and has continued more moderately downward during the last 2 years. These conclusions are illustrated by plate 5,[51] which shows the index of nonfatal accidents to railroad trespassers for each year, 1923–36. Monthly indexes for the same series are shown in plate 4 for the period since May 1935.

Migratory travel of all kinds has not necessarily followed the trend of trespasser travel just described. The proportion of travel by highway has certainly increased throughout the period since 1923. Highway travel cannot be measured by railway statistics and no comprehensive measure of the volume of this type of migration is known. The upward trend of highway travel makes it clear, however, that total migration increased even more rapidly than did railway travel from 1929 to 1933, and it also appears probable that the decline from 1923 to 1929 and from 1933 to 1936 was smaller than that indicated in plate 5.

APPENDIX B

(Table on settlement laws omitted.)

APPENDIX C

(Proposed uniform transfer of Dependents Act omitted. See p. 163, New York hearings, pt. 1, of this set of hearings.)

APPENDIX D

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE MIGRATORY CHILD

Laws governing admission to the public schools and those requiring regular attendance at school affect the schooling of the migrant child.[52] The latter, however, which are found in every State, are of greater practical importance since they make attendance mandatory. As applied to children of migratory workers, the compulsory school-attendance laws[53] fall into three major groups:

(1) Laws that are directed expressly or impliedly to children who are "residents" or "citizens";
(2) Laws that are not expressly directed to "residents" and that are sufficiently broad to cover all children in the community;
(3) Laws that contain specific provisions relating to the schooling of migratory children.

LAWS DIRECTED EXPRESSLY OR IMPLIEDLY TO CHILDREN WHO ARE "RESIDENTS" OR "CITIZENS"

Under the most common compulsory school-attendance laws, the mandatory provisions apply expressly to "resident" children or clearly indicate that they apply to such children by requiring the attendance of the child in the district where he or his parent resides or by requiring his attendance during the period that the public schools in that district are in session. The application of these school-attendance laws to migratory children depends, therefore, primarily upon whether migratory children who are in the district temporarily are considered "residents" for school purposes, or whether they fall within the group of "nonresidents," who may usually be admitted at the discretion of the local school authorities upon payment of tuition or under such conditions as they may require. In one State these provisions expressly cover children of "citizens" rather than "residents," and require an interpretation of the word "citizen."

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[51] Supra, p. 44.

[52] All compulsory school attendance laws require children of specified ages, with certain exemptions, to attend school for a specified period, usually the entire term.

[53] The statements made here are based on the compulsory school-attendance laws of 33 States and the District of Columbia, representative of all districts of the country, and are supplemented by information received in some cases from State school authorities. These States are: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

According to information available, a few States that have compulsory school attendance laws directed to resident children apply them in practice to all children dwelling or living in the local school unit. All children living in the district are considered to be residents for the purpose of the act and are required to attend school. Under these laws, migratory children as well as those who are permanent residents are required to attend.

Under the majority of State laws of this type, however, available information indicates that the determination of residence is left to the local school authorities in the district or to the administrative unit in which the child is living. Different interpretations of the meaning of residence may in fact, therefore, exist with respect to migratory children in different districts or other administrative units even in the same State.

The determination is naturally influenced by the local attitudes and prejudices inherent in the whole migratory problem. In a few instances more or less definite guides for the determination of residence for school purposes have been laid down by State attorneys general for the use of local school officials.[54] Some of these rulings have been to the effect that a residence for school purposes is not the same as for voting and other purposes, that a legal domicile is not required, that it is sufficient if as a matter of fact the child and his parent or the person in control of him are actually resident in the district with no apparent or present purpose of removal. It thus becomes a matter for the local school authority to determine whether the migratory child is within the district without apparent or present purpose of removal.

The attorney general of Oregon, in a letter opinion of January 24, 1927,[55] quotes the following from *State* v. *Sellect* (76 Nebr. 747, 107 N. W. 1022) as giving the rule by which the question of admission of children to school is usually decided, and directs that the answer in the case presented to him depends upon the facts as applied to this rule:

"If the family is removed temporarily to the school district for the principal purpose of obtaining the advantages of the school without expense to the family, the school authorities may protect the district from such imposition. If the family or the person or persons having the legal custody and control of children of school age removed to and lived in the school district principally from other motives than obtaining the privilege of the schools for their children, even though their stay in the school district is not expected to be permanent, such children should not be deprived of the benefits of school privileges while so living in the district. If the removal to the district is solely for the purpose of obtaining school privileges, still if the legal residence of the family is actually changed to the school district, whatever the motive may be for so doing, there can be no doubt of the right of the children to school privileges."

Under a somewhat broader Ohio law which covered "actual residents" instead of "residents," the attorney general of Ohio ruled that the term "actual residents" means those persons who live in the district or are inhabitants of the district for the time being at least, with or without the intention of making that location their permanent abode.

LAWS THAT ARE NOT EXPRESSLY DIRECTED TO "RESIDENTS" AND THAT ARE SUFFICIENTLY BROAD TO COVER ALL CHILDREN IN THE COMMUNITY

In a few States the compulsory-school-attendance laws are not limited either expressly or impliedly to "resident" children, but are written in terms that are sufficiently broad to cover all children living in the school unit. Under such laws, all children living in these States even for a temporary period, including children of migrant families, would be required to attend school.

LAWS WITH SPECIFIC PROVISIONS RELATING TO SCHOOLING OF MIGRATORY CHILDREN

Specific recognition of the educational needs of children in migratory and transient families is found in the school laws of California, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio,

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[54] These have usually arisen in cases involving admission to the public schools.

[55] Biennial Reports and Opinions of the Attorney General, Oregon, 1926–28, p. 87.

Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia. Most of the provisions affecting migratory children have been enacted in recent years as the migration of families from area to area has become more acute. The compulsory-school-attendance laws in Ohio, Kentucky, and Maine require the school attendance of every child actually resident in the State, and expressly provide that he should not be excused if his residence is seasonal or his parent is a resident of another State. In Indiana the compulsory-school-attendance law applies to children of migratory families who have lived or plan to live in the State for 3 months. The District of Columbia law enacted in 1928 requires parents residing "permanently or temporarily" in the District to send their children to school.

As early as 1921 California enacted a law authorizing the establishment of special classes for the children of migratory laborers who are engaged in seasonal industries in the rural districts of the States. In 1933 the superintendent of public instruction was empowered to make regulations and to establish such conditions as he might deem necessary for the maintenance of special schools or classes for the children of migratory laborers. Under these legal sanctions, migratory schools were operated in 20 counties in California during 1933–34, and approximately 20,000 children were enrolled.[56] Costs for these schools were met out of the unapportioned elementary-school fund. Not only are children of migratory families eligible for admission to the public schools, but the State department of education reports that any child who is in a school district for 3 days must attend, and it is the duty of the attendance supervisor to place him in school. The compulsory-school provisions apply to children of migratory transient laborers as well as to others. In some instances special schools for migratory children in California have been established on some of the large ranches where labor camps were already in existence. Temporary buildings were erected and provided with a minimum of equipment—tables, benches, and blackboards. When these schools were organized, the buildings were often moved from place to place following the temporary residence of the migratory workers. In a few instances a tent was used for a schoolroom. These migratory schools are established in districts where the regular schools cannot take care of migrant children.

Pennsylvania, as well as California, is a pioneer in its effort to meet the school needs of migratory children. The law in this State expressly requires every migratory child of compulsory-school age to attend school during the time the schools of the district in which he is temporarily located are in session. The term "migratory child" is defined as "any child domiciled temporarily in a school district for the purpose of seasonal employment." Pennsylvania is the only State that has attempted to protect children of other States in their school attendance by prohibiting their employment within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania during the period that such children are required to attend school under the laws of their States.

SUMMARY

This analysis of school laws has shown that—

(1) Only a few States have enacted school legislation especially designed to compel the attendance of migratory children.
(2) A few compulsory-school laws are sufficiently broad in language to cover all children in the community.
(3) A majority of the compulsory school attendance laws apply expressly or impliedly to children who are "residents" or "citizens."

Until the laws of all the States expressly require migratory children to attend school and require school authorities to admit them without tuition charge, there is no assurance that children of migratory families will have educational opportunities comparable to those of the children of resident families. Moreover, the barriers of community attitudes, social and economic conditions, and legal restrictions must be removed before migratory children have adequate schooling. If the community does not sanction or support the strict enforcement of the compulsory-attendance law, migrant children are not usually compelled to attend, even though it is the policy of the school authorities to admit them to the schools.

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[56] Corresponding information for later period being requested by telegraph.

APPENDIX E

Migration and Conditions Among Sugar Beet Laborers' Families, 1935

INTRODUCTION

The extent of migration among families working in sugar-beet fields and certain social and economic needs of the families involved in such migration are indicated in the findings of a survey of conditions among sugar beet laborers' families made by the Children's Bureau in the latter part of 1935. The findings of the study are based primarily on information secured in interviews with 946 families, of which each had at least one child under 16 years of age on June 15, 1935. The study did not include unattached beet workers, locally known as "solo workers," nor did it include any workers in beet-sugar factories unless they happened also to work in the beet fields.

The areas selected for study were located in Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana in the irrigated Mountain States beet region, and Minnesota and Michigan in the unirrigated eastern beet region. In these States the hand work in the sugar-beet fields is customarily done by hired family labor. The important beet-producing States which were not included in the study are California, Idaho, Utah, and Ohio. The specific areas visited numbered 10 and were located as follows:

State:	*Area*
Michigan	Central Michigan, southern Michigan.
Minnesota	Southern Minnesota.
Colorado	Northern Colorado (South Platte River Valley), Arkansas Valley, Western Slope (Gunnison River Valley).
Nebraska	Western Nebraska (North Platte River Valley).
Wyoming	Northern Wyoming (Big Horn Basin).
Montana	Southern Montana (Western Yellowstone River Valley), Sidney, Mont. (Eastern Yellowstone River Valley).

An area is defined for the purposes of this study as a district from which the sugar beets produced are sent to one factory for processing or the combined territory of two or more such adjoining factory districts.

The short season during which hand work on the sugar-beet crop is required, a maximum of 70 to 100 days, but often not more than 50 days, the arduous nature of the work, the limited number of racial groups which have entered the occupation, and the comparative isolation and specialization of many of the sugar-beet growing areas combine to produce a specialized labor force performing the hand labor on the crop, that suffers numerous economic and social handicaps. The workers after intense labor during the beet season are unemployed for much of the year; the family earnings on an annual basis are very meager; and the beet laborers' families tend to be set apart as a specialized occupational group of inferior social status. Mexicans predominate among beet workers; the two other chief racial groups in the occupation are Russian-Germans and native Spanish-Americans.

Beet labor derives many of its characteristics from the method of employment, which is usually by contract for the season with several persons working on one contract, and from the wage payment system whereby laborers usually are paid only three times a year, their earnings being withheld to an extent thought necessary to prevent the beet workers from leaving a farmer before the completion of the beet harvest. The fixing of wage rates, the method of payment, the provision of housing for beet workers, and other labor practices have been much influenced by the sugar companies which contract in the spring for the purchase of the growers' sugar-beet crops.

The findings of the Children's Bureau survey which are pertinent to the subject of Senate Resolution 298, calling upon the Secretary of Labor to study social and economic needs of migratory laborers, are here summarized. These findings will be presented in two sections in this report, first the nature and extent of migration among beet laborers' families, and second the conditions among a sample of 385 migratory families.

MIGRATION OF BEET LABORERS' FAMILIES

Background of labor recruiting

Where a scarcity of beet labor has existed it has been the traditional practice of the industry for the sugar companies processing the beets to assume responsibility for seeing that an adequate labor force is available to the beet growers when needed.

In the years when the sugar-beet industry was developing and expanding, thousands of laborers were recruited annually from such population centers as Lincoln, Nebr.; Denver, Colo.; Las Vegas, N. Mex.; and San Antonio and El Paso, Tex., and were shipped out to beet-producing areas for the agricultural season, frequently across State lines. Gradually more and more families remained over the winter in the beet areas, a trend encouraged by the sugar companies since annual recruiting and shipping of labor was expensive. With the depression of the 1930's, migration of beet laborers directed by the sugar companies was reduced to a low point. The great majority of the beet workers' families had settled in localities where they expected to find beet work, chiefly because they had no prospects for employment elsewhere in the off season, and also because with the reduced wages of the depression they could not afford to go to a more congenial winter environment.

What migration of beet labor there was in 1935 was initiated for the most part by the workers themselves. Where the families were not returning to a locality where they were known, they were likely to be moving in response to the advice of relatives or friends in the localities to which they went for work. The sugar companies' part in the placement of beet labor in 1935 was largely as an informal local clearance agency between farmers needing help and families looking for work.

Types of migration

The movement of families for beet work is of two types, movement within a beet-producing area, as defined above, and migration from outside such an area, either of which, although usually only the latter, may involve interstate migration. Most characteristic of the industry at the present time is the first type, that is, movement within a beet-producing area. This is largely moving from a house in a town or colony, as a small settlement of beet workers is locally designated, to the farm for the season. The distance may be as little as 5 or 10 miles, and the family may return to its winter dwelling for August and September, after finishing the summer work on the beet crop, and remain there until time to harvest the beets. These families customarily return to the same house for the winter that they left in the spring, although some, if their farmer-employer is willing, may choose to remain on the farm over the winter, and some may seek a new dwelling.

The second type of migration, that from outside the area, is less common than the first. In some cases this is movement from an urban center, such as Denver or Minneapolis, to the country, but more frequently it is migration from one beet-producing locality to another and frequently involves crossing State lines.

In the Children's Bureau study there were altogether 385 families, 40 percent of the 946 included in the study, that were migratory in the sense that they had moved to the site of their beet work in the spring and were expecting to move or were uncertain whether they would move away at the end of the season. Those moving within an area comprised 28 percent of the total, and those moving from outside the area where they worked beets, 12 percent. The other 60 percent of the 946 beet laborers' families visited in the course of the survey lived the year-round in the house in which they lived while working beets, sometimes on the farm and sometimes in a town or colony from which they could walk or ride daily to work.

The tendency of migrant families to return to work in the same locality in successive years is suggested by the fact that a large majority of families involved in each type of migration had previously been in the same county. Even among interstate migrants the majority had previously been in the county to which they went for beet work in 1935.

Beet laborers' families that crossed State lines in 1935

Among all the families included in the Children's Bureau study only 25, or barely 3 percent, had crossed State lines to secure beet work in the year 1935 and were expecting to leave the State, or were uncertain whether they would leave, at the end of the season. An equal number had crossed State lines to secure beet work but were definitely expecting to remain for the winter in the State to which they had come for beet work. The interstate movement of beet laborers' families thus appears to be a resettlement of labor as much as a regular seasonal migration.

Although the material presented in this report is in other respects based only on migratory families who expected to move at the end of the season and excludes those whose migration in the spring was a move to establish a new settlement, this brief discussion of interstate movement of beet laborers' families is based on both groups, totaling 50 families.

The proportion which these 50 families crossing State lines for beet work are to the total number of beet families included in the Children's Bureau survey less than 6 percent, is probably an understatement of the true proportion for the regions covered. Inasmuch as the interviewing in Minnesota and Michigan was done after the close of the working season some families which had left the State when the beet work was completed, were unavoidably excluded. The study also omitted some sugar-beet areas which overlap State lines; one important area of this type, for instance, lies across the border line between Nebraska and Wyoming, and another across the Wyoming-Montana line. In these the more common type of short-distance migration within a beet area would involve a considerable amount of crossing of State lines.

The general direction of migration of the 50 beet laborers' families included in the study was from older beet-producing areas, chiefly Colorado where there was an oversupply of experienced beet labor, to the newer beet-producing areas, chiefly Wyoming. This migration to the north in normal years reaches into Montana, although the movement across the Montana-Wyoming line was reversed in 1935 because of unusually small plantings of sugar beets in southern Montana. The migration from the older beet-producing areas was supplemented by movement from New Mexico and Texas, not beet-producing States, although sources of Mexican and Spanish-American labor. The Texas migrants went chiefly into Michigan; and those from New Mexico into Colorado and Wyoming. The accompanying map shows for each of the 50 families the lines of travel and whether or not the family was leaving after the beet season or was settling in its new location.

The migration in the spring to the North was stimulated both by opportunity for employment and by higher wage rates. In the western areas visited, the lowest prevailing wage rates for beet work were found in the Arkansas Valley in southern Colorado, higher rates in northern Colorado and western Nebraska, and the highest in the northern Wyoming and Montana areas. Migration from New Mexico into Colorado was understood to be exceptionally low in 1935 because of public opposition to out-of-State labor and the report that border patrols were refusing admittance to migrants for beet work.

The decision of the beet families as to whether to return to another State at the end of the beet season was influenced largely by the desire to return to a familiar and more congenial community for the period of unemployment, by money in hand at the end of the season, and by the relative prospects for securing needed relief in the several commmunities under consideration.

The families crossing State lines and securing beet work were little distinguished by their background from the general beet-labor population. The head of the family in 4 cases out of 5 was an experienced beet worker and almost invariably was a Mexican, Spanish-American, or Russian-German.

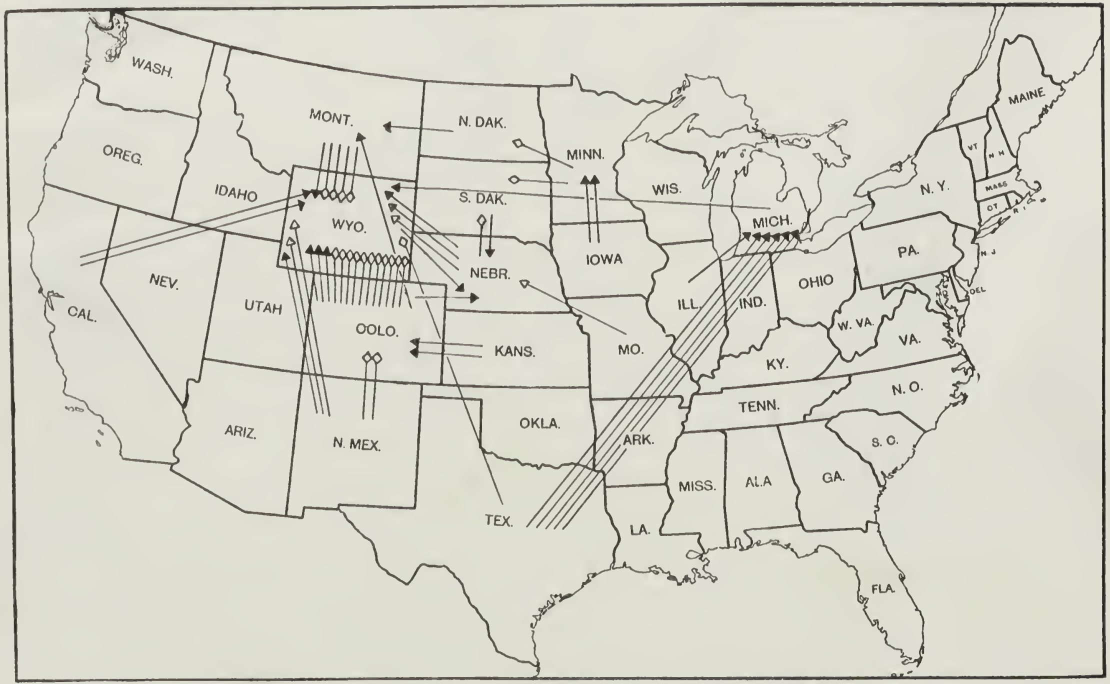
While the Children's Bureau study did not include unattached beet laborers, locally called "solos," general observation indicated that long-distance seasonal migration was more common for the solos than for family groups, and that the solos were less likely to settle in the area to which they went for beet work than were the families.

CONDITIONS AMONG MIGRATORY BEET WORKERS' FAMILIES

In presenting the statistical findings of the study on conditions among migratory beet families the group which will be considered comprises 385 families who were migratory in the sense that while working beets they were living in a house to which they had come for beet work and from which they expected to move at the end of the season, or from which they were uncertain whether they would move.

INTERSTATE MIGRATION FOR BEET WORK BY 50 FAMILIES, 1936

Based on Children's Bureau Study of 946 Beet Laborers' Families in Six States


WASH.
OREG.
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IDAHO
NEV.
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N. DAK.
S. DAK.
NEBR.
KANS.
OKLA.
TEX.
MINN.
IOWA
MO.
ARK.
LA.
WIS.
ILL.
MICH.
IND.
OHIO
KY.
TENN.
MISS.
ALA
GA.
FLA.
S. C.
N. O.
VA.
W. VA.
PA.
N. Y.
N J
DEL
VT
N H
MASS
OT
R I
MAINE

Key:

Lines Each line represents the interstate travel of one family in 1935.

Arrows Arrow indicates State to which family went for beet work.

▲ Family that expected to remain in State where it did beet work.

◇ Family that expected to leave State at end of season.

△ Family that was uncertain whether or not it would remain in State.

Low earnings

The conditions and needs of migratory beet workers' families revolve primarily about the low annual earnings characterizing this occupation. Among the 170 migratory families interviewed that could report their beet earnings through to the close of the season in 1935, half earned less than $350 from the beet work of all members of the family. The figures on beet earnings represent families in Wyoming and Montana, of the Mountain States beet region, in the ratio of about 3 to 5 of those who were in Minnesota and Michigan of the eastern area.

The variation, irregularity, and uncertainty of beet earnings further accentuated the problems of low income. Beet earnings depend not only on wage rates and on how many persons in the family work but also on the acreage on which work is secured, on weather conditions which may necessitate the use of extra help to complete the field work in less than the planned time, and on crop conditions, particularly in the case of contracts which provide for payment of wages on a tonnage rather than on an acre basis. The wide range in annual earnings for migratory workers is shown by the following percentages for the 170 families reporting:

	Percent
Less than $200	30
$200 and less than $400	25
$400 and less than $600	23
$600 and more	22

Earnings from supplementary employment were meager. Among the families migrating for beet work, including those interviewed before their beet earnings for the 1935 season were known, 17 percent reported no income from sources other than beet work, exclusive of relief, during the period from the close of the 1934 beet season until the close of the 1935 season or until interviewed in the fall of 1935, if earlier. For those who reported some other income, the median average amount reported for the period of approximately a year from all other sources than beet work was $44, and only 11 percent of those with other income reported $200 or more from other work than beet labor. Supplementary earnings were usually from agricultural work, 75 percent of the families reporting some such work during the period of approximately a year. Only 27 percent of all the families interviewed reported any nonagricultural earnings, and some of these earnings were from work related to the beet industry, such as from boarding other beet workers or from work at the beet-sugar factories.

Total income, exclusive of relief, was as much as $400 a year for only about half of the 162 migratory families who could report their total income over the 12-month period (median $466). Nearly as many families had annual incomes of less than $200 as had incomes of $600 or more, exclusive of relief, as shown by the following percentages:

	Percent
Less than $200	24
$200 and less than $400	25
$400 and less than $600	24
$600 and more	27

The extent to which earnings and other nonrelief income met the needs of the beet laborers' families included in this study is suggested by a comparison of income per member of family with the cost of an adequate diet according to the standards of the Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. For families of the composition of the 946 beet laborers' families interviewed, the cost of an adequate diet at 1935 prices, according to these standards, was roughly $110 per person for a year. This is a higher figure than the findings of this study show to have been received as their total nonrelief income, per person, by the large majority of migratory families reporting. A third, or 34 percent, of the families reporting, had less than $50 a year per person in income exclusive of relief for the year ending with the close of the 1935 beet season; altogether three-fourths, or 76 percent, had less than $100 a year for each member of the family; and only 8 percent of the families had $200 or more per person.

From such incomes these families were paying, with what relief assistance they could get, for clothing and gasoline, for health and sundry needs, and in addition for substantially all their food needs. Many also had to pay for their housing over the winter months. Although living in the country or in small towns during the summer, the majority of these families produced relatively little of the food they consumed. Such gardens as they had were usually quite small. In the Mountain States beet region even a small plot of irrigated land was not always available. Of the 123 migratory families interviewed at their beet residences, only 7 percent had either a goat or a cow, and only 28 percent had any chickens. Many families had neither money to buy and feed, nor the facilities to keep, chickens or other livestock.

Relief

With such low incomes, many beet families have inevitably become dependent on relief over the winter months and occasionally, if work was slack, even during the summer season.

Altogether 64 percent of the 382 migratory families reporting were on relief some time during the period from November 1934 through October 1935, or to the date of interview if earlier. This relief was received in at least 6 calendar months for 30 percent of the families and in at least 3 calendar months for 53 percent of the families.

Under the system of withholding beet wages and paying them on only three occasions during the year, it might be assumed that relief demands were increased because of unwise expenditure of income resulting from the families possessing considerable amounts of cash at one time. Such possibility was generally precluded because of the customary practice for the families to live on store credit through the working season, frequently with an assignment of wages or an informal equivalent. When the accumulated bills for the day-to-day necessities of the families had been paid after the final wage payment in the fall, there was likely to be very little cash left on hand for the needs of the coming winter. Among the families visited 35 percent of those doing beet work in the 1934 season reported that they had no cash balance at the end of the season after paying the bills that had been incurred for day-to-day needs. Of those families with some cash balance, half had $55 or less with which to face the winter months of unemployment, and only 6 percent had $200 or more.

The custom of relying on store credit was used by local relief agencies as a basis for the refusal of relief. In certain communities many families whose earnings were exhausted were denied relief on the grounds that they were able to secure credit against their next season's beet earnings. Such a policy was found most generally applied in northern Wyoming and in the western slope area of Colorado where a sugar company made limited commodity advances to many beet families which could not otherwise get credit to supply their most urgent needs. The families in the western slope area suffered most, among the areas visited, from this conflict between community and sugar interests with respect to responsibility for maintaining beet workers over the winter. There only 1 of the 28 migratory families in this area had received any regular relief during the winter; yet half of the families reporting beet earnings for 1934 had made from $45 to $310 during that year from beet work. Such a policy of granting a very minimum of relief to beet workers was found materially to affect the migration of beet families. Several migrant families working in Wyoming, which were from other States but desirous of settling in Wyoming, were expecting to return to the State from which they had come because of the uncertainty of securing needed relief for the coming winter in Wyoming; they felt reasonable assurance, however, of receiving needed relief by returning to Colorado or Montana. A similar situation was found in Minnesota where much of the migration from the rural areas into Minneapolis and St. Paul, although not interstate, was clearly the result of the relief policies in the rural beet communities of Minnesota.

Child labor

The work of young children for long hours in sugar-beet fields has continued to be characteristic of this industry over a long period of years. The poverty of the families, the seasonal nature of the work, and the family labor contract system all tend to encourage the use of child labor. Although the work is trying, the processes are sufficiently simple that children under supervision can render very material help with the work. The child workers were most likely to do the spring work of thinning the beet plants. Most of them also hoed in the summer and nearly all helped with the heavier harvest work of pulling and topping the beets.

In 1934 prior to the establishment of labor provisions under the A. A. A., according to the findings of the study with respect to the 356 migratory families which did beet work both in 1934 and in 1935, a considerable number of children between 6 and 10 years of age were working in the beet fields. Among the 575 children between 6 and 14 years of age in these families, the proportion reported by the families to have worked at beets in 1934 in relation to the total number of various ages was as follows:

	Percent
6 to 9 years	19
10 and 11 years	65
12 and 13 years	89

The labor of young children in the beet fields was more common among the migratory families than among those which lived in a permanent residence during the beet season. Among all children between 6 and 14 years of age, 48 percent of those in the migratory families had worked at beets in 1934, while 39 percent of those in nonmigratory families had done so according to the families' reports. Nearly all of the 14- and 15-year-old children were working beets, both in migratory and in nonmigratory families, 95 and 93 percent, respectively.

A sharp drop in the prevalence of child labor came in 1935, the first and only year in which the work of children in sugar-beet fields was regulated by the A. A. A. production-control contracts. These contracts entered into between the sugar-beet growers and the Government provided that the A. A. A. benefits to the growers were payable on condition that the grower use no labor of children under 14 years of age, excepting only his own children, and that he use the labor of no child between 14 and 16 years of age, excepting his own, for more than 8 hours a day. The labor of children under 14 years, while not wholly eliminated among migratory beet laborers' families in 1935, was markedly reduced. The decrease was most pronounced for the younger children. The proportion of those between 6 and 12 years of age who worked at beets, according to their parents' statements, fell from 34 to 12 percent, while for those children between 12 and 14 years of age the drop was from 89 to 60 percent. Greater success in reducing child labor was achieved in the areas visited in the Mountain States beet region where the prevalence of beet work by children between 6 and 14 years of age was reduced from 45 to 16 percent, than in the eastern beet region where the reduction for this age group was from 55 to 39 percent.

The regulation of working hours of children under 16 met with less success than the 14-year minimum-age standard. At least half of the children under 16 were found in 1935 to be working more than 8 hours a day at each of the three major processes in a season's beet work—thinning, hoeing, and topping. At topping, for instance, 59 percent of the children were reported by their families to have had a usual workday of 9 hours or more; 50 percent, a usual workday of 10 hours or more; and 11 percent, 12 hours or more. The usual hours of work when thinning tended to be somewhat longer. Although adults' hours on the average tended to be somewhat longer than children's, the majority of the children were reported to have usually worked the same number of hours a day as the adults in their families; practically all were also reported to have worked the same number of days as the adults of the family at the particular process at which both were engaged. Even for the children under 12 years of age the usual work day was 8 or more hours in at least half of the cases for each process. While some individual beet-producing areas stood out as more successful than others in the enforcement of the minimum-age provision, in no area was there found successful regulation of the length of the workday.

In spite of increasing disapproval of child labor in the beet communities, the pressure of low income among the beet families, particularly where there was no assurance that relief would be available to the family when needed, was a strong influence contributing to the continuance of child labor. Regulation of child labor can fully achieve the desired results in improved health and educational opportunities for children only if accompanied by provision for higher wages.

School attendance

Child labor meant to these working children not only excessive physical strain and deprivation of play and recreation, but also loss of schooling, with the danger of resulting loss in social status to the child through his inability to compete successfully in school work. Children in migratory families suffer greater loss of schooling than nonmigratory families because of absence during moving periods and because many children do not attend school in the fall before topping starts. School absence involves not only the child workers but often their nonworking younger brothers and sisters. Frequently when mothers, fathers, and all persons old enough to work beets were working as hard and for as long hours as they could, the parents did not feel they had time to keep the children clean and to see that they got to school.

Ninety-one percent of the children between 6 and 16 years of age in the migratory families were enrolled in school sometime during the school year of 1934–35. Of the 635 children 6 and under 16 years of age who enrolled and reported the time of enrollment, 42 percent did not enroll until after the close of the topping season.

Children in the families of beet laborers who did not migrate but lived in their year-round home while working beets enrolled in school before the topping period much more frequently than the children in migratory families. Among the nonmigratory children who enrolled in school and reported the time of enrollment, only 18 percent had failed to enroll before the topping season closed.

In the beet area visited school authorities frequently did not enforce compulsory school-attendance standards during the beet season even for resident children, and rarely did they enforce them for migrant children who came into a school district only for the working season. A definite advance, however, in the willingness of school authorities to accept migrant children was noted to be resulting from the use of equalization funds granted by the States to local schools on the basis of enrollment or attendance.

The number of days during the school year on which children were absent due to the beet work of the children or of their families varied widely, depending on local agricultural and labor conditions and on the length of the school term. In the spring of 1935 the thinning season in the Mountain States beet region started later than usual, after most of the schools in the areas had closed, whereas in normal years there were more spring absences than in 1935. Nearly three-fourths, or 73 percent, of all the children between 6 and 16 years of age in the migratory beet workers' families included in this report had lost some school time in the 1934–35 school year due to the beet work of themselves or their families. This is nearly double the proportion of children in nonmigratory families who were absent due to the beet work of the children or of their families, 44 percent. Among the migratory children who were in localities where the schools had opened before the topping season, which was nearly all of them, half of the children who were absent lost 35 or more school days in the 1934–35 school year due to the beet work of themselves or their families, and 16 percent lost 60 or more school days.

Retardation among beet workers' children was marked, even though many schools reported that it was their policy in recent years to promote children on an age and social basis rather than according to their success with their studies. Among the 302 migratory children 10 and less than 14 years of age who were enrolled in school, or expecting to enroll, in the fall of 1935, 56 percent were retarded 1 or more grades, assuming normal progress to be an advance of 1 grade a year after entering school at 7 years of age. Altogether 20 percent were retarded 3 or more grades. Retardation was even greater among the 14- and 15-year-old children, two-thirds (66 percent) of those enrolled or expecting to enroll being retarded at least 1 grade and 33 percent 3 or more grades.

Housing conditions

Migratory beet workers customarily live during the beet season in a dwelling provided by their farmer-employer as a part of the labor contract, and during the winter they live either in a colony dwelling, as housing facilities provided by sugar companies are called locally, or in town or city houses, which they secure for themselves independently of beet grower or sugar company.

The beet-season dwellings were sometimes very inadequate shelters with cracks open to rain and cold. In one instance a family was sleeping in a windowless grain storeroom partitioned from a stable. Many families obviously suffered greatly from the cold at the end of the season due to poor shelters, inadequate stoves, and lack of money to buy or facilities to haul sufficient fuel.

Even though living in the open country, there was great overcrowding in their quarters. Three-fifths, 74 of the 122 migratory families reporting on their housing during the beet season, lived in a house of 1 or 2 rooms while engaged in beet work and only 12 percent had a house of 4 or more rooms. Sometimes 2 families were living in 1 house; sometimes a family had no alternative but to room and board 1 or more workers who were helping with the beet crop on the same farm. In the beet dwellings where migratory families were interviewed the median number of persons to a room was 3.1. Nearly a sixth of these families were living in quarters with 5 or more persons to a room. In one instance, a family of 9 persons plus a man boarder was living in a small 1-room dugout.

The housing facilities used by migratory families during the beet season tended to be more crowded than those used either as year-round homes by nonmigratory families or those used by migratory families during the winter. In contrast to the median of 3.1 persons per room among the migratory families reporting on their beet dwellings, nonmigratory families reported a median of 2.7 persons to a room in their year-round homes, and the migratory families reporting on their winter homes had a median of 2.5 persons to a room.

An additional housing problem, acute in some of the western irrigated areas, was that of an adequate water supply. A number of families had to haul all the water they used from a considerable distance or pay to have it hauled for them. A few families were drinking river or irrigation water in the absence of facilities for securing better water for drinking purposes.

APPENDIX F

THE MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL LABORER AND HIS FAMILY

(Prepared by the Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Early studies of the U. S. Children's Bureau)

The employment of migrant family labor in agriculture is not a recent development. Italian families from Philadelphia, Camden, and other nearby localities have helped to harvest the berries and vegetables of rural New Jersey for as many as 50 years. Family migration of the Russian-Germans in the Middle West furnished the labor supply for the Colorado and Michigan beet fields as far back as 1900 and, during the World War, family labor replaced solo labor in California, where today the greatest seasonal migration of farm labor in the country takes place. But with the intensification of agriculture in the last few decades and the growing specialization, particularly in the Southwest, in crops that must be cultivated and harvested largely by hand, the use of family labor has increased tremendously. Moreover, with the onset of the depression and more recently with the widespread suffering in the drought areas, great impetus has been given to the movement as families have been deprived of their former security in a stable environment. For all these reasons many families are now seeking seasonal agricultural employment that otherwise would never have left their own communities.

The use of migratory family labor in agriculture has long presented many economic and social problems that have been of grave concern to State and local welfare organizations who have had to meet them, and during the past 15 years the United States Children's Bureau has made a number of intensive studies of family labor in agriculture and its effect upon the welfare of the children. As the problems arising with this group of workers are practically the same today as during the period studied, these surveys are of particular interest in connection with this report.

The studies made by the Children's Bureau cover a wide variety of crops and areas in different sections of the country, and afford a representative picture of the social problems involved, though they do not touch upon all the types of agricultural employment for which migratory family labor is used. Included were sugar-beet areas of Colorado and Michigan; cotton-growing counties in Texas; truck and small-fruit areas in southern New Jersey and Maryland; and fruit and hop districts in Washington and Oregon. More than 1,200 families were interviewed in these areas.

Many of these families had come long distances and from other States to work on the crops; others were recruited from cities and towns within the State, some nearby, some at a distance. In the beet fields of Colorado much of the labor had been brought in from eastern Nebraska, Kansas, Texas, and New Mexico, though a considerable number of families had come from nearby cities, particularly Denver. In Michigan the beet workers had been recruited mainly from Texas and the Mexican border and from Cleveland and Pittsburgh. Baltimore supplied the Maryland truck farms with their labor, and Philadelphia was the recruiting center for New Jersey farmers. In Washington and Oregon, as in Colorado, some of the workers were from within the State, but large numbers had come from Idaho, Montana, and Canada. In this area, also, many of the families were "fruit tramps" who follow the crops northward from lower California year after year.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings of the Children's Bureau reports reveal that low earnings, child labor, irregular school attendance, and inadequate living conditions invariably characterize agricultural work where migrant families are employed.

Family earnings

Except in the beet fields of Colorado and Michigan, payment for agricultural work was on a piece-work basis, and earnings depended to a large extent upon the number and age of the workers in the family group. But in all the districts studied by the Children's Bureau, piece rates were generally so low that the earnings of the majority of families were extremely meager. Most of these families live on a narrow margin and many of them left the fields with very little to show for their work after living expenses for the season had been deducted. In the beet fields the head of the family contracted to do the hand work on a certain number of acres and counted on the labor of his children for completing the work. The low annual earnings of a group of beet workers studied by the Children's Bureau in 1935 are shown with the other findings of that survey in the following chapter of this report.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN

Child labor was the rule. Even the young children worked in the fields as a matter of course, especially when the work to be done required little skill or experience. Many of the crops—berries in particular—had to be got to market quickly, and to avoid spoilage all available hands were pressed into service. Moreover, family earnings depended upon the number of hands working, and the low piece rates were an incentive to the use of children whenever possible. Children no more than 6 or 7 years of age picked cotton and cranberries and sometimes did a part of the work on other crops as well. On most crops the services of the children were utilized only in the harvest season, but some helped with cultivating also, and in the beet fields even the youngest helped with the thinning of the new plants in the spring. The following table shows the ages of the children working in the fields in the different districts studied:

Employed children under 16 years in families of migratory agricultural laborers

Crop and State in which employed	Children under 16 years of age doing field work					
	Total	Under 10 years	10 years and under 12	12 years and under 14	14 years and under 16	Age not reported
Cotton: Texas	210	82	35	45	46	2
Hops and fruits: Washington and Oregon	1,253	154	279	401	411	8
Sugar beets:						
Colorado	774	223	201	219	131	------------
Michigan	361	99	100	99	63	------------
Truck:						
Maryland	761	174	175	217	192	3
New Jersey	716	149	173	241	149	4

The hours reported by the children who worked in the fields were excessively long. With the low piece rates offered, this was necessary if earnings were to amount to anything at all. On New Jersey truck farms, 41 percent of the migratory child workers of all ages worked at least 9 hours a day, and 12 percent worked 10 hours or more. The 9- or 10-hour day for children was even more common in the hop yards and fruit orchards of Oregon where, in the districts surveyed, 33 percent of the migratory child workers had a working day of at least 10 hours a day; and in Washington, where the children were employed chiefly in picking hops, 87 percent worked 10 hours or more a day. The migratory children who picked cotton in Texas worked at least 8 hours a day, and 68 percent had a working day of at least 10 hours. Perhaps the longest hours of all were those reported by beet-field workers. From 50 to 75 percent of the migratory laborers' children in the Colorado and Michigan districts (the proportion varying with the different operations) worked 10 hours or more a day, the working day in some cases running to 13 or 14 hours.

School attendance

One of the most serious effects of migratory-family labor is its interference with the school attendance of the children. If they are to be in the field at the beginning of the season and remain until the harvest is completed, migrant families are forced to withdraw their children from school in the early spring—March or April—and keep them out until November or December.

Brief surveys made by the Children's Bureau in Denver, Colo., and in Lincoln, Nebr., from which large numbers of families are recruited for beet work yearly, showed that children from those cities who worked in the beet fields attended school during only 42 to 68 percent of the term. Children from Baltimore, working on Maryland truck farms the year of the Children's Bureau study, lost from 4 to 6 weeks of school because of early withdrawal; and in Washington and Oregon, where the beginning of the hop season coincides with the opening of school and the strawberry season begins before some of the schools are closed in the spring, 53 percent of the migratory children included in the study had missed at least 1 month of school. Likewise, one-half the migratory children studied in the New Jersey truck-farm areas had lost at least 8 weeks of school in the spring and fall of the year. In Philadelphia a study of more than 800 children who had left school before the end of the term for farm work, principally in New Jersey, showed an average school attendance for the group of only 75 percent of the term.

The record of school attendance for migratory children in the cotton areas was even less creditable. Of 139 migratory cotton pickers for whom school information could be obtained, 79 had not attended school during the preceding year and 38 had never attended.

As would be expected, such irregular school attendance had a direct effect upon the educational progress of the children. More than two-fifths of the beet workers and three-fourths of the children employed on New Jersey truck farms were retarded in their school progress 1 year or more. In Maryland almost as many, 70 percent of the migratory children studied were retarded. In the Washington and Oregon areas from 26 to 60 percent of the children in the localities studied were below grade. In Baltimore, figures show that the retardation rate for migratory children enrolled in the schools of that city was over twice as high as the average rate for children who did not leave school for farm work.

Living conditions

Migrant families are dependent upon their employers for the conditions under which they must live. Although several States have laws specifically regulating labor camps, in some cases these do not cover camps for agricultural workers, and in others provisions are not general or are not enforced. Only Washington and Oregon among the States included in the Children's Bureau studies had any such regulation.

Living arrangements for migratory workers only too often were the veriest makeshifts, violating every standard of decency as well as comfort. This was true even when the quarters were to be occupied as long as 5 or 6 months of the year.

In the beet fields of Colorado and in the cotton areas of Texas included in the Children's Bureau studies, migratory laborers were usually housed in any accommodations that could be made available—abandoned farm houses in all stages of repair, shacks of rough boards or tar paper, and even tents and caravan wagons. Many of these were dark, poorly ventilated, and far from weatherproof. Some of the workers described their quarters as "not fit for chickens to live in," or "nothing but a dog house." Overcrowding was extreme. One of the workers said that he had been forced to live 2 weeks in two rooms containing 19 other people while waiting for quarters for his family of 5. During this time his baby caught cold and died. In one old frame house a household of 14 lived in 4 rooms. A tent barely large enough to cover 3 beds sheltered 7 persons; another nearby sheltered 10 individuals.

In Michigan, where the individual beet acreage is small and one family works a number of farms during the season, most of the families lived in small one- and two-room portable houses that could be easily moved from farm to farm. These were provided by the sugar company and were made small in order to facilitate moving. When not overcrowded, and when clean and weatherproof, they were suitable enough camping places for the summer, but frequently too many people were crowded in them and the houses had been allowed to fall into disrepair.

In the other districts studied, migratory families were housed in labor camps, varying in size from a rude building or two housing a half dozen families to large settlements of three or four hundred workers. Many of these camps were in good repair and conformed to accepted standards of sanitation, but even the best were characterized by overcrowding, lack of privacy, and insufficient ventilation. In some, conditions were deplorable. In one district studied by the Children's Bureau, 268 families were living in camps under conditions described as follows:

"Most of the camps contained but one building, known as a 'shanty,' which served as sleeping quarters for the workers. This building, usually two stories high, was erected on piles of rough stones. In most camps it was weather-beaten or unpainted and the windows usually lacked either glass or shutters or both. As a rule there was but one room on each floor, with stairs on the outside leading to the upper room. On each side of a narrow aisle down the center of the room the floor was divided into sections or pens by boards 10 or 12 inches in height. Each pen was about 6 feet long and from 4 to 6 feet wide and covered with straw for a mattress. Each family was alloted one of these pens. At night, men, women, and children, partially clad, one family separated from the next by the plank 10 inches in height, lay side by side.

"Except for wooden chests at the foot of the bed spaces, and a shelf around the room, on which were miscellaneous possessions, there were no furnishings. Clothes were hung on nails about the walls. The bed space was covered with straw upon which sheets and blankets were folded or rolled in balls in a corner.

"In some shanties one or two families had made futile attempts at privacy by hanging up a blanket. In one camp, among the poorest in appearance, with weather-stripped boards, sagging roof, and no glass in the windows, the families succeeded in attaining a degree of privacy. They had rigged up wires from one beam to another and had hung up an assortment of spreads and blankets about each family section.

"The shanties were often occupied by 30 to 50 persons of both sexes and all ages. Over three-fourths of the families interviewed lived in a shanty of one or two rooms and over one-half shared these one or two rooms with 30 to 100 persons."

Little attention was given to sanitation in this district and the odors pervading in some camps were extremely offensive. More than half the families had no toilet facilities, and in only a very few instances were there any but makeshift toilet arrangements constructed by the families themselves. Some of these had been built dangerously near the water supply.

Farmers usually justified the poor living arrangements provided migratory families on the ground that the agricultural season is comparatively short and that housing is of minor importance in warm weather. They disregarded entirely the fact that families living under such conditions were exposed to the risk of serious infections, if nothing else, no matter how short a time they might stay.

In Washington and Oregon, where the sanitation of labor camps was regulated by the State, camp conditions were better on the whole than in the other States studied. Toilet facilities though not always adequate, were provided in all camps, and the water supply usually came from drilled wells. As in all the other camps, however, overcrowded conditions prevailed.

(Reference list and bibliography omitted.)

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1941

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. John H. Tolan, chairman, presiding.

Present: Mr. Tolan (chairman), and Messrs. Sparkman, Curtis, and Osmers, members of the committee.

Present also, Miss Elizabeth Wickenden, 3036 P Street NW., American Public Welfare Association;

Charles Alspach, 121 Page Road, Needham, Mass.;

Philip Ryan, 3811 Benton Street NW., Washington, D. C., administrative assistant and vice chairman in charge of insular and foreign operations, American Red Cross;

John N. Webb, 400 West Broad Street, Falls Church, Va., Division of Research, Work Projects Administration.

The Chairman. The meeting will please come to order. What we are concerned with at the present time is the Federal Relief Act of 1933 referring to the Federal transient program, and the reason for this meeting is that it is one subject that was not fully developed at our hearings, and, to close that gap, we are holding this hearing this morning.

We have asked the four of you to come together today to assist this committee in a round-table discussion of the Federal transient program. I am going to ask Miss Wickenden to speak first for about 15 minutes, then Mr. Alspach, and, third, Mr. Ryan. I will ask Mr. Webb to answer a series of questions, and then turn to the questions for the other three of you. This will enable us to become acquainted with the general scope of the program so that we will be better equipped to ask each of you questions. During the question period, I suggest that each of you feel free to say anything additional which you think is pertinent to supplement the answer given to a question from the committee directed to someone else.

For the purpose of the record, Miss Wickenden, will you give your full name and address?

STATEMENT OF MISS ELIZABETH WICKENDEN

Miss Wickenden. Elizabeth Wickenden, 3036 P Street, Washington, D. C.; present connection with the American Public Welfare

Association on assignment to the office of Coordinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities as a consultant.

The CHAIRMAN. And in what way are you interested in this particular inquiry, or have been interested?

Miss WICKENDEN. I was first assistant to the Transient Director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and subsequently the Assistant Director, and during a period of approximately a year when there was no Director I was Assistant Director in charge of the Division.

The CHAIRMAN. I suggest now that you proceed in your own way.

Miss WICKENDEN. I believe you are familiar with the legal background of the transient program. The Emergency Relief Act of 1933 contained a provision which permitted the Administrator to make funds available, without matching on the part of the States, for the relief of persons who had no legal settlement in any State or community. In July of 1933 an administrative order was issued and sent to the State relief administrators permitting them to apply for funds under this provision of the act.

During the fall of 1933 the States began to undertake this program, and by the next spring it was under way in most of the States.

The funds for this program were made available monthly on application from the State relief administrator for relief of persons who had not been in the State for a period of more than a year. Any persons who did not meet the local or State settlement requirements and who had nevertheless been in the State more than a year were a charge against the general relief funds of the State. In most cases, however, the State chose to administer a single program for those two groups, simply maintaining a bookkeeping distinction between the two insofar as the funds were concerned.

The State administrators were required, in order to qualify for this money, to appoint a State transient director to assume responsibility for this program, and that appointment was subject to the approval of the Transient Director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. This State director was a member of the staff of the State relief administration, but in actual practice it worked out that he came more and more to look to the Federal Transient Director as the person from whom he got direction and advice.

This was due to many factors; partly to the fact that the State relief administrators were very much preoccupied with getting their general relief program under way; secondly, the fact that they came back every month for funds and had to justify their requests for those funds to the Federal Transient Director gave him a very strong sanction insofar as their activities were concerned. And I would say, also, that the first transient director was inclined to encourage that relationship, because of a feeling that we were dealing with a new type of relief, a new type of program, for which there was not a general and widespread understanding on the part of the State relief administrators.

The method of operation of the transient program centered around points of application to which individuals or families who had not been in the State for 12 months could go and apply for assistance. Those fell into two general groups; first, cities where it was felt that there was a major problem, which were called treatment centers. In those cities, a man or family, or woman, could apply for relief and receive full assistance. This meant that they were assigned either to congregate shelter; or, in the case of single women and families, to a room, or apartment, where they received relief much on the same basis as the local people.

The single man, in the early days of the program, received shelter, three meals a day, some clothing and a cash allowance of 90 cents a week. I am sorry to say that I cannot explain that 90 cents a week, although I believe in the early days there was some rationale as to just how that amount was arrived at. It was figured that the subsistence was worth so much and that each man was entitled to cash in that amount. Subsequently that amount was increased, so that there were three types of cash allowances—$1, $2, and $3, depending upon the type of work assigned to the man. He was expected, insofar as possible, to work for his assistance but in the city units it was extremely difficult to provide sufficient work for all the people that applied for assistance. This was partly due to the fact that they were a highly mobile group. Many of them were only on the rolls for a short period. Moreover the group was constantly increasing in size and, while in most cities some effort was made to provide work, I think it must be admitted it was very spotty.

A second type of unit was that described in the term "reference center." A reference center was a place where there were not enough transients to justify a complete program. In that case a man or family could apply to the local relief office and receive temporary care and be sent on to the treatment center, where they could receive full care.

In the case of families relief was given usually in kind. A family was given a rent order, a food order, a clothing order; in other words, their needs were determined by a case worker and, in most cases, they were given that assistance in terms of the specific requirements rather than in terms of cash. The States were encouraged, as time went on, to give cash wherever it was felt the family could manage its own affairs, and cash relief became more general.

It became quite apparent, as the program developed, that the method of taking care of single men in city shelters, with inadequate work opportunities, was extremely difficult to administer and not very wholesome for the men concerned. So that very rapidly we began to develop camp units located outside of the cities in areas where it was possible to provide more adequate work for the men and, as the program went on, transient camps came to represent a larger and larger part of the total activity.

Usually a man would come into the treatment center, apply for care, indicate a desire and willingness to settle down and be assigned at that point to a camp for longer-time assistance. In all of the camps work was available and the men were assigned to regular tasks. It was in that situation that you began to get those $1, $2, and $3 gradations of cash payment.

Also, it became apparent, as the program went on, that we were getting a wide variety of people. Mr. Webb can tell you more about the character of the people who applied for care; but, in general, it was obvious, for example, that we were getting many young boys who should not be thrown in with the run-of-mine older men, and an effort was made to develop special projects with particular educational opportunities for the young boys. In some cases, it was possible to make arrangements with colleges to set up camps right on the college campus, so that the boys could go to college. That was done, first, at Texas A. and M.; it was later extended to certain other institutions. In other cases, we were able to get the services of unemployed teachers from the F. E. R. A. educational projects, to work with those boys.

Also, it became apparent that it was better to separate the older men. They seemed to like to work particularly on farms, where they could grow food for the other transients in the State. In some areas we had a very specific health problem, particularly in the Southwest, where we had many people coming out there suffering from tuberculosis who were unable to finance themselves. There also we set up a number of special camps for different types of health cases where we were able to give medical treatment.

One thing that interested us very much, as time went on, was the fact that we got such a large proportion of families. I think it is now rather well understood that the transient problem is in considerable measure a family problem; but at the time the F. E. R. A transient program was started, people thought of it almost exclusively in terms of single men. Mr. Webb can tell you more on that, but I would like to emphasize that point, because actually I believe I am correct in saying that before the transient program came to an end, we had almost half of the people under care in family groups.

I would like to say a few words about my own opinion of the good and bad features of the transient program as it operated under the F. E. R. A. I think its most obvious weakness was the fact that it was operating on an emergency basis under great pressure insofar as numbers of people was concerned. We never could get ahead of the demand for this type of relief and never had enough facilities to do a really thorough and adequate job. Money was allocated on a month-to-month basis. The State directors were never able to plan very far ahead, because they did not know what funds they would get the next month. And then, of course, the program came to an end without adequate provision being made for some substitute. In my opinion, this also can be attributed to its emergency character. I think that people now realize there is a continuing transient problem, even in times of relative prosperity. At that time, people thought of it primarily as a depression phenomenon.

A second thing about the transient program as it operated then which I think weakened it, particularly for its continuance, was the fact that it tended to operate separately from the rest of the relief program. People thought of it as the Federal transient program even though, actually, it was part of the State relief administration program. I think one thing that should be stressed in any future program is integration with the local forms of public assistance, so that the assimilation of those people will be facilitated and the administration of transient relief will be closely tied in with the existing public welfare administration.

One other comment I would like to make is concerned with the problem of sending people home. You find certain parts of the country that feel they are receiving an undue proportion of any migration that is taking place. I would say California was an outstanding example, although there are other States. In such areas many people feel that the only solution of the problem is to send people home where they came from. We did a great deal of that in the transient program. Our funds were available for that purpose and, when a family applied for care, one of the first things the social worker would do would be to see if that family or individual had a residence, and try to persuade them to go back, and sometimes the persuasion was a pretty strong form of persuasion—"You go back, or else." I would say, on the whole, that was not a very permanent solution, because, usually, these people left home only when every resource at home had failed and, when they went back, if the situation was unchanged, they were apt to move on. I do not know whether Mr. Webb had in mind to speak of the study we made on this, but I wanted to mention it. When the transient program came to an end, we did follow up on a certain number of people, as maybe Mr. Alspach remembers, who were sent home at that time, and we found that a very small proportion of those people stayed put at the place to which they were sent. I think that is an important thing to bear in mind.

I think probably my 15 minutes is up.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Alspach, will you please give your name and residence?

STATEMENT OF CHARLES ALSPACH, NEEDHAM, MASS.

Mr. ALSPACH. Charles Alspach; home address, 121 Page Road, Needham, Mass.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you were State director of this program in Pennsylvania for a period?

Mr. ALSPACH. Yes; I was the second person in Pennsylvania and then, as you know, I came down here for the closing days of the Federal program in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed in your own way.

Mr. ALSPACH. It seems to me, as a State person saw it, we found ourselves confronted with a large number of people for whom there was no local type of care.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking now of the State of Pennsylvania?

Mr. ALSPACH. That is right. The various cities and larger communities endeavored to use the private agencies and institutions that were established and in general had functioned to take care of such people, but the number, of course, became so great so quickly that pretty soon these private agencies, with private funds, found that they could not do this job that they had customarily been doing.

The next step that we saw was the attempt to use public funds, State and Federal funds, to buy service at such private agencies and institutions. Pretty soon that indicated that many of the private agencies and institutions were not willing or able to expand, to improve their facilities, and were not able to give the kind of care that was expected under a public program. No doubt we asked too much of the private agencies and, as a result, eventually the public funds were used to take over and improve certain existing facilities and, as Miss Wickenden has said, in the large centers of population and concentrations of these destitute people, to establish new facilities.

I believe the States and the local communities made a very real and honest effort to apply individual treatment and care to families, to unattached women and girls and to the unattached men; but we soon learned that returning people back to some place was not very successful and was a permanent solution in a few instances only.

It appears that the job that was done at this stage, after public funds were used to set up facilities operated by public officials, relief workers, was a good physical-care job. The housekeeping end of it was well done. People were given decent care. The medical program, the maintenance work by the people themselves, that is, in the places where men were assembled and given congregate care—I think all that was well accomplished. The families were always taken care of in the private lodging kind of place.

In Pennsylvania we soon found, after we had reached that stage of adequate care, that it was not wise to continue concentration of these people and that the concentration in the larger communities was not the best thing, first, because we could not get these people into local public or private employment and, secondly, because it was difficult to establish work projects for the heads of families, that is, the employable members of the families, or the unattached men, simply because we were still, in those days, I suspect, lacking sufficient imagination in respect to public work projects and because here was a group of people that a community was not sure should be put on the work project.

So, as Miss Wickenden has outlined, our attention was turned to the development of work projects outside of urban areas and that led, of course, to the question of shelter care in connection with those work projects. In Pennsylvania, we endeavored in connection with other State departments, notably the fish and game, to provide and eventually had some very acceptable and worth while projects from the point of view of their economic value to the State, and under the supervision of the technical people from the State fish and game and similar departments, and we then built and operated camps for the housing of men in those and for those work projects.

The work project in the rural area was successful not only from the point of view of what it meant to the State, but because, even though the compensation was small, as has been said, it did give the man a feeling of being employed at something useful, and his only limitation was that eventually he would see a place maturing whereby he could, through the employment service or otherwise, move back into an urban job, if that had been the kind of work he had been doing, or be given an opportunity to seek for work in the urban center. So that in general you had the possibility of the city shelter and the city lodging replacing for a time, or in general supplementing the time that the man worked on the rural or nonurban work project.

The work accomplished by unattached men, and heads of families, where that was possible—was good. There was rather general satisfaction with the work that took place and resulted from the use of those people in maintaining their own facilities in these city shelters, as well as their work in the woods or on the game and fish projects out in the rural sections.

With the coming of W. P. A., the problem was to transfer the nonsettled transient population into the work program; in a sense, to wipe out what had been a certain kind of separation because, up to that time, there had been in many States a work project for the nonresident and a work project or work projects for the residents. In Pennsylvania we had, I think successfully, utilized the resident as well as the nonresident unattached worker in many of our projects and, in most of our urban care. With the announcement of the work program of W. P. A. there was a strenuous effort made to return back to some place of departure where there was presumably or could be found a local connection with a relative, or a residence, even though settlement had not been acquired, and a good many people then in the transient relief program were transported or given transportation to a point where inquiry or information seemed to indicate it was worth while to send them. And then, presumably, after their arrival there, they would be residents and be more easily absorbed in the local relief and work program than if they had remained as nonresidents some place else.

Miss Wickenden has told you of the particular study which revealed, to some extent, the value of that effort.

Now for the remainder of the group that stayed under the care of the transient program and needed to be absorbed into the work program where they were, it was difficult, because of the inadequate public and private employment, to have the nonresidents in the cities absorbed completely into the work program. The W. P. A. program at that time, as I recall, was not large enough to absorb properly all of the resident and settled unemployed. With respect to the rural work projects, it was a little easier, because where there were good projects it was fairly simple for W. P. A. to take them over as a W. P. A. project and retain on the project and in the camp the nonresident person and also, as an effort to bring these groups together and eliminate this separation, to fit into that project resident unattached persons.

One of the things that was worked on pretty hard was the use of State-wide and Nation-wide employment services, and it seems to me, as I recall, both from the State and Federal point of view of employment, we did make a sincere effort to attempt to have those services available for the placement of the nonresident unemployed person in a rural-work project, as well as from a relief roll or the regular W. P. A. project, into private industry. But, in general, that was difficult because the employment service had many more registrants than jobs available. Also I suppose, naturally, there was some feeling that here was a group of people for whom the community did not have the particular responsibility, and in general they were the last assigned or utilized. Also in some employment files, unfortunately, these people continued to be labeled as nonresidents, and it was fairly simple for the clerk not to pull this group of cards for placement, because these people were a little different. If the program had continued longer and there had not been all this emergency aspect, as Miss Wickenden said, it would have been possible to have worked out quite well certain machinery and certain use of these people with considerable skill, not only from the point of view of training, possibly in the larger centers, not only with respect to the youth, not only to continue to carry on special services, whether they be health or what not, but also to have had them fitted more easily into the normal life of the communities, even though W. P. A. project jobs did not probably ever reach the maximum that probably was necessary for taking up the total number of unemployed.

I think that, Mr. Chairman, represents what my observations are.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Alspach. There will be some questions we desire to ask you after we have heard from Mr. Ryan.

Will you be kind enough, Mr. Ryan, to give your full name to the reporter, and your address?

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP RYAN, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. RYAN. My name is Philip Ryan, now employed by the American Red Cross as administrative assistant to the vice chairman in charge of insular and foreign operations; present address, 3811 Benton Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed in your own way, Mr. Ryan.

Mr. RYAN. As I see it, my job this morning is to complement what has been said by those who were more intimately connected with the national direction of the Federal transient program, and to bring to it the side light of a private organization closely connected with that program.

The situation in 1932 and early 1933 is, of course, familiar to the committee. With the great increase in the number of people on the road, the private agencies which had formerly handled the job of caring for these people were unable to do so. There was a general focusing of attention upon the problem of wild boys on the road. Feature stories appeared about people on the move—wild boys and girls, and so on—and transiency received not only that type of attention, but also attention from national private social work agencies; for example, the National Travelers' Aid Society, the Family Welfare Association of America, the Child Welfare League of America, and others.

These national social agencies came together in 1932 and formed a committee on care of transient and homeless. That committee was formed as a committee of the National Social Work Council. The committee had a membership of about 30 people selected from interested national social agencies, and from the academic field, as well as private individuals. Its main job was to collect material about the present situation: How many transients there were; what kind of care was being provided for them; what kind of problems they presented, and so on. The committee proceeded to do this by securing information from local organizations, mostly by letter—information about what the situation was in particular towns, or cities, or States.

The committee also conducted a 1-day census in January of 1933, covering 765 cities, and enumerated at that time 201,000 people who were classified as nonresidents. We are not sure that that was an accurate enumeration of transients, because it was difficult to differentiate between the local homeless and the real nonresident person. However, the committee did acquire information of that sort and then testified before congressional committees here in Washington at the time the national relief bills were being considered. As Miss Wickenden has explained, in 1933 the Federal Emergency Relief Act was passed, which included a section establishing a transient program.

The committee's job then became one of watching the Federal transient program. It conducted an evaluative survey of the program in the latter part of 1934 and the early part of 1935, under the direction of Dr. Ellery Reed, and that survey was published before the Federal transient program was liquidated. The committee continued to secure information about how the program was operating and brought various matters to the attention of Federal and State officials.

At that particular time, I was not yet connected with the committee on care of transient and homeless. During the operation of the Federal transient program, I was employed in New York State by the transient division of the New York State temporary emergency relief administration. I worked in various camps and in the State headquarters. I had a chance to observe rather closely the work in the camps and can support Mr. Alspach in his statement about the suitability of the work projects in the rural areas.

For instance, in one camp, the first camp we had in New York State, Camp Roosevelt, we built a dam in a State park. The men, although they were receiving in most instances only $1 a week, did a full day's work every day and were very much interested in it. They were a good crew of workers.

We also had another interesting project in New York State, in the Hartwick School, which was established early in 1935 in an attempt to segregate the younger boys from the older men in the camps and give them an educational program. We had, as Miss Wickenden mentioned, teachers secured through the educational projects of both F. E. R. A. and W. P. A. Both school and work were combined in this one project, and we had approximately 200 boys over the period from March 1935 to July 1936, when the school was finally closed.

Then in September 1935 the Federal transient program officially closed all intake, and I believe by December 1, 1935, the program was officially terminated. It may have gone on to January 1, 1936.

Miss WICKENDEN. It is rather hard to fix the date, because most of the States were given a rather sizable final grant, and some of them carried along transient relief for a very few unemployable people for a long time; but certainly the last grant was made in December 1935, and that could probably be taken as the final closing of the program.

Mr. RYAN. Then the program, at least in New York State, was operated under W. P. A., the W. P. A. taking over the camps, closing some of them and maintaining others until the latter part of 1936.

From the time of the closing of the Federal transient program, the work of the committee on care of transient and homeless took another aspect—one of promotion and trying to revive Federal responsibility for the care of nonresident people. By various ways this was attempted—through the organization of local and State committees; through publications, keeping people aware of the fact that the transient problem was not solved simply because the Federal transient program was terminated. It was about that time I became executive secretary of the committee. We kept pushing in an attempt to bring back some Federal responsibility for the care of the nonresidents. As I say, we did that in various ways. We put out this publication, After Five Years [exhibiting], in 1937. It is a general résumé of the work of the committee on care of transient and homeless from 1932 to 1937, including information about the Federal transient program and what happened following its close.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you an extra copy of that publication?

Mr. RYAN. That is already in your record, Mr. Chairman; it was included in the record during Miss McCall's testimony at the New York hearing.

The committee continued its efforts along this line of focusing public attention on the problem of the transient, although we had difficulties in maintaining our budget in order to do that; but our focus during those years, from 1935 to 1938, was more upon just the relief aspect of this particular problem. Providing relief for nonresidents was our main objective; that is, getting somebody to provide relief for nonresidents. Then, in 1938 we began to see the problem was much broader than just a relief problem. We realized that it was tied in with many other aspects of human life—education, employment, health, family welfare, and so forth. We saw that all phases of human existence were included in this whole problem of tranciency and migration and, in an effort to veer away from just the relief aspects, we attempted to bring into our organization representatives of those other fields. In doing so, we changed from the committee on care of transient and homeless to an organization known as the council on interstate migration. The council carried on a similar kind of program, although on a broader scale, emphasizing other aspects of transiency and migration and not just relief needs.

The council on interstate migration had to close up during the summer of 1939, due to lack of funds. Since that time, its files have been transferred to the National Travelers Aid Association, and most of its members are continued as a committee of the National Travelers Aid Association.

I believe that about concludes what I have to say from the viewpoint of a national private organization looking at the program, Congressman Tolan, and I will be glad to answer any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Sparkman, I believe you have some questions for Mr. Webb.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is Mr. Webb not going to make a statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you contemplate making a statement, or will that be covered in questions?

Mr. WEBB. Just questions.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN N. WEBB, FALLS CHURCH, VA.

Mr. WEBB. My name is John N. Webb; home address, 400 West Broad Street, Falls Church, Va. I am employed by the Division of Research, Work Projects Administration.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Webb, in the F. E. R. A. transient program, what distinction was made between transients and migratory workers?

Mr. WEBB. When the relief program for nonresidents was set up, it was felt that there was a vast difference between bona fide transients and seasonal migratory workers. It was believed that failure to make some distinction between these two groups would provide a subsidy from those industries that existed and benefited in some degree because of the cheap supply of labor furnished by migratory workers. Therefore, an early order was issued by the Federal transient director distinguishing between transient and migratory workers.

As it turned out, the distinction was unnecessary, in the first place, and impossible of strict enforcement in the second place. The depression transient made up the great bulk of the applicants for relief at the Federal transient bureaus and, even if this had not been the case, it is difficult to see how the distinction between the migratory worker and the transient could have been enforced. Unless the migratory worker voluntarily identified himself as such, there was no way by which the Transient Bureau officials could be certain they were following the provisions of the requirement.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What proportion of the Transient Bureau clients were migratory agricultural workers?

Mr. WEBB. Among the unattached group, between 8 and 10 percent, and among the family groups, between 3 and 7 percent, the variation being by months of the year. Those groups were identified as migratory agricultural workers by their work records and, in most cases, the groups identified had a work history of 4 years or more regular employment in seasonal agricultural work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What proportion of the Transient Bureau's population came from rural areas?

Mr. WEBB. Among the unattached men, something approximating 7 to 8 percent came from the open country and 13 percent from villages—"villages" being defined as places of less than 2,500 population. Thus about 20 percent of the unattached might be said to have come from rural areas.

Among the families, about 8 percent came from the open country and about 19 percent from villages; so that about 27 percent of the families were of rural origin.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many drought refugees did you find among the transients?

Mr. WEBB. Of the transient family groups, about 1 in 20 was a drought refugee.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is about 5 percent?

Mr. WEBB. About 5 percent.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Were the Transient Bureau clients largely families, or unattached?

Mr. WEBB. At the start of the program, the family groups were numerically a very small part of the load. As Miss Wickenden has pointed out, all the thinking at the time the program was started was that the transient problem was almost solely one of the unattached man. As the program continued, the importance of the family groups increased. However, on a basis of cases, rather than persons, family groups never, I believe, represented more than one-fourth of the number of unattached cases under care in the same month and, on the basis of cases registered during the month, family cases never totaled as much as one-thirteenth of the unattached. However, if those comparisons are made on the basis of persons, the number of persons in family groups increases considerably and, at one time approached, but never equaled, the number of persons reported as unattached.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What was the relative mobility of the unattached and family groups?

Mr. WEBB. Measured in terms of relationship between the number of cases registered during a given month and the number of cases under care during a 24-hour period, the mobility of the unattached was from three to five times higher than that of the families. Among families, monthly openings, that is, cases applying for assistance, equaled from 32 to 72 percent of the cases under care on a given day. Among the unattached registrants, openings equaled between 140 and 330 percent of the persons under care on a given day each month.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What was the age and sex of the Transient Bureau population?

Mr. WEBB. Among the unattached, females did not exceed 3 percent during any one month; among the families, about 15 percent had female heads. About two-thirds of the unattached and half of the family heads were between the ages of 16 and 35 years of age; that is, the transient population was predominantly a young group.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What were the drives behind migration that led to the transfer of the F. E. R. A. Transient Bureau?

Mr. WEBB. Distress associated with the place of origin was the principal cause of migration. In most cases, this distress grew out of industrial unemployment. Next in importance was ill health, followed by farm failure and domestic trouble. Migration was usually begun, however, only when the probability of improvement at destination seemed very high. Among the families, only a few chose to migrate to places to which they were strangers; the great majority moved to places where they had formerly lived, or where they had relatives or friends.

Mr. RYAN. May I add one comment there? Various studies that have been made of the boys among the transient group show a very large percentage of them came from broken homes. Of the group we had at Hartwick, over 50 percent of the boys between the ages of 16 and 22 came from broken homes. The same was true of a group studied in California. A similar study of young boys in the transient population of Georgia also showed that close to 50 percent of those younger boys came from broken homes.

I think that indicates that while there would be economic distress and other factors involved, this problem would continue even in fairly prosperous times. The causes are not entirely tied up with economic situations.

Mr. Sparkman. What was the prevailing direction of this movement, Mr. Webb?

Mr. Webb. The great majority of the mobility in the F. E. R. A. Transient Bureau applicants was an exchange movement consisting of balanced give and take among the States. The rest of the movement, representing a geographical displacement, was made up of two principal trends: A western movement from the Midwest and the Great Plains States into California, Washington, and Idaho; and a northward movement from the Old South into the industrial centers of the North.

Mr. Sparkman. What part did legal settlement play in the problem?

Mr. Webb. The F. E. R. A. transient program faced two difficulties growing out of the maze of conflicting legal settlement laws. One was the absence of uniformity from State to State which made a needy person who had been settled in Oregon, for example, still a transient after 3 years and 11 months of residence while in the State of Washington he was considered a resident after only 6 months. The second difficulty was the situation in which a migrant lost his settlement in one State before acquiring it in another.

Among the unattached 43 percent had fallen into the category of being Stateless and among families the proportion was one-half. It might be added in that respect that a special study of the effects of legal settlement it was found that among those cases that had a verifiable legal settlement in a particular State, only about half had a home or residence to which they could be returned.

Mr. Sparkman. Did the transient program encourage aimless wandering?

Mr. Webb. A very small part of the transient population consisted of chronic wanderers among the unattached. For example, about 7 percent reported that they had gone on the road in search of adventure or for no good reason.

But at the same time it seems fairly clear that the program did put a stop to the passing on policy, whose effects upon aimless wandering never concerned the transient-program critics.

Second, that the necessity for the fruitless searching of work from place to place was reduced, and the program further reduced the arbitrary return of transients to places of former settlement in order to get them back to a place where there was local responsibility.

Among the family groups the record of turn-over, that is going on and off relief, shows that the transient program very clearly reduced the amount of aimless wandering.

Mr. Sparkman. What is the comparison of the reemployment rate of transients on the relief with the rate of resident population?

Mr. Webb. On the whole, the evidence shows that the transient population was a highly employable group. Among families in transient bureaus, between 20 and 40 percent of the case load left the transient relief rolls each month. During the same period about 6 percent of the resident relief population was leaving the rolls monthly.

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. Webb, Miss Wickenden referred to a study that was made of the worthwhileness of the permanence of this program, of passing them back—sending them back to their homes.

Mr. Alspach referred to that, too. I wonder if you would comment on that?

Mr. WEBB. Only about half of the Transient Bureau applicants had a legal settlement that could be verified on inquiry, and of that half only about a half again, meaning a quarter of the total, had a home in the sense of the residence of a family, relative, or friend to whom or with whom they could be domiciled if they were returned.

In a special study that we made of the success of returning these people we found that the net effect was relatively small; that some small proportion—the figure I cannot recall at the moment—did remain in the place to which they were sent. The remainder arrived there, stayed a short time, and left again.

It seems clear from the fact that transients set out voluntarily, that sending them back was no real solution in most cases.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if the separation of these young people from the older people, and the providing of work projects for them, was in any sense a forerunner of the N. Y. A.?

Mr. WEBB. Miss Wickenden, I think, is better qualified to answer that.

Miss WICKENDEN. I would say that, in actual fact, it had worked out to be so, in that many of the types of activities started under the transient program have subsequently been carried on under the N. Y. A.

Many of the N. Y. A. resident projects located on campuses, for example, have closely followed the pattern originally established by the transient program.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did all of these people work in these transient camps?

Miss WICKENDEN. I would say that in the camps, except for those men who were ill, working was a universal requirement. In the city shelters the difficulty grew out of the absence of works projects. In principle, they were supposed to work, but in actual fact there was not always enough work for all the people that were receiving assistance.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That was supported wholly by the Federal Government, was it not? There was no State participation?

Miss WICKENDEN. Yes. Occasionally it was possible to get contributions to a transient work project in the form of equipment, or perhaps supervision or materials from the local body that would benefit by the project activities.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to continue my questioning, but there were two or three general questions I wanted to ask. Do you feel that at the present time that there is a need for some kind of a transient program?

Mr. RYAN. It depends on the kind. That is my comment, and I will let Miss Wickenden carry on.

Miss WICKENDEN. I would certainly say there was a need for some form of transient program. I think the problem is complicated by the fact that it relates closely to the question of general relief, which is a rather controversial subject and tends to confuse the clarity of the problem insofar as transients are concerned.

Mr. Ryan. I would not like to see a transient program that you could identify as a transient program.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, perhaps I can put it another way. As we have gone around making these studies we have been convinced of the fact that the whole situation has been pretty badly complicated and muddled by the lack of uniformity in the settlement laws, and I believe each one of you has mentioned something about it in your statements before us.

Would you like to see such a program as would at least lower or remove those barriers that have been raised by the great variety of settlement laws that the various States have adopted?

Mr. Webb. Congressman Sparkman, may I add a comment there?

Following the close of the transient program we made a study of a selected group of cities at yearly periods in an attempt to find out what had happened once this particular form of aid was discontinued.

Our findings were somewhat complicated by the fact that the trend of the transient load was declining before the program closed. There was a distinct reduction in need.

As soon as the program was closed there was a marked drop in the number of persons who could be found and identified as transients in these cities, but the principal reason was the lack of facilities for their care. Furthermore, the drop in the number of applicants was again misleading because once it was known that there were no facilities in a town the transient did not make application. In a number of places—Jacksonville, Fla., was one—we found a transient load, a load that just didn't seem reasonable in view of the importance of the city in north-south migration.

By stationing men outside of the town on the main road we found that the volume of movement of the unsettled persons remained large, but had simply dropped out of sight.

One effect of discontinuing a program of any kind is to understate the need, because it is concealed immediately. On the other hand the setting of a program immediately brings to light this need and leaves the critics to say that the program encourages wandering, which I seriously doubt. It seems inconceivable that any person would deliberately incur the hardships of travel to get what little assistance he got at these widely separated points.

Mr. Sparkman. But if we were to treat it as a relief program for unsettled persons rather than for transients, do you think there might be a psychological benefit to that?

Miss Wickenden. It is an amusing thing that in the early days before the transient program the word "hoboes" was widely used, and then we took on "transient" as a term that didn't seem to carry with it any stigma. During the course of the years transient came to be considered an unfavorable word and then we took up the word "migrant." Migrant was used for some time and then the word "unsettled," even more neutral than migrant, came into use. I think the term "unsettled" is a very descriptive one.

I would like to add something to what Mr. Ryan said, if I may. It seems to me that what many of us who have been associated with the transient problem feel is that a distinction should be made between

Federal financing and separate program operation; that it is quite apparent that as long as States and communities are not able to meet all the needs of their own people, they are probably not going to make financial provision for the people whom they feel do not properly belong to them. So that there is a very real need for Federal financing.

On the other hand, it might well be possible to work out a plan of bookkeeping whereby the Federal Government would assist the States in financing transient relief, even though they included these people in their normal programs.

Mr. RYAN. My only comment on that is that you cannot separate the financing and the standards of care if the Federal Government is going to finance this program because its standards of care are going to be established by the Federal authorities.

If on the other hand the States are maintaining a general relief program, their standards of care are going to be established by the States themselves, so that the standards are going to differ.

The transient, or nonsettled, or unsettled, or whatever he is going to be called, is going to be treated in a different way to that in which the person who is a State resident is treated, and it is that distinction between the groups that I want to see eliminated.

The only way it can be eliminated, as far as I can see, is by a relief program which provides the same type of financing, the same type of care, for all persons in need regardless of their settlement or residence status.

Mr. ALSPACH. I would like to support what Mr. Ryan said, and say in addition to that general standard of care for all, we should add the bookkeeping possibility of a larger share of Federal reimbursement for the nonresident or the person without State or local settlement.

Miss WICKENDEN. I would like to support that. I think our experience would confirm the fact that even though Federal funds are going into a State that is not adequate assurance that nonresident people will be taken care of.

We had the same problem in the W. P. A., which was a Federal program, but because of the fact there never were enough jobs for all the eligible people it was virtually impossible to get even a proportionate share of W. P. A. jobs for nonresident people. So that if these people are going to receive care it is almost essential that certain funds be earmarked for them.

Mr. RYAN. I may be just an idealist, Mr. Chairman, but it seems to me that the mere distinction created by the fact that a greater proportion of Federal funds are used for the nonsettled person, again creates that same problem which I am trying to avoid—the difference in treatment.

Mr. WEBB. I would like to suggest that a realistic point of view leads me, at least, to believe that a difference in care is an essential part of the program if you are to achieve one purpose of nonresident need.

Now, that happens to conflict with the point of view just presented, because the transient group, as we saw it from the research point of view, is not a uniform group. There are two clearly distinguishable types: (1) The transient who has reached a destination and is in the process of assimilation in that community and (2) the transient en route to a destination.

Assuming that voluntary migration is desirable, then this distinction is important. Insofar as a transient program is to assist a desirable movement including aid to those who have not reached their destination, it seems to me that putting the person en route through the same procedure that is necessary for resident relief, either breaks his travel or will cause him to avoid asking for assistance.

Now, one of the great benefits of the transient program was that the needy nonresident could get temporary overnight care en route. We had a great many transient centers around the country that we identified as stop-over places—Denver, Colo., was one—that stood out as being a place on the transcontinental movement where transients stayed for a short time only. If you are going to put this stop-over group through the same procedure as those who have reached their destination, it seems to me that you will discriminate against the group that is trying to get somewhere.

I think that is a problem that has to be faced in considering any future program for transients. If all transients applied only at the destination, then the argument for uniform standards and procedures holds, but I think that is not the case.

Mr. RYAN. I believe that particular aspect of the situation needs to be considered, but I believe that the provision of special care for those who are going some place can be provided in other ways outside of what you would call a Federal transient program.

When you face the relief needs of these people, not just their transportation needs, but their relief needs, then you should treat them and all persons in need in exactly the same way and finance the program in exactly the same way.

The CHAIRMAN. In other word, you are not in favor of a variable program?

Mr. RYAN. No. It continues to give you the same problem all the way along. You will find no solution to the problem. Settlement laws continue to operate. You still have to define who these nonresident people are and distinguish them from other needy people. There is no provision whereby at some future time they cease to be nonresident.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Don't you believe that any law setting that up could set a certain standard which would have a tendency to make the settlement laws uniform?

Mr. ALSPACH. Could we think of the changing or the uniformity or the reducing of the settlement laws with respect to relief and assistance and not get into a controversial matter as to whether settlement is needed for voting or what not.

The CHAIRMAN. When we get into a variable program our troubles start. When the Social Security Act was passed, based on the ability of the States to match payments, there were only 13 States that could match the Federal grants.

Miss WICKENDEN. I would like to say one other thing about Mr. Ryan's position. I think Mr. Ryan's position is 100 percent right if funds are appropriated by Congress that are adequate to take care of the entire problem. In that case I think there will be no problem about the transients getting assistance, but up to now we have never had a relief program or a W. P. A. program that took care of all the people that were eligible for it.

Because of that situation, the nonresident will always be discriminated against because all your pressures locally are to take care of your local people first.

Mr. Alspach. I would like to add to that statement which I think is correct and also call to the attention of this group that we now have a Nation-wide and integrated system of employment services, which is a factor, along with that of adequate funds for general relief. As I recall Mr. Webb's answers to one of the questions, there was a rather high percentage of persons who were thought from inquiry to have moved away from some place by reason of distress at the point of origin, which does, I believe, support what has been said regarding the need for adequate local relief where these people are now, where they are before they start. Our experience indicates that people do not migrate from the South, for instance, north or, from State to State, because there may be a higher standard of local relief in some other place. As Mr. Webb pointed out, that was not observed in the transient program with respect to the benefits of just the transient program itself, so that in thinking of terms of prevention and adequate local safeguards, we must have not only adequate relief programs but adequate public employment, whether it be W. P. A. or whether it be some other kind of public employment, so that all people can be taken care of on the same basis.

I believe that will prevent a great deal of difficulty. I do not think it need be thought of as preventing the desirable migration which we need, and which we have, and I think that the point Mr. Ryan made with respect to what Mr. Webb said is true, that services will be provided over and above or in connection with, a local and State program that will take care of this person who is desirably moving to some point of employment or some point of better opportunity.

Mr. Ryan. Through your employment service or some other agency.

Mr. Alspach. And the employment service can help direct that movement.

Miss Wickenden. I was just going to say that that becomes particularly important at the present time in terms of the concentration of defense activities in certain areas, which is going increasingly to require migration to meet employment needs.

An effort has been made, I think, to put defense industries in areas where there is unemployment but there are also many located in areas where it is going to be necessary for the people to move and in some cases those people will need assistance in order to get there. Certainly, anything of that kind that can be done will eliminate the hit-or-miss recruiting of workers which create a new type of transient problem.

There have been cases where contractors have sent out calls and said: "I am going to employ 1,000 people" and 10,000 have come in answer to that call. In that case you have a serious transient problem in a type of community which is frequently completely unequipped to deal with it if it is a little town with a new ordnance plant or a new type of industry and no established relief agencies, either public or private.

Mr. RYAN. I should like to point out that in such programs of recruiting workers for defense industries, the need for transportation or assistance required to get to the job should not be confused with the relief program. It should be tied in with the employment program.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Chairman, I wonder whether the panel would consider that the function of transporting workers to the job would be a function of the Federal Government or of the industry that was to employ them.

Miss WICKENDEN. Mr. Hillman and the other people in the Office of Production Management, and the Defense Commission, have been working with industrial employers to get them to advance funds to workers that are coming on specific demand.

Mr. OSMERS. Coming to the jobs?

Miss WICKENDEN. Yes. I don't believe there has been any program worked out for extending such assistance generally, but it has been done in some cases.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Chairman, I don't think the Federal Government should, just expressing my own opinion, provide that transportation, because after all in most instances these people are going to private jobs and private industry. They will be on a pay roll when they get there and I think the need in that particular respect is for a better operation of the employment service.

Miss WICKENDEN. I agree with you. I raise the question simply as a subordinate part of the problem of rational recruiting of defense workers rather than a rather disorganized method of bringing people in droves.

Mr. OSMERS. The committee has expressed itself very clearly, I would say unanimously, against this aimless recruiting of labor—sending out handbills and so on. I think where your position will become very important will be when the spiral ceases to rise and when it starts to go down. Then you are going to need transient programs and transient assistance to get people readjusted.

Miss WICKENDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. For the benefit of the committee and the record, because our time is getting quite short, I would like to ask one or two general questions.

Can any of the panel give us the date when this program went into effect and when it concluded?

Miss WICKENDEN. The initial order issued by Mr. Hopkins as Federal Relief Administrator establishing the conditions under which this program would operate was signed on July 26, 1933, and the last Federal grant under that provision was made in December of 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. But that was the result of an order; there was no specific legislation for it.

Miss WICKENDEN. The Relief Act of 1933 was passed on May 12, 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. Do any of the panel know the amount of money that has been spent in this program?

Miss WICKENDEN. I have a figure here, which I would have to confirm, of $85,779,319.

The CHAIRMAN. And what States were affected?

Miss WICKENDEN. All of the States.

The CHAIRMAN. Every State in the Union?

Miss WICKENDEN. Every State had a program.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Miss Wickenden, we have some specific questions here for the purpose of the record, and I would like to ask you do you think the Federal transient program reduced aimless and forced wandering?

Miss WICKENDEN. Yes; I would say that the transient program, taken together with the other relief and social measures that came into being simultaneously with it, did prevent such wandering.

I think that the F. E. R. A. generally, I think the C. W. A., and the other measures that were undertaken at that time to stabilize the economic situation certainly prevented wandering.

Mr. RYAN. I think that what Mr. Webb said should be added there, namely, that the elimination of the passing-on system stopped a lot of aimless wandering.

Prior to the program it was just a matter of pushing them on to the next town.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Wickenden, what were the effects on the transient program of the frequent changes in Federal policy toward care of residents?

Miss WICKENDEN. You mean the C. W. A. program, and relief program, and so forth?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss WICKENDEN. Well, I would say that, by and large, most of the changes that took place, certainly the change from the relief program to the C. W. A., reduced transiency because they provided for an expansion of assistance for people at home, and anything that expanded the opportunities for employment tended to reduce wandering and movement of people. The ending of the C. W. A. may very well have contributed in some measure to movement, although I have no statistical basis for saying so.

I think that the beginning again of the W. P. A. and the large-scale Federal-employment program served to stabilize the unemployed.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there many conspicuous failures in the operation of State programs, and, if so, to what would you say they were due?

Miss WICKENDEN. There were individual variations among the States in the quality of the program and the type of care provided, depending in large measure, I would say, on the character of the personnel that was running it. I would hesitate to say that there were conspicuous failures. I think there was simply a wide variation.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee has been impressed in its previous hearings by arguments for a Federal grant-in-aid program as a way to eliminate settlement problems by including the nonsettled persons in the local programs for general relief. This would perhaps take care of the nonsettled persons who want to establish a residence in the community where they find themselves. What about the seasonal migrants, and the nonsettled removal migrant who wants help while moving? This program—would this proposed program take care of them?

Miss WICKENDEN. I agree in considerable measure with what Mr. Webb said, that there would have to be a very simple form of provision for people who have a legitimate reason for moving. However, I think that should not in any way preclude integrating the people, who really have come to a place to settle. into the local program.

Mr. CURTIS. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. CURTIS. This program which you referred to, what was the correct title of that?

Miss WICKENDEN. It was called the Federal transient program, which was in a sense a misnomer, since it operated through the State relief administrations. However. it operated exclusively with Federal funds and it operated in terms of regulations established by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, so it had a certain degree of uniformity throughout the country.

Mr. CURTIS. For my own information and for the record I wish someone would define that program. I know that you have covered the field generally, but what were the limitations? What things did it set out to do and what things were not included?

Miss WICKENDEN. Well, it set out to provide assistance to nonresident people. "Nonresident people" were defined arbitrarily as people who had been in a State less than 12 months, without regard to variations in settlement laws, because we felt to recognize State and local settlement laws as the basis for giving relief would actually tend to favor those States with the longest settlement laws, which was exactly the thing we did not want to do.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did these people stay in these camps?

Miss WICKENDEN. There was no fixed time limit on it.

Mr. CURTIS. What did they have to show in order to get in?

Miss WICKENDEN. They had to show that they were in need and were nonresidents. Usually they went first to a city office and were assigned to a city shelter. Then after they had been there for a time and an interview had been possible, and it was indicated that they were anxious to work and settle down, they were then transferred to a camp where a work project was available.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, your reference to the fact that aimless wandering dropped off at the time of this, I understand you are not able to distinguish how much of that was credited to this program and how much of it might have been affected by the Civilian Conservation Corps?

Miss WICKENHAM. I think all of those things contributed to a stabilization of the economic and social situation. For example, I think that the H. O. L. C. program kept certain people from losing their homes and undoubtedly was a factor in reducing migration. You cannot isolate exactly which program had which effect, but anything that tended to stabilize the situation reduced wandering.

Mr. Curtis. I served as a public prosecutor from 1931 to 1934, inclusive, but no records were kept with reference to certain types of offenses, but it seemed to me the thing that would move the potential offender among young men more than anything else was perhaps the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Miss Wickenden. We certainly would recognize the Civilian Conservation Corps as a major factor in keeping the younger men off the road. Of course, you have to consider also the older men and the family groups in considering the transient problem.

Mr. Curtis. But, as I understand, everyone here this morning recognizes that among people away from home you have the nonsettled person, generally, who has just lost his statehood, you might say, and then you still have another class from that, the individual who for some reason has got to travel and he has no funds—the person who is merely in transit.

Miss Wickenden. Yes. You can subdivide the group in many ways. There are certain occupations where people do not acquire settlement. One of our major administrative problems was the problem of the seamen, who never acquired settlement because of the nature of their occupation. In other parts of the country the lumbermen were traditionally migratory and didn't settle down in one place long enough to be considered legal residents, so that when they became unemployed and wished assistance they could not get it from the local relief agencies.

And then you have, of course, the group who have always been settled in a community but who moved when they lost their means of livelihood. Many lost their farms and many lost their jobs in urban areas, and, seeing no future for themselves where they were, set out to some other place where they thought they could get work.

Now many of those people have fallen into the occupation of migratory workers because it was one of the few fields that was open to them. Many of these people in California and the Western States who are now classed as migrants or as migratory workers were traditionally settled farmers and would probably become so again if the opportunity ever offered.

You have a shifting back and forth that makes the problem very hard to define.

Mr. Curtis. Mr. Webb, in the figures that you were giving about the percentage of the people who were victims of the drought and certain percentages were victims of domestic difficulties, was that a tabulation taken just from some particular area, or was that all of the people served by this program in the United States?

Mr. Webb. It is both. We made a series of studies, and in some cases we set up a number of cities to be studied on a continuing month-to-month basis. We made some special studies where we added to these regular survey cities, and some of the figures I cited are drawn from complete reports, but the figures I quoted come from three or four of the various studies that we made during that period.

Mr. **Curtis**. While making those surveys did you ever take the I. Q. of those people?

Mr. **Alspach**. That was not done by us, but was done in a number of States under experimental projects of the universities.

Mr. **Curtis**. What did they find?

Mr. **Webb**. I recall a North Carolina study where they found no indication of abnormality or low I. Q. standards. In fact, it was a little bit in favor of the transient group, although I think that the age factor had quite a bit to do with that. The transient group was preponderantly a young group. I think all the studies have been favorable to transients.

Mr. **Curtis**. Mr. Alspach, referring to your memorandum or the memorandum of the Federal Administrator of July 26, 1933, would you say that the Pennsylvania program approximated the suggestion at the bottom of page 3, which reads:

> It is desirable from the point of view of economic administration that any local program should be set up in such a fashion that the local homeless residents, State homeless, more than 12 months in State, and the transient homeless, less than 12 months in State, will be cared for through a centralized program, since in most respects their needs are the same, with the added element of speed required in handling the program of the transient.

Mr. **Alspach**. Yes. I think that did take place in the Pennsylvania program with good results.

Mr. **Curtis**. Would you say that the numbers of work programs were adequate to the needs of the Federal transient program?

Mr. **Alspach**. I would say by the end of the program; yes.

Mr. **Ryan**. In the camps only or in the shelters?

Mr. **Webb**. Primarily in the nonurban centers, but, as we have explained, there was a system worked out for the movement of the persons from the urban centers to the work project.

Mr. **Curtis**. At the present time a lot of this work has been done, hasn't it?

Mr. **Alspach**. You mean by other agencies?

Mr. **Curtis**. Yes.

Mr. **Alspach**. The work that was started in those projects?

Mr. **Curtis**. Yes.

Mr. **Alspach**. I would suspect in some cases; yes.

Mr. **Curtis**. I think it is true right now in some areas the W. P. A. projects are not very sound merely for the reason that there aren't any available—there are none that can be sponsored without taking the men too far.

Wouldn't that be true if you would resume such activities among transients?

Mr. **Alspach**. Well, it would have to be similar to the problem that we endeavored to work out in the Pennsylvania unit, whereby with a cash compensation for the work performed you would have some relationship to the employment service and through a rotation system, if necessary, with urban centers and employment opportunities in cities for these men, and I think under those circumstances you might have very feasible and successful and well-operated work projects.

Mr. Curtis. Is the number of available transients that are apt to be in any camp in a given area too variable to prevent wise planning of the work they would do?

Mr. Alspach. In general, no. I would also say that if the project was now thought of in terms of the average W. P. A. or public employment project, where there was not a distinction as to the source from which the person was recruited, or the basis on which he was selected and that there was a wage compensation and suitable facilities and some care exercised with respect to family men versus the unattached, with all of those considerations I think that you would find a number of unemployed persons equal to the project and, naturally, the project would be planned with some respect to the availability of unemployed persons.

Mr. Curtis. What factors in the operations of the Federal and State employment services most keenly affected the Federal transient program?

Mr. Alspach. It seemed to me at least the employment service was moving into a new public placement area and function. There had been the separation between the resident or nonresident or settled or unsettled, and the employment service was working very hard to do a good job with first the settled or the residents. Because of the limited placement opportunities it found difficult the addition to its files and placement service, of this other person for whom there had been a special program.

Mr. Curtis. Would you care to comment on the alleged shortcomings of the State programs, either as a former State or Federal director, such shortcomings as may have existed in Washington or a lack of ability on the part of the transient divisions of the States or the personnel or the salaries of the personnel or anything of that type?

Mr. Alspach. In general the Federal standards that were promulgated by the Federal relief organization did set a basic pattern and framework that assured and secured over the country good physical care, good medical services, and the necessary amount of so-called individual treatment, or individual interviews for the possibilities of special assignments, special services, or an attempt to return to another point. There were modifications by States that in many instances were probably very desirable for fitting the program into the State and local need.

I believe the salaried personnel in general was pretty good.

Mr. Curtis. Do you have any record, any of you, as to how many people went from a Federal transient camp into private employment—moved directly, I mean?

Mr. Webb. I think there is no record, Congressman, because from a research point of view we lose track of them as soon as they leave the program. We could arrive at it only by indirection.

Mr. Curtis. Was any record made at the time they would leave a given point as to why they left?

Mr. Webb. Yes.

Miss Wickenden. An effort was made but it wasn't always extremely accurate because when a person leaves it is sometimes hard to know exactly what he is going to do. Maybe they will tell you and maybe they won't, but there are some statistical computations, aren't there, Mr. Webb?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; there is a record of reasons for leaving. As Miss Wickenden pointed out it is very unsatisfactory as to an indication why.

Mr. CURTIS. Do any of them show they have gone to take a job?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What percentage?

Mr. RYAN. That is hard to tell.

Mr. WEBB. No; I think there is no clear-cut record of exactly what percentage.

Mr. CURTIS. Do I understand this group before the committee this morning favors a return to the Federal transient program as it existed in prior days?

Mr. RYAN. Absolutely not.

Miss WICKENDEN. No.

Mr. ALSPACH. I shook my head, Mr. Chairman. I shall say "no" so the record will indicate my answer.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you feel that the objective of this Federal transient program was to curtail or stop the movement of destitute people or merely to take care of them?

Mr. WEBB. I think it has been said, the answer has been made in various ways, that it was primarily to provide care for those people where they were at the moment.

Secondly, it was an endeavor to have them return if that was possible, to a desirable point that could be established and, third, after the care was given for those that needed to be cared for, to give them suitable occupations and a placement in public or private employment to the extent that that was possible.

Miss WICKENDEN. I would like to add a word there. I think when the Federal transient program started there was a feeling that the objective should be to stop migration, but I think that as time went on many of us came to see that that was not in and of itself a solution to the problem; that it had to be a step toward a readjustment which might in itself involve a certain amount of movement; that people should not be stopped or sent back to a point where there was no future for them; that the effort should be to find a new means of livelihood for those people wherever it might exist.

Mr. RYAN. I should like to point out the mere fact we say we don't favor the return of the Federal transient program as it existed, is not in itself a condemnation of that program as set up.

I feel that the Federal transient program served very useful purposes. In the first place it did provide care to people in need, which was its major objective. It also served to stop a considerable amount of aimless wandering. It gave us an opportunity to find out more about these people so we could plan a better type of program.

Mr. CURTIS. Here is a question and I don't think I am out of order on this, that has been bothering me ever since I went on this committee:

To what extent do you people feel that the personal equation, the person's attitude, his education, his background, and all of that enters into his need for relief, whether he is settled or not settled?

The point I am getting at is, we will say there was a drought or the mills shut down or something else but you will find families and individuals of identical circumstances and identical or similar educational advantages and so on, some of them survive misfortune and some of them don't. Now, is the Federal Government adopting the wisest course when it merely gives attention to their care and are we missing something in an educational way?

Miss **Wickenden**. I think that when the Federal program started there was a feeling on the part of some people that these were maladjusted people, that they had some personal deficiency within them, that had contributed to their migration. A good deal of attention was paid to individual case work and to interviews with those people to attempt to determine a good deal about their individual personal capacities and background.

I think that as time went on most of the people connected with this program came to feel more and more that the primary problem was an economic one. Granted that you had certain individuals that were psychopathic cases, who because of their personal instability were apt to wander around the country, from an administrative point of view those people, while very few in number, were probably the hardest to deal with.

The vast majority, however, were people who were like anyone else. Many of them were people, we felt, whose leaving home was a sign of personal ambition and enterprise and vigor. In many places the best of the people moved because they saw that at home there was nothing left for them.

We have talked a good deal about the pioneer spirit which still prevails. There is still on the part of the ordinary American person a feeling that if he cannot get along where he is there is some place in this country where he can get along. Unfortunately a lot of them still think in terms of the West perhaps more than the situation deserves, but certainly as far as I am concerned I couldn't say that these people were transients because of personal inadequacy on their own part except in very rare cases.

Mr. **Ryan**. I think Mr. Webb's figures bear that out—the fact that as compared with the general relief population the turn-over, that is, getting off of relief, was much better among the transient group; that they were by and large a younger group; that they were the ambitious, younger group which was hitting the road to get a job. They were not content to sit down and take relief where they were.

Mr. **Curtis**. I wasn't directing my question to transients only.

Mr. **Alspach**. Could I say this, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me our experience in this program and other relief programs indicates that a large group of people who come and apply for relief have used every method, have exhausted every opportunity, have done things that were not fair to children, were not fair to themselves, rather than apply for public aid. Our experience with transient families, particularly indicated that; also that many men did not, would not come into the service, but were not caught in the census, were not known. I believe we experienced that in that program.

Mr. **Webb**. I think another way of saying that same thing is that we have a tendency to think of migrants, or in this case transients, who have applied for assistance as the totality of migration at that time.

Another way of looking at it is to look at it as the group which out of a much larger total has temporarily failed to achieve the purpose of the migration. We have good basis for estimating that the transient program at its height did not include more than 10 to 15 percent of the individuals and families who were moving at that time.

Now, one of the big factors that we found operating here was that the individual workmen, the individual unemployed, has a very poor knowledge of the labor market possibilities more than a few miles removed from his place. But he has an unbounded confidence in the fact that if he is in, we will say, Canton, Ohio, he can get a job in Detroit, because he has heard they are hiring workers in Detroit. He goes to Detroit along with a great many others. Some portion of that flow to Detroit is bound to fail in their objective and what we had in this program, and I think what we have in distress migration all the time is that portion of the total movement at any one time which has failed for the moment to achieve its purpose.

Mr. CURTIS. How many people in the United States do you estimate are making changes?

Mr. WEBB. We have estimated a number of times that within an average year the number of workers who move across State lines is from two to three million—those who would be eligible for transient relief if they required it.

Mr. CURTIS. Do I understand you to say those two or three million people represent those who didn't require relief?

Mr. WEBB. That is right. In other words, the great bulk of migration takes place without attracting public attention because it is self-liquidating. Some small portion of it fails and it is the portion that fails that creates this problem. Not the fact of migration but the inability of the man moving to control all the conditions attendant on his move.

Miss WICKENDEN. I wanted to say one thing more about the character of the people that we took care of in this transient program.

One of the most interesting stories that I recall from my experience was the situation here in the District of Columbia in the fall of 1933 when the program was just getting under way. They had no work program here in the District, and they went out and got what we would now regard as a very poor kind of project—rats—unpleasant work and maybe of doubtful value.

It was a rat-control project where these men went out and set traps and caught rats, presumably as a health measure.

The interesting thing about it was that when that program was set up in the District it happened that they had no work program in Richmond or Baltimore and some of the other cities in this area and the number of men applying for help in the District went up by leaps and bounds. They came in here by the hundreds and thousands although they got no more money; they came here simply because they wanted to have some kind of work to do. It was one of the most remarkable manifestations of the desire of most people to do some useful work.

Mr. OSMERS. I want to ask Mr. Ryan a few brief questions.

In your book I believe you point out that the rise of the new restrictions by the States on aid to nonsettled persons has increased that problem. Is that right—that it has increased it?

Mr. Ryan. The new restrictions placed in settlement laws by the States since the Federal program have really made more transients. When the Federal Government stopped the program many States, in self-defense, if we want to use that term, imposed new restrictions. They already had, of course, settlement laws of various kinds.

Mr. Osmers. But they have raised new barriers since then?

Mr. Ryan. That is right: misguided though it is, they have raised their eligibility requirements for settlement, and imposed other restrictions, and thereby have increased the problem, because you just make more people ineligible for assistance.

Mr. Osmers. You use the word "misguided." Probably some State officials might give you substantial argument on that question.

Mr. Ryan. That is the kind of argument I have been engaging in for a long while.

Mr. Osmers. What has been your experience with the New York State program for nonsettled persons?

Mr. Ryan. I made a special study of their program for nonsettled people. Since 1937 the State of New York has taken care of persons without residence in the State. The State has reimbursed the counties 100 percent for the cost of the care given to nonsettled people. The program has been well operated. There are certain limitations in it which really prevent assistance under that program to unattached men. For the most part it is a family program, and it is effectively operated.

Mr. Osmers. Glenn Jackson is conducting a study of the settlement laws of New York State and is for the abolition of settlement laws. Do you agree with him?

Mr. Ryan. Not necessarily. I agree that the settlement laws should be eliminated, but not necessarily by a legislative act. I believe they can be circumvented.

Mr. Osmers. By an attractive program?

Mr. Ryan. By a Federal general-relief program. I believe the effect of settlement laws can be circumvented. We don't necessarily have to pass legislation eliminating them.

Mr. Osmers. Just making a guess as to what Congress will do, I doubt if Congress in the next several years will enter into any extended relief program, because with the rising volume of employment the chances are that the demands from the country for labor will be so great that the relief burden will be reduced, and expenditures along that line will be curtailed and eliminated wherever possible, but the abolition of settlement laws under such a circumstance, with Congress refusing to extend its relief activities, the Government's relief activities, would have to be by State action.

There have been several very compelling arguments presented to the committee at various places throughout the country that we try to get the States to standardize their settlement laws at one year. What do you think of that proposal?

Mr. Ryan. If we can't get the ideal, then I think that certainly some standardization should be brought about so that there isn't the great variation that now exists.

I believe that it would be unfortunate for States to abolish settlement laws pending the time that there is established such a program as I have been advocating here.

Mr. Osmers. You mean they would have to go hand in hand?

Mr. Ryan. Yes. The present settlement laws do establish a kind of responsibility in which the State itself agrees to take care of the people in their State who have been there for a certain length of time.

Mr. Osmers. From your direct experience with the transient-camp program, what would be your comparison of the local homeless individual with the unattached homeless transient?

Mr. Ryan. I believe that the unattached transient individual was for the most part a younger person than the local homeless. As a general rule, he was more ambitious.

Mr. Osmers. From first-hand experience, what was the extent of the vocational training work under the program in New York State?

Mr. Ryan. There wasn't a great deal in New York State. We did have the Hartwick School project for the younger men in which we gave courses in agriculture and industry, and so on, but there wasn't much vocational education in the general program.

Mr. Osmers. In view of your experience with transients, would you say that the American public educational system was sadly lacking in vocational-training programs?

Mr. Ryan. Well, we found that the group with which I had close contact at Hartwick School had not been trained for any particular vocation. They had passed through the usual school program. The greater number of the group had gotten through the second year in high school, but they were not sure of where they were heading. Apparently they had not been given guidance toward a particular vocation.

Mr. Osmers. Guidance or training?

Mr. Ryan. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. That is all.

Mr. Curtis. Mr. Ryan, what is an unattached person?

Mr. Ryan. A person not traveling in a family, not associated directly with a family group.

The Chairman. A solution would be a general relief appropriation without being earmarked for this particular problem.

Mr. Ryan. A program for general relief in which all persons in need would be included regardless of settlement requirements. I may be idealistic, but that is the only solution that I can see.

The Chairman. Well, it all comes down to the question again as to whether the Federal Government owes a duty to people who are hungry or naked or on account of circumstances over which they have no control, are in need. Do we owe that duty or do we not? And, of course, this program that we are investigating, the migratory problem, is one standing almost alone; but I can readily visualize to myself that if we had an earthquake or a natural disaster in any one State where they all had to move out we wouldn't have any trouble at all about getting an appropriation through Congress. But this is a little more quiet and subdued.

On behalf of the committee we want to thank you, Miss Wickenden, and you gentlemen for your very intelligent and valuable contribution to us this morning.

I know it will be very helpful to us. We deeply appreciate your coming here and thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the committee adjourned without date.)

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FOREWORD

The topical index on the following pages has been compiled to enable the reader to find testimony and discussions by various witnesses who appeared before the Committee at its hearings held throughout the country. The numbering of the pages in the ten parts of the Hearings published is continuous throughout. Geographical subdivisions will be found under subject heads. Specific subjects, if not found in their alphabetical order, will be found as divisions of a general subject most nearly related in sense and in importance. A study of the entire topical index will show the student the interrelation of subjects covered in the investigation.

The Report of the Committee contains a topical index following a similar pattern. By reference to both, testimony and recommendations may be found on the various subjects covered.

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